



A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF THE
BEST AND MOST INTERESTING
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;
MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

OF THE WESTERN PINKERTON,
NOW IN POSSESSION OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE TWELFTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1812.

A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

A M E R I C A.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE AND ACTIONS OF ADMIRAL CHRISTOPHER COLON,
AND OF HIS
DISCOVERY OF THE WEST INDIES, CALLED THE NEW WORLD,
NOW IN POSSESSION OF HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY.
Written by his own Son Don FERDINAND COLON.*

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I BEING the son of the Admiral Christopher Colon, a person worthy of eternal memory, who discovered the West Indies, and having myself sailed with him some time, it seemed to me but reasonable, that among other things I have writ, one and the chiefest should be his life, and wonderful discovery of the West Indies or New World; because his great and continual sufferings, and the distempers he laboured under, did not allow him time to form his notes and observations into a method fit for history; yet knowing there were many others who had attempted this work I forbore, till reading their books I found in them, that which is usual among historians, viz. that they magnify some things, lessen others, and sometimes pass that over in silence which they ought to give a very particular account of. For this reason I resolved to undergo the labour of this task, thinking it better I should lie under the censure my skill and presumption shall be subject to, than to suffer the truth of what relates to so noble a person

* Churchill's Coll. vol. ii.

to lie buried in oblivion. For it is my comfort, that if any fault be found in this my undertaking, it will not be that, which most historians are liable to, viz. that they know not the truth of what they write; for I promise to compose the history of his life of such matter only as I find in his own papers and letters, and of those passages of which I myself was an eye-witness. And whosoever shall imagine that I add any thing of my own, may be assured I am satisfied I can reap no benefit thereby in the life to come; and that the reader alone will have the benefit of it, if it be capable of yielding any.

The author having given this account of himself I have not much to add, but to inform the reader before he enters upon the work, that in it he will find all the reasons which induced the admiral to such an undertaking; he will see how far he proceeded in person upon the discovery in four several voyages he made; how great and honourable the articles were upon which he entered upon the discovery, and which were afterwards confirmed to him by those two famous Princes, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, or Elizabeth; how basely they were all violated, and he, after such unparalleled services, most inhumanly treated; how far he settled the affairs of the island Hispaniola, the first place the Spaniards planted in; what care he took that the Indians should not be oppressed, but rather by good usage and example prevailed upon to embrace the Catholic faith; also the customs and manners of the Indians; their opinions and practice as to religious worship; and, in a word, all that can be expected in a work of this nature, the foundation whereof was laid by so great a man as was the admiral, and finished by his own son, who had all the education that could contribute to make him capable of writing so notable a life.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WEST INDIES, &c. &c.

CHAP. I.—*Of the Country, Original, and Name of Admiral Christopher Colon.*

IT being a very material point in the history of any man of note to make known his country and original, because they are best looked upon who are born in noble cities and of illustrious parents; therefore some would have had me spent my time in shewing that the admiral was honourably descended, though his parents, through the peevishness of fortune, were fallen into great poverty and want; and that I should have proved they were the offspring of that Junius Colon, of whom Tacitus in his 12th book says, that he brought King Mithridates prisoner to Rome; for which service the people assigned him the consular dignity, the eagle or standard, and consular court. And they would have me give a large account of those two illustrious Coloni his predecessors, who, Sabellicus tells us, gained a mighty victory over the Venetians, as shall be mentioned in the 5th chapter; but I refused to undertake that task, believing he was particularly chosen by Almighty God for so great an affair as that was he performed; and because he was to be so truly his apostle as, in effect he proved it was his will he should in this part be like the others, who were called to make known his name from the sea and rivers, and not from courts and palaces, and to imitate himself, whose progenitors being of the blood royal of Jerusalem, yet it pleased that his parents should not be much known. Therefore as God gave him all the personal qualities for such an undertaking, so he would have his country and original

more hid and obscure. So it is that some, who would cast a cloud upon his fame, say he was of Nervi, others of Cugureo, and others of Bugiesco, all finall towns near the city of Genoa, and upon its coast *. Others, who were for exalting of him, say, he was a native of Savona, others of Genoa; others, more vain, make him of Piacenza, in which city there are some honourable persons of his family, and tombs with the arms and inscriptions of the family of Colombi, this being then the usual surname of his predecessors; though he, complying with the country whither he went to live, and begin a new state of life, modelled the word that it might be like the ancient, and distinguished the direct from the collateral line, calling himself Colon. This made me apt to believe, that as most of his affairs were guarded by some special providence, so this very particular concerning his name and surname was not without some mystery. We may instance many names which were given by secret impulse to denote the effects those persons were to produce, as in his is foretold and expressed the wonder he performed. For if we look upon the common surname of his ancestors we may say he was true Columbus, or Columba, forasmuch as he conveyed the grace of the Holy Ghost into that new world which he discovered, shewing those people who knew him not, which was God's beloved Son, as the Holy Ghost did in the figure of a dove at St. John's baptism; and because he also carried the olive branch and oil of baptism over the waters of the ocean, like Noah's dove, to denote the peace and union of those people with the church, after they had been shut up in the ark of darkness and confusion. And the surname of Colon which he revived was proper to him, which in Greek signifies a member, that his proper name being Christopher, it might be known he was a member of Christ, by whom salvation was to be conveyed to those people. Moreover if we would bring his name to the Latin pronunciation, that is Christophorus Colonus; we may say, that as St. Christopher is reported to have bore that name, because he carried Christ over the deep waters with great danger to himself, whence came the denomination of Christopher; and as he conveyed over the people whom no other could have been able to carry, so the Admiral Christophorus Colonus, imploring the assistance of Christ in that dangerous passage, went over safe himself and his company, that those Indian nations might become citizens and inhabitants of the church triumphant in heaven; for it is to be believed, that many souls which the devil expected to make a prey of, had they not passed through the water of baptism, were by him made inhabitants and dwellers in the eternal glory of heaven.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Admiral's Father, and Mother, and their Quality, and of the false Account one Justiniani gives of his Employ, before he had the Title of Admiral.*

NOT to go upon the etymology, derivation and meaning of the word admiral, but to return to the quality and persons of his progenitors; I say, that how considerable soever they were, being reduced to poverty and want by the wars and factions in Lombardy, I do not find after what manner they lived; though the admiral himself in a letter says that his ancestors and he always traded by sea. For my farther information in this particular, as I passed through Cugureo, I endeavoured to receive some information from two brothers of the Coloni, who were the richest in those parts, and reported to be somewhat a-kin to him; but the youngest of them being above one hundred years old, they could give me no account of this affair. Nor do I think that this is any dishonour to us who descend from him, because I think it better that all the honour be

* From an authentic record, in a law-suit, we now know that the great Colon was born at Ferrara. *Essalla*, xi. 258.

derived to us from his person, than to go about to enquire whether his father was a merchant or a man of quality that kept his hawks and hounds; whereas it is certain there have been a thousand such in all parts, whose memory was utterly lost in a very short time among their neighbours and kindred, so as it is not known whether there ever were any such men. But I am of opinion that their nobility can add less lustre to me than the honour I receive from such a father. And since his own honourable exploits made him not stand in need of the wealth of his predecessors (who, notwithstanding their poverty, were not destitute of virtue, but only of fortune), he ought at least, by his name and worth, to have been raised by authors above the rank of mechanics and handicrafts. Which yet, if any will affirm, grounding his assertion on what one Augustin Justiniani writes in his chronicle; I say, that I will not set myself to deny it, begging time or means to prove the contrary by testimonials; for as much as Justinian's writing it does not make that to be looked upon as an article of faith, which is no longer in the memory of man; so neither will it be thought undeniable, should I say I received the contrary from a thousand persons. Nor will I shew his falsehood by the histories others have writ of Christopher Colon, but by this same author's testimony, and writing, in whom is verified the proverb, that "Liars ought to have good memories," because otherwise they contradict themselves, as Justiniani did in this case; saying in his comparison of the four languages, upon that expression of the psalm, *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*, these very words: "This Christopher Colon having in his tender years attained some elements of learning, when he came to manly years applied himself to the art of navigation, and went to Lisbon, in Portugal, where he learned cosmography, taught him by a brother of his who there made sea-charts; with which improvement, and discoursing with those that sailed to S. George de la Mira, in Afric, and his own reading in cosmography, he entertained thoughts of sailing to those countries he discovered." By which words it appears that he followed no mechanic employment, or handicraft; since, he says, he employed his childhood in learning, his youth in navigation and cosmography, and his riper years in discoveries. Thus Justiniani convinces himself of falsehood, and proves himself an inconsiderate, rash, and malicious countryman: for when he speaks of a renowned person who did so much honour to his country, whose historiographer Justiniani made himself, though the admiral's parents had been very mean, it had been more decent to speak of his origin as other authors in the like case do, saying he was of low parentage, or come of very poor friends, than to use injurious words, as he did in his psalter and afterwards in his chronicle, falsely calling him a mechanic. And supposing he had not contradicted himself, reason itself made it appear that a man who had been employed in art manual, or handicraft, must be born and grow old in it to become a perfect master; and that he would not from his youth have travelled so many countries, and also that he would not have attained so much learning and knowledge, as his actions demonstrate he had; especially in those four principal sciences required to perform what he did, which are astrology, cosmography, geometry and navigation. But it is no wonder that Justiniani should dare to deliver an untruth in this particular, which is hidden, since in affairs well known concerning his discovery and navigation, he has inserted above a dozen falsehoods in half a sheet of paper in his psalter, which I shall briefly hint at, without staying to give him an answer, to avoid interrupting the series of the history; since by the very course of it, and what others have writ on that subject, the falsehood of his writing will be made out. The first therefore was, that the admiral went to Lisbon to learn cosmography of a brother of his own that was there; which is quite contrary, because he lived in that city before, and taught his brother what he knew. The second

cond falsehood is, that at his first coming into Castile, their catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabel, or Elizabeth, accepted of his proposal, after it had been seven years bandied about and rejected by all men. The third, that he set out to discover with two ships, which is not true, for he had three caravals. The fourth, that his first discovery was Hispaniola, and it was Guarahani, which the admiral called S. Salvador, or S. Saviour. The fifth, that the said island Hispaniola was inhabited by cannibals, that eat men's flesh; and the truth is, the inhabitants of it were the best people, and most civilized of any in those parts. The sixth, that he took by force of arms the canoe, or Indian boat, he saw; whereas it appears that he had no war that first voyage with any Indian, and continued in peace and amity with them till the day of his departure from Hispaniola. The seventh, that he returned by way of the Canary Islands, which is not the proper way for those vessels to return. The eighth, that from the said island he dispatched a messenger to their majesties aforesaid; whereas it is certain, that he was not first at that island, as was observed, and he himself was the messenger. The ninth, that the second voyage he returned with twelve ships; and it is manifest he had seventeen. The tenth, that he arrived at Hispaniola in twenty days, which is a very short time to reach the nearest islands, and he performed it not in two months, and went to others much farther distant. The eleventh, that he presently made from Hispaniola with two ships, and it is known there were three he took to go from Hispaniola to Cuba. Justiniani's twelfth falsehood is, that Hispaniola is four hours distant from Spain, and the admiral reckons it above five. And farther, to add a thirteenth to the dozen, he says, the western point of Cuba is six hours distant from Hispaniola, making it further from Hispaniola to Cuba than from Spain to Hispaniola. So that by his negligence and heedlessness in being well informed and writing the truth of these particulars, which are so plain, we may plainly discern what inquiry he made into that which was so obscure, wherein he contradicts himself, as has been made appear. But laying aside this controversy, wherewith I believe I have by this time tired the reader, we will only add, that considering the many mistakes and falsehoods found in the said Justiniani's history and psalter, the senate of Genoa has laid a penalty upon any person that shall read or keep it; and has caused it to be carefully sought out in all places it has been sent to, that it may by public decree be destroyed and utterly extinguished. I will return to our main design, concluding with this assertion, that the admiral was a man of learning and great experience; that he did not employ his time in handicraft or mechanic exercises, but in such as became the grandeur and renown of his wonderful exploits; and will conclude this chapter with some words taken out of a letter he writ himself to prince John of Castile's nurse, which are these.

“I am not the first admiral of my family let them give me what name they please; for when all is done, David, that most prudent King, was first a shepherd, and afterwards chosen King of Jerusalem, and I am servant to that same Lord who raised him to such dignity.”

CHAP. III. — *Of the Admiral's Person, and what Sciences he learned.*

THE admiral was well shaped, and of a more than middling stature, long visaged, his cheeks somewhat full, yet neither fat nor lean; he had a hawk nose, his eyes white, his complexion white, with a lovely red; in his youth his hair was fair, but when he came to thirty years of age, it all turned grey. He was always modest and sparing in his eating, drinking, and his d.e.s. Among strangers he was affable, and pleasant among his domestics, yet with modesty and an easy gravity.

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He was so strict in religious matters, that for fasting and saying all the divine office he might be thought profest in some religious order. So great was his aversion to swearing and cursing, that I protest I never heard him swear any other oath but by S. Ferdinand; and when in the greatest passion with any body, he would vent his spleen by saying, "God take you for doing or saying so." When he was to write, his way of trying his pen was by writing these words, *Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via*, and that in such a character, as might very well serve to get his bread. But passing by other particulars of his actions and manners, which may be mentioned at their proper time in the course of this history, let us proceed to give an account to what science he most addicted himself. In his tender years he applied himself so much to study at Pavia, as was sufficient to understand cosmography; to which sort of reading he was much addicted, for which reason he also applied himself to astrology and geometry, because these sciences are so linked together that the one cannot subsist without the other; and because Ptolemy, in the beginning of his cosmography, says that no man can be a good cosmographer unless he be a painter too, therefore he learned to draw, in order to describe lands, and set down cosmographical bodies, planes or rounds.

CHAP. IV. — *How the Admiral employed himself before he came into Spain.*

THE admiral having gained some insight in sciences, began to apply himself to the sea, and made some voyages to the east and west; of which, and many other things of those his first days, I have no perfect knowledge, because he died at such time as I, being confined by filial duty, had not the boldness to ask him to give an account of things; or, to speak the truth, being but young, I was at that time far from being troubled with such thoughts. But in a letter writ by him, in the year 1501, to their catholic majesties, to whom he durst not have writ any thing but the truth, he has these following words:—"Most serene princes; I went to sea very young, and have continued it to this day; and this art inclines those that follow it to be desirous to discover the secrets of this world. It is now forty years that I have been sailing to all those parts, at present frequented; and I have dealt and conversed with wise people, as well clergy as laity, Latins, Greeks, Indians, and Moors, and many others of other sects; and our Lord has been favourable to this my inclination, and I have received of him the spirit of understanding: he has made me very skilful in navigation, knowing enough in astrology, and so in geometry and arithmetic. God hath given me a genius and hands apt to draw this globe, and on it the cities, rivers, islands and ports, all in their proper places. During this time I have seen, and endeavoured to see all books of cosmography, history, and philosophy, and of other sciences; so that our Lord has sensibly opened my understanding, to the end I may sail from hence to the Indies, and made me most willing to put this in execution. Filled with this desire, I came to your highnesses. All that heard of my undertaking, rejected it with contempt and scorn. In your highnesses alone, faith and constancy had their seat." In another letter, written from Hispaniola, in January 1495, to their catholic majesties, telling them the errors and mistakes commonly made in voyages and piloting, he says thus, "It happened to me that King Renee whom God has taken to himself, sent to me to Tunis to take the galeasse called Fernandina; and being near to the island of St. Peter, by Sardinia, I was told there were two ships and a barack with the said galeasse, which composed my men, and they resolved to go no farther, but to return to Marselles for another ship and more men; and I perceiving there was no going against their wills, without some contrivance, yielded to their desires, and changing the point of the needle,

set

set sail when it was late; and next morning at break of day we found ourselves near Cape Cartegna, all aboard thinking we had certainly been sailing for Marseilles." In the same manner in a memorandum, or observation, he made to show that all the five zones are habitable, and proving it by experience in navigation, he says, "In February, 1467, I sailed myself an hundred leagues beyond Thule (Island), whose northern part is seventy-three degrees distant from the equinoctial, and not sixty-three degrees as some will have it to be; nor does it lie upon the line where Ptolemy's West begins, but much more to the westwards; and to this island, which is as big as England, the English trade, especially from Bristol. At the time when I was there, the sea was not frozen, but the tides were so great, that in some places it swelled twenty-six fathoms, and fell as much." The truth is, that the Thule Ptolemy speaks of lies where he says, and this by the moderns is called Frizeland. And then to prove that the equinoctial, or land under it, is habitable, he says, "I was in the fort of St. George de la Mira, belonging to the King of Portugal, which lies under the equinoctial, and I am a witness that it is not uninhabitable, as some would have it." And in his book of his first voyage, he says he saw some mermaids on the coast of Menegueta, but that they are not so like ladies, as they are painted. And in another place he says, "I observed several times in sailing from Lisbon to Guinea, that a degree on the earth, answers to fifty-six miles and two thirds." And farther, he adds, that in Scio, an island of the Archipelago, he saw mastic drawn from some trees." In another place he says, "I was upon the sea twenty-three years, without being off it any time worth the speaking of; and I saw all the east and all the west, and may say towards the north, or England, and have been at Guinea; yet I never saw harbours for goodness like those of the West Indies." And a little farther he says that he took to the sea at fourteen years of age, and ever after followed it. And in the book of the second voyage, he says, "I had got two ships, and left one of them at Porto Santo, for a certain reason that occurred to me, where she continued one day, and the next day after I joined it at Lisbon, because I light of a storm and contrary winds at south-west, and she had but little wind at north-east which was contrary." So that from these instances we may gather how much experience he had in sea affairs, and how many countries and places he travelled before he undertook his discovery.

CHAP. V. — *The Admiral's coming into Spain, and how he made himself known in Portugal, which was the Cause of his discovering the West Indies.*

AS concerning the cause of the admiral's coming into Spain, and his being addicted to sea affairs, the occasion of it was a famous man of his name and family, called Colon, renowned upon the sea, on account of the fleet he commanded against infidels, and even in his own country, insomuch that they made use of his name to frighten the children in the cradle; whose person and fleet it is likely were very considerable, because he at once took four Venetian galleys, whose bigness and strength I should not have believed, had I not seen them fitted out. This man was called Colon the Younger, to distinguish him from another who was a great seaman before him. Of which Colon the Younger, Marc Antony Sabellicus, the Livy of our age, says in the eighth book of his tenth decade, that he lived near the time when Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederic the Third, was chosen King of the Romans: Jerome Donato was sent ambassador from Venice into Portugal, to return thanks in the name of the republic to King

King John the Second, because he had clothed and relieved all the crew belonging to the aforesaid great galleys, which were coming from Flanders, relieving them in such a manner, as they were enabled to return to Venice, they having been overcome by the famous corsair Colon the Younger, near Lisbon, who had stripped and turned them ashore. Which authority of so grave an author as Sabellicus, may make us sensible of the afore-mentioned Justiniani's malice, since in his history he made no mention of this particular, to the end it might not appear that the family of Colon was less obscure than he would make it. And if he did it through ignorance, he is nevertheless to blame, for undertaking to write the history of his country, and omitting so remarkable a victory, of which its enemies themselves make mention. For the historian, our adversary, makes so great account of his victory, that he says ambassadors were sent on that account to the King of Portugal. Which same author in the afore-mentioned eighth book, somewhat further, as one less obliged to inquire into the admiral's discovery, makes mention of it, without adding those twelve lies which Justiniani inserted. But to return to the matter in hand, I say, that whilst the admiral sailed with the aforesaid Colon the Younger, which was a long time, it fell out that understanding the before-mentioned four great Venetian galleys were coming from Flanders, they went out to seek, and found them beyond Lisbon, about Cape St. Vincent, which is in Portugal, where falling to blows, they fought furiously and grappled, beating one another from vessel to vessel with the utmost rage, making use not only of their weapons, but artificial fire-works; so that after they had fought from morning till evening and abundance were killed on both sides; the admiral's ship took fire, as did a great Venetian galley, which being fast grappled together with iron hooks and chains, used to this purpose by sea-faring men, could neither of them be relieved, because of the confusion there was among them, and the fright of the fire, which in a short time was so increased, that there was no other remedy but for all that could to leap into the water, so to die sooner rather than bear the torture of the fire. But the admiral being an excellent swimmer, and seeing himself two leagues or a little further from land, laying hold of an oar, which good fortune offered him, and sometimes resting upon it, sometimes swimming, it pleased God, who had preserved him for greater ends, to give him strength to get to shore; but so tired and spent with the water, that he had much ado to recover himself. And because it was not far from Lisbon, where he knew there were many Genoese his countrymen, he went away thither as fast as he could, where being known by them he was so courteously received and entertained, that he set up house and married a wife in that city. And forasmuch as he behaved himself honourably, and was a man of a comely presence, and did nothing but what was just; it happened that a lady whose name was Donna Felipa Moniz, of a good family and pensioner in the monastery of All saints, whither the admiral used to go to mass, was so taken with them, that she became his wife. His father-in-law Peter Moniz Pereestrello being dead, they went to live with the mother-in-law, where being together, and she seeing him so much addicted to cosmography, told him that her husband Pereestrello had been a great sea-faring man, and that he with two other captains having obtained the King of Portugal's leave, went to make discoveries upon condition, that dividing what they found into three parts they were to cast lots who should choose first. Being thus agreed, they sailed away to the south-west, and arrived at the island of Madeira and Porto Santo, places never before discovered. And because the island of Madeira was biggest; they divided it into two parts; the island of Porto Santo, being the third, which fell to the lot of the said Pereestrello, Colon's father-in-law, who had the government of it till he died.

The admiral being much delighted to hear such voyages and relations, his mother-in-law gave him the journals and sea charts left her by her husband, which still more inflamed the admiral; and he inquired into the other voyages the Portuguese then made to St. George de la Mira, and along the coast of Guinea, being much pleased to discourse with those that had sailed thither. To say the truth, I cannot certainly tell whether, whilst this wife lived, the admiral went to Mira or Guinea, as I said above, the reason seems to require it. However it was, as one thing leads to another, and one consideration to another, so whilst he was in Portugal he began to reflect, that as the Portuguese travel so far southward, it were no less proper to sail away westward, and land might in reason be found that way. That he might be the more certain and confident in this particular he began to look over all the cosmographers again whom he had read before, and to observe what astrological reasons would corroborate this project; and therefore he took notice of what any persons whatsoever spoke to that purpose, and of sailors particularly, which might any way be a help to him. Of all which things he made such good use, that he concluded for certain, that there were many lands west of the Canary islands, and Cabo Verde; and that it was possible to sail to and discover them. But that it may appear from what mean arguments he came to deduce, or make out so vast an undertaking, and to satisfy many who are desirous to know particularly, what motives induced him to discover these countries, and expose himself in so dangerous an undertaking, I will here set down what I have found in his papers relating to this affair.

CHAP. VI. — *The principal Motives that inclined the Admiral to believe he might discover the West Indies.*

BEING about to deliver the motives that inclined the admiral to undertake the discovery of the West Indies, I say they were three, viz, natural reason, authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors. As to the first, which is natural reason, I say, he concluded that all the sea and land composed a sphere or globe; which might be gone about from east to west, travelling round it, till men came to stand feet to feet one against another in any opposite parts whatsoever. Secondly, he gave it for granted, and was satisfied by the authority of approved authors, that a great part of this globe had been already travelled over, and that there then only remained, to discover the whole, and make it known that space which lay between the eastern bounds of India, known to Ptolemy and Marinus, round about eastward, till they came through our western parts to the islands Azores, and of Cabo Verde the most western parts yet discovered. Thirdly, he considered, that this space lying between the eastern limits known to Marinus, and the aforesaid island of Cabo Verde, could not be above a third part of the great circumference of the globe, since the said Marinus was already gone fifteen hours, or twenty-four parts, into which the world is divided towards the east; and therefore to return to the said isles of Cabo Verde, there wanted about eight parts; for the said Marinus is said to have begun his discovery towards the west. Fourthly, he reckoned, that since Marinus had in his said cosmography, given an account of fifteen hours, or parts of the globe towards the east, and yet was not come to the end of the eastern land, it followed of course, that the said end must be much beyond that; and consequently the farther it extended eastward, the nearer it came to the islands Cabo Verde, towards our western parts; and that if such space were sea, it might easily be sailed in a few days, and if land, in would be sooner discovered by the west, because it would be nearer to the said islands. To which reason

may be added, that given by Strabo in the fifteenth book of his cosmography, that no man with an army ever went so far as the eastern bounds of India, which Ctesias writes is as big as all the rest of Asia; Onesicritus affirms, it is the third part of the globe; and Nearchus, that it is four months' journey in a strait line; besides that, Pliny, in the seventeenth chapter of his sixth book, says that India is the third part of the earth; whence he argued, that being so large, it must be nearer Spain by way of west. The fifth argument that induced him to believe, that the distance that way was small, he took from the opinion of Alfraganus and his followers, who make the circumference of the globe much less than all other writers and cosmographers, allowing but fifty-six miles and two-thirds to a degree. Whence he would infer, that the whole globe being small, that extent of the third part must of necessity be small, which Marinus left as unknown; therefore that part might be sailed in less time than he assigned; for since the eastern bounds of India were not yet discovered, those bounds must lie near to us westward, and therefore the lands he should discover, might properly be called Indies. By this it plainly appears, how much one Mr. Roderick, archdeacon of Seville, was in the wrong as well as his followers, who blame the admiral; saying, he ought not to have called those parts Indies, because they are not so; whereas the admiral did not call them Indies, because they had been seen or discovered by any other person, but as being the eastern part of India beyond Ganges, to which no cosmographer ever assigned bounds, or made it border on any other country eastward, but only upon the ocean; and because these were the eastern unknown lands of India, and have no particular name of their own; therefore he gave them the name of the nearest country, calling them West Indies, and the more because he knew all men were sensible of the riches and wealth of India; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their catholic majesties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to discover the Indies by way of the west. And this moved him rather to desire to be employed by the King of Castile, than by any other Prince.

CHAP. VII. — *The second Motive inducing the Admiral to discover the West Indies.*

THE second motive that encouraged the admiral to undertake the aforesaid enterprise, and which might reasonably give occasion to call the countries he should so discover Indies, was the great authority of learned men, who said that it was possible to sail from the western coast of Afric and Spain, westward to the eastern bounds of India, and that it was no great sea that lay between them, as Aristotle affirms, at the end of his second book of heaven and the world; where he says, That they may sail from India to Cadiz in a few days; which some think Averroes proves, writing upon that place. And Seneca in his first book of nature, looking upon the knowledge of this world as nothing in respect of what is attained in the next life, says, a ship may sail in a few days with a fair wind from the coast of Spain to that of India. And if, as some would have it, this same Seneca writ the tragedies, we may conclude it was to the same purpose, that in the chorus of his Medea, he speaks thus;

Venient annis
Sæcula feris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhysque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

That is, there will come an age in latter years, when the ocean will loose the bonds
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of things, and a great country be discovered, and another like Typhys shall discover a new world, and Thule shall no longer be the last part of the earth. Which now most certainly has been fulfilled in the person of the admiral. And Strabo in the first book of his cosmography, says the ocean encompasses all the earth; that in the east, it washes the coast of India, and in the west, those of Mauritania and Spain, and that, if the vastness of the Atlantic did not hinder, they might soon sail from the one to the other upon the same parallel. The same he repeats in the second book. Pliny in the second book of his natural history, chap. 3. adds, that the ocean surrounds all the earth, and that the extent of it from east to west, is from India to Cadiz. The same author, book the sixth, chap. 31, and Solinus, chap. 68. of the remarkable things in the world, say, that from the islands Gorgones, supposed to be those of Cabo Verde, was forty days sail on the Atlantic ocean, to the islands Hesperides, which the admiral concluded were those of the West Indies, Marcus Paulus Venetus, and John Mandiville, in their travels say, they went much farther eastward than Ptolemy and Marinus mention, who perhaps do not speak of the eastern sea; yet by the account they give of the east, it may be argued, that the said India is not far distant from Afric and Spain. Peter Aliacus in his treatise, *De imagine mundi*, chap. 8. *De quantitate terræ habitabilis, et Julius Capitolinus, de locis habitabilibus*, and in several other treatises, say, that Spain and Italia are neighbours westward. And in the nineteenth chapter of his cosmography, he has these words; according to the philosophers and Pliny, the ocean that stretches between the western borders of Spain and Africk, and from the beginning of India eastward is of no great extent, and there is no doubt but it may be sailed over in a few days, with a fair wind, and therefore the beginning of India eastward, cannot be far distant from the end of Africk westward. These and the like authorities of such writers, inclined the admiral to believe that the opinion he had conceived was right, and one Mr. Paul, physician to Mr. Dominic of Florence, contemporary with the admiral, much encouraged him to undertake the said voyage. For this Mr. Paul, being a friend to one Ferdinand Martinez, a canon of Lisbon, and they writing to one another concerning the voyages made in the time of King Alphonso of Portugal to Guinea, and concerning what might be made westward; the admiral who was most curious in these affairs, got knowledge of it, and soon, by the means of Laurence Girardi, a Florentine residing at Lisbon, writ upon this subject to the said Mr. Paul, sending him a small sphere, and acquainting him with his design. Mr. Paul sent his answer in Latin, which in English is thus.

CHAP. VIII. — *A Letter from Paul, a Physician of Florence, to the Admiral, concerning the Discovery of the Indies.*

“ To Christopher Colon, Paul the physician wishes health.

“ I perceive your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced; and therefore in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I writ to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal; before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he writ to me by his Highness's order, upon this same account, and I send you another sea-chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of that letter is this.”

“ To Ferdinand Martinez, canon of Lisbon, Paul the physician wishes health.

“ I am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent King, and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way
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there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the coast of Guinea; yet you now tell me, that his Highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better shew it him with a globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the figure of the world; yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible, to shew this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation; and therefore I send one to his majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west from Ireland, in the north, to the farthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way: opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole towards the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows west, that product being generally ascribed to the east, because those who shall sail westward, will always find those places in the west; and they that travel by land eastward, will ever find those places in the east. The strait lines that lie lengthways in the chart, shew the distance there is from west to east, the other cross them, shew the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart, several places in India, where ships might put in upon any storm or contrary winds, or, any other accident unforeseen. And moreover, to give you full information of all those places, which you are very desirous to know; you must understand, that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is there as great a number of ships and sea-faring people with merchandize, as in any other part of the world, particularly in a most noble part called Zacton, where there are every year an hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice. This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a Prince called the Great Cham, which name signifies King of Kings, who for the most part resides in the province of Cathay. His predecessors were very desirous to have commerce, and be in amity with Christians; and two hundred years since, sent ambassadors to the Pope, desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with, they returned back without coming to Rome. Besides there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV. who told him the great friendship there was between those Princes, their people and Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of their royal structure, and of the greatness, length and breadth of their rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers, and that there were two hundred cities upon one only river, with marble bridges over it of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves, as well as any other to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies. From Lisbon directly westward, there are in the chart twenty-six spaces, each of which contains two hundred and fifty miles, to the most noble and vast city of Quisay, which is one hundred miles in compass, that is thirty-five leagues, in it there are ten marble bridges; the name signifies a heavenly city, of which

wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings and revenues. This space above-mentioned is almost the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of Mango, bordering on that of Cathay, where the King for the most part resides. From the island Antilla, which you call the seven cities, and whereof you have some knowledge to the most noble island of Cipango, are ten spaces, which make two thousand five hundred miles, or two hundred and twenty-five leagues, which island abounds in gold, pearls, and precious stones: and you must understand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety. Much more might be said, but having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his Highness to the utmost, in all the commands he shall lay upon me.

“ Florence, June 25, 1474.”

After this letter, he again writ to the admiral as follows:

“ To Christopher Colon, Paul the physician wishes health.

“ I received your letters with the things you sent me, which I take as a great favour, and commend your noble and ardent desire of sailing from east to west, as it is marked out in the chart I sent you, which would demonstrate itself better in the form of a globe. I am glad it is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great measure, and by the solid and true information of worthy and wise men, who are come from those parts to this court of Rome, and from merchants who have traded long in those parts, and are persons of good reputation. So that when the said voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to most noble cities and provinces, rich, and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of spice in great quantities, and store of jewels. This will moreover be grateful to those Kings and Princes, who are very desirous to converse and trade with Christians of these our countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have communication with the wise and ingenious men of these parts, as well in point of religion, as in all sciences, because of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of these parts. For which reasons and many more that might be alledged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portuguese nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.”

This letter, as was said before, encouraged the admiral much to go upon his discovery, though what the doctor there writ was false, as believing that the first land they should meet with, would be Cathay, and the empire of the Great Cham, with the which he relates; since as experience has made appear, the distance from our Indies, is greater than from hence to our Indies.

CHAP. IX. — *The third Motive and Inducement, which in some Measure¹⁰ excited the Admiral to Discover the West Indies.*

THE third and last motive the admiral had to undertake the discovery of the West Indies, was the hopes of finding, before he came to India, some very beneficial island or continent, from whence he might the better pursue his main design. This his hope was grounded upon the authority of many wise men and philosophers, who looked upon it as most certain, that the greatest part of this terraqueous globe was land, or that there was more earth than sea; which if so, he argued, that between the coast of Spain and the bounds of India then known, there must be many islands, and much continent, as experience has since demonstrated, which he the more readily believed, being imposed upon by many fables and stories which he heard told by several persons and sailors, who traded to the islands and western sea, and to Madera; which testimonies making somewhat to his purpose, they were sure to gain a place in his memory. Therefore I will not forbear relating them, to satisfy those that take delight in such curiosities. It is therefore requisite to be understood, that a pilot of the King of Portugal, whose name was Martin Vicente, told him, that he being once four hundred and fifty leagues westward of Cape St. Vincent, found and took up in the sea, a piece of wood ingeniously wrought, but not with iron; by which, and the wind having been west for many days, he guessed that piece of wood came from some island that way. Next one Peter Correa, who had married the admiral's wife's sister, told him, that in the island of Porto Santo he had seen another piece of wood brought by the same winds, well wrought, as that above mentioned; and that there had been canes found so thick, that every joint would hold above four quarts of wine; which he said he affirmed to the King of Portugal himself discoursing with him about these affairs, and that they were shewn him; and there being no place in our parts where such canes grow, he looked upon it as certain, that the wind had brought them from some neighbouring islands, or else from India. For Ptolemy, in the first book of his cosmography, chap. 17, says, there are such canes in the eastern parts of India: and some of the islanders, particularly the Azores, told him, that when the west wind blew long together, the sea drove some pines upon those islands, particularly upon Gratiôsa and Fayal, there being no such in all those parts. And that the sea cast upon this island of Flores, another of the Azores, two dead bodies of men, very broad faced, and differing in aspect from the Christians. At Cape Verga and thereabouts, they say, they once saw some covered Almadies or boats, which it is believed were drove that way by stress of weather, as they were going over from one island to another. Nor were these only the motives he then had, which yet seemed reasonable; but there were those that told him they had seen some islands, among whom was Anthony Leme, married in the island of Madera, who told him, that having made a considerable run in a caraval of his own westward, he had seen three islands. These he did not give credit to, because he found by their own words and discourse, that they had not sailed one hundred leagues to the westward, and that they had been deceived by some rocks, taking them for islands; or else perhaps they were some of those floating islands that are carried about by the water, called by the sailors Aguadas, whereof Pliny makes mention in the first book, chap. 97, of his natural history; where he says, that in the northern parts the sea discovered some spots of land, on which there are trees of deep roots, which parcels of land are carried about like floats or islands upon the water. Seneca undertaking to give a natural reason why there are such sorts of islands,

islands, says in his third book, that it is the nature of certain spongy and light rocks, so that the islands made of them in India, swim upon the water. So that were it never so true, that the said Anthony Leme had seen some island, the admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them; such as those called of St. Brandan, are supposed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been seen. There is also an account of others that lie much northward, and always burn. Juventius Fortunatus relates, that there is an account of two islands towards the west, and more southward than those of Cabo Verde, which swim along upon the water. These and the like grounds might move several people of the islands of Ferro and la Gomera, as also of the Azores, to affirm that they saw islands towards the west every year, which they looked upon as most certain, and many persons of reputation swore it was true. He says, moreover, that in the year 1484, there came into Portugal, one from the island of Madera to beg a caraval of the King, to go to discover a country, which he swore he saw every year, and always after the self-same manner, agreeing with others, who said they had seen it from the islands Azores. On which grounds in the charts and maps formerly made, they placed some islands thereabouts; and particularly because Aristotle in his book of wonderful natural things, affirms, it was reported that some Carthaginian merchants had sailed through the Atlantic sea to a most fruitful island; as we shall declare more at large hereafter, which island some Portuguese inserted in their maps, calling it Antilla; though they did not agree in the situation with Aristotle, yet none placed it above two hundred leagues due west from the Canaries and Azores, which they conclude to be certainly the island of the seven cities, peopled by the Portuguese at the time that Spain was conquered by the Moors in the year 714. At which time, they say, seven bishops with their people embarked and sailed to this island, where each of them built a city; and to the end none of their people might think of returning to Spain, they burnt the ships, tackle and all things necessary for sailing. Some Portuguese discoursing about this island, there were those that affirmed several Portuguese had gone to it, who could not find the way to it again. Particularly they say, that in the time of Henry, infant of Portugal, a Portuguese ship was drove by storms of weather to this island Antilla, where the men went on shore, and were led by the islanders to their church, to see whether they were Christians, and observed the Roman ceremonies, and perceiving they did, they desired them not to depart till their lord came, who was then absent, and would make very much of them, and give them many presents, and to whom they would presently send advice; but the master and seamen were afraid of being detained, suspecting those people had not a mind to be discovered, and might therefore burn their ship, and for that reason they sailed back to Portugal, hoping to be rewarded for what they had done, by the Infante. He reproved them severely, and bid them return quickly; but the master for fear run away from Portugal with the ship and men; and it is reported, that whilst the seamen were at church in the said island the boys of the ship gathered sand for the cook-room, the third part whereof they found to be pure gold. Among others that set out to discover this island, was one James de Fiene, whose pilot Peter Velasquer, of the town of Palos de Moguer, told the admiral in the monastery of St. Mary de la Rabida, that they set out from Fayal, and sailed above one hundred and fifty leagues south-west, and in their return discovered the island Flores, being led to it by abundance of birds they saw fly that way, because those being land and not sea fowls, they judged they could not rest but upon land: after which they sailed so far north-east, till they came to Cape Clare, in the west of Ireland, where they met with stiff westerly winds, and yet a smooth sea, which they imagined was caused by
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some land that sheltered it towards the west. But it being then the month of August, they would not turn towards the island, for fear of winter. This was above forty years before our Indies were discovered. This account was confirmed by the relation a mariner at Port St. Mary made, telling him that once making a voyage into Ireland, he saw the said land, which he then thought to be part of Tartary, falling off towards the west, which it is like was the land we now call Bacallaos, and that they could not make up to it by reason of the bad weather. This he said agreed with what one Peter de Velasco of Galicia, affirmed to him, in the city of Murcia in Spain, which was, that sailing for Ireland, they went away so far to north-west, that they discovered land west of Ireland, which land he believes to be the same that one Fernaldolmos attempted to discover, after the manner as I shall here faithfully set down, as I found it in my father's writings; that it may appear how some men lay the foundation of great matters upon slight grounds. Gonzalo de Oviedo, in his history of the Indies, writes, that the admiral had a letter, wherein he found the Indies described, by one that had before discovered them; which was not so, but thus: Vincent Dear, a Portuguese of Tavira, returning from Guinea to the Tercera islands, and having passed the island of Madera, which he left east of him, saw, or imagined he saw, an island which he certainly concluded to be land. Being come to the Tercera island, he told it to one Luke de Cazzana, a Genoese merchant, who was very rich, and his friend persuading him to fit out some vessel to conquer that place; which he was very willing to do, and obtained licence for it of the King of Portugal. He writ, therefore, to his brother Francis de Cazzana, who resided at Sevil, to fit out a ship with all speed for the said pilot. But the said Francis making a jest of such an undertaking, Luke de Cazzana set out a vessel in the Tercera island, and the pilot went out three or four times to seek the said island, sailing from one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues, but all in vain, for he found no land. Yet for all this, neither he nor his partner gave over the enterprize till death, always hoping to find it. And the brother aforesaid told me, and affirmed it, that he knew two sons of the captain that discovered the Tercera island, their names Michael and Jasper Cortereal, who went several times to discover that land, and at last in the year 1502, perished in the attempt, one after another, without ever being heard of; and that this was well known to many.

CHAP. X. — *Proving it to be false, that the Spaniards had formerly the Dominion of the Indies, as Gonzalo de Oviedo endeavours to make out in his History.*

IF all we have said above concerning so many imaginary islands and countries, appears to be a mere fable and folly, how much more reason have we to look upon that as a falsehood, which Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo conceits in his natural history of the Indies, looking upon his own imagination as a certain truth, and saying he has fully made out, that there was another discoverer of this navigation of the ocean, and that the Spaniards had the dominion of those lands; alledging to make out his assertion, what Aristotle writes of the island Atlantis, and Sebosus of the Hesperides. This he affirms upon the judgment of some persons, whose writings we have duly weighed and examined, and I would have omitted to talk on this subject, to avoid condemning some, and tiring the reader, had I not considered, that some persons, to lessen the admiral's honour and reputation, make great account of such notions. Besides, I thought I did not perform my duty fully, by setting down with all sincerity the motives and inducements that inclined the admiral to undertake his unparalleled enterprize, if I should suffer such a falsehood, which I know to be so, to pass uncensured. Therefore,

fore, the better to discover his mistake, I will, in the first place, set down what Aristotle, as related by one F. Theophilus de Ferrariis says as to this point ; which F. Theophilus among Aristotle's problems collected by him, brings in a book called *De admirandis in natura auditis*, a chapter with these following words : " Beyond Hercules's pillars it is reported there was formerly found an island in the Atlantic sea by certain Carthaginian merchants, which had never before been inhabited by any but brute beasts. It was all wooded and covered with trees, had a great many navigable rivers, and abounded in all things nature usually produces, though removed not many days sail from the continent. It happened that some Carthaginian merchants coming to it, and finding it a good country, as well for the richness of the soil as temperature of the air, they began to people it ; but the senate of Carthage being offended at it, soon made a public decree, that for the future no person upon pain of death should go to that island, and they that went first were put to death ; to the end that other nations should not hear of it, and some more powerful people take possession of it, by which means it might become an enemy to their liberty." Now I have faithfully quoted this authority, I will give the reasons that induce me to say, that Oviedo has no just cause to affirm that this island was Hispaniola or Cuba, as he asserts. In the first place, because Gonzalo de Oviedo not understanding Latin, he of necessity took such interpretation of this place as somebody made him ; who, by what we see, did not well know how to translate out of one language into another, since he altered and changed the Latin text in several particulars, which perhaps deceived Oviedo, and inclined him to believe that this quotation spoke of some island in the Indies ; because we do not read in the Latin text that these people went out of the Straights of Gibraltar, as Oviedo writes ; nor much less that the island was large, nor its trees great, but that it was an island much wooded. Nor is it found there, that the rivers were wonderful ; nor does it speak of its fatness, or say it was more remote from Africk than Europe, but in plain terms says it was remote from the continent ; nor does it say any towns were built there, for traders who happened upon it could build but little ; nor is it said to be famous, but that they were afraid its fame would spread abroad into other nations. So that the expositor who interpreted this place to him being so ignorant, it caused Oviedo to imagine it to be another thing than really it was ; and if he should say that it is otherwise in Aristotle's text, and that what the friar writes is as it were a compendium of what Aristotle writ ; I must ask him who gave him authority to bestow so many kingdoms on whom he pleases, and to rob one of his honour who has gained it so fairly, and tell him he ought not to have been satisfied with reading that authority as it lies in the friar's pamphlet, but should have seen it in the original, that is, in Aristotle's works. Besides that he was misinformed in this case, for though Theophilus in all his other books following Aristotle, delivered the substance and sum of what he says ; yet he did not so in his book *De admirandis*, he himself owning in the beginning, that he does not in that his book abridge Aristotle, as he has done in the others, but that he there inserts all the text word for word ; and therefore it cannot be said there was either more or less in Aristotle than what he set down. Add to this, that Anthony Beccaria of Verona, who translated this book out of Greek into Latin, of which translation Theophilus made use, did not render it so faithfully, but that he inserted several matters differing from the Greek original, as will appear to any man that shall observe it.

In the second place I say, that though Aristotle had writ so as Theophilus delivers it, yet Aristotle himself quotes no author, but as speaking of a thing for which there is no good authority, says, *Fertur*, which implies that what he delivers concerning this island, he writes as doubtful and ill grounded. Besides he writes of a thing not then new,

but which had happened long before ; saying, It is reported that formerly an island was found, and therefore it may well be said according to the proverb ; " That in great travels there are great lies : " which proverb is now verified ; for in that narration there are circumstances no way agreeable to reason, forasmuch as it says, that this island abounded in all things, but had never been inhabited, which is not consonant nor likely, forasmuch as fruitfulness in land proceeds from its being cultivated by the inhabitants ; and where there are no inhabitants, the land is so far from producing any thing of itself that even those things which art produces grow wild and useless. Nor is it more likely that the Carthaginians should be displeased because their people had found such an island, and should put to death the discoverers ; for if it was so remote from Carthage as the Indies are, it was a folly to fear that those who should come to inhabit there would conquer Carthage unless that, as Oviedo affirms, the Spaniards possessed those islands before. He would farther assert, that the Carthaginians were prophets, and that now their jealousy and prophecy were fulfilled, the Emperor taking Tunis or Carthage, with the money brought from the Indies ; which I am satisfied he would have said, to gain more favour by telling such news than he did, but that his book was published before. So that any judicious person may conceive it is a folly to say that island was never more heard of, because the Carthaginians quitted the dominion of it, for fear any other nation should take it from them, and come afterwards to destroy their liberty ; for they ought to have feared this much more from Sicily or Sardinia, that lay but two days sail from their city, than from Hispaniola, between which and them there lay one third of the world. And if it should be objected that they apprehended the wealth of that country might empower their enemies to do them harm ; I answer, they had more cause to hope, that being themselves masters of those riches they might oppose and subdue whom they pleased, and that if they left that island unpeopled, they left it in the power of another to discover it ; whence the same mischief might follow which they feared. And therefore they ought rather to fortify it and secure their trade to it, as we know they did another time upon the like occasion ; for having found the islands which they then called Cassiterides, and now we call the Azores, they kept that voyage very private, because of the tin they brought from thence, as Strabo tells us at the latter end of the third book of his Cosmography. Wherefore, granting it were true what Aristotle had writ in this fable, it might be said he meant it of the voyage to the islands Azores, which either for want of better understanding, and the great antiquity of the testimony, or through affection, which blinds men, Oviedo argues should be understood of the Indies we now possess, and not of the said islands Azores, or any of them. If it should be replied that this cannot be because Strabo does not say they were the Carthaginians who were possessed of the islands Azores, but the Phœnicians, I answer that the Carthaginians being come from Phœnicia with their Queen Dido, therefore she and they were called Phœnicians at that time, as the Christians born in the islands are now called Spaniards. And should it be again urged, that the place of Aristotle which speaks of this island, says it had many navigable rivers, which are not to be found in the islands Azores, but in Cuba and Hispaniola, I answer, that if we will take notice of this particular, they add, that there were abundance of beasts in them, which there are not in Cuba or Hispaniola ; and it may well be, that in a thing of such antiquity there might be some mistake in relating that particular, as often happens in many of these uncertain and so far distant antiquities. Observe that neither Cuba nor Hispaniola have any deep navigable rivers, as the place quoted intimates ; and that ~~any~~ ships may enter the mouths of the biggest rivers of those islands, but not conveniently sail up them. Besides that, as has been said, how great
foever

soever Aristotle's authority may be the word might possibly be corrupted, and might be writ *navigandum* instead of *potandum*, which better agreed with what he treated of, commending it for plenty of drinking water, as well as fruitfulness in producing things to eat. This might well be verified of any one of the Azores, and with more reason, because neither Cuba nor Hispaniola lie so, as that the Carthaginians could be carried to them either by reason of their nearness, or by any mischance; for if those who went purposely with the admiral to discover thought the way so long that they would have turned back, how much longer must it seem to them who designed no such tedious voyage, and who, as soon as the time would permit, had turned back towards their country? Nor does any storm last so long as to carry a ship from Cadiz to Hispaniola; nor is it likely, that because they were merchants, they should have any mind to run farther from Spain or Carthage than the wind obliged them, especially at a time when navigation was not come to that perfection as now it is. For which reason very considerable voyages were then looked upon as great, as appears by what we read of Jason's voyage to Colchus, and that of Ulysses through the Mediterranean, in which so many years were spent; and therefore they were so famous that the most excellent poets have given an account of them, because of the little knowledge they had then of sea affairs; whereas it has been so improved of late in our age, that there have been those who had the boldness to sail round the world, which has contradicted the proverb that said, "He that goes to cape Nam will either return or not;" which cape is in Africk, not very much distant from the Canaries. Besides it is a notorious mistake to think the island whither those merchants were carried, could be either Cuba, or Hispaniola; for it is well known, that with all the knowledge we have at this present, it is almost impossible to come at them, without meeting with any other islands that encompass them all all round. But if we would say that land or island was none of the Azores, as has been said above, one lie ought to be grafted upon another, by alledging that it was the same island of which Seneca in his fourth book makes mention, where he tells us, that Thucydides speaks of an island called Atlantica, which in the time of the Peloponnesian war was all or mostly drowned. Whereof Plato also makes mention in his Timæus. But because we have discoursed too long concerning these fables, I will proceed to the next point, where it is said that the Spaniards had entirely the dominion of the said islands; which opinion is grounded on what Statius and Sebosus say, that certain islands called Hesperides, lay forty days sail west of the islands Gorgones. And hence it is argued, that since those must of necessity be Indies, and are called Hesperides, that name came from Hesperus, who was King of Spain, who of consequence, and the Spaniards were lords of that country. So that rightly considering his words, he endeavours from uncertain premises to deduce three infallible consequences, contrary to Seneca's rule, who in his sixth book of nature, speaking of such like things, says it is hard to affirm any thing as sure and certain upon grounds that are no other than conjectures, as here Oviedo does; forasmuch as only Sebosus is said to have made mention of those islands Hesperides, declaring towards what part they lie but not mentioning that they were the Indies, or of whom they took the name, or by whom conquered. And if Oviedo out of Berofus affirms that Hesperus was King of Spain, I grant it to be true, but not that he gave the name to Spain or Italy; but he, like a true historian, owning that Berofus fails him in this particular, took up with Hyginus, yet cautiously without mentioning in what book or chapter, and thus he conceals his authority; for in short, no place is to be found where Hyginus speaks of any such matter, but, on the contrary, in one only book of his that is extant, intituled, *De poetica Astronomia*, he has not only no such words, but in three several places where he speaks of these Hesperides, he

says thus, Hercules is painted as killing the dragon that guarded the Hesperides. And somewhat farther he says, that Hercules being sent by Euristheus for the golden apples to the Hesperides, and not knowing the way thither, he went to Prometheus on mount Caucasus, and entreated him to shew him the way, whence followed the death of the dragon. Now, according to this, we shall have other Hesperides in the east to whom also Oviedo may say, Hesperus King of Spain gave his name. Hyginus says farther, in the chapter of planets, that it appears by several histories that the planet Venus is called Hesperus, because it sets soon after the sun. From all which we may infer, that if we ought to make use of any testimonies or quotations from persons used to relate poetical fables, as Hyginus does, that very same which Hyginus says rather makes against Oviedo than for him; and we may suppose and affirm, they were called Hesperides from a certain star. And as the Greeks for the same reason called Italy Hesperia, as many write; so we may say, Sebosus called these islands Hesperides, and made use of the same conjectures, and some reasons to shew whereabouts they lay, which we said above moved the admiral to believe for certain, that there were such islands westward.

Thus we may conclude, that Oviedo did not only presume to counterfeit authorities for what he said, but that either though inadvertency, or to please him who told him these things (for it is certain he did not understand them himself), he maintained two contradictions, the disagreement between which were sufficient to discover his error. For if the Carthaginians who, as he says, arrived at Cuba or Hispaniola, found that country inhabited by none but brute beasts, how could it be true that the Spaniards had been possessed of it long before, and that their King Hesperus gave it his name? Unless perhaps he will say, that some deluge unpeopled it; and that afterwards some other Noah restored it to that condition it was discovered in by the admiral. But because I am quite tired with this dispute, and methinks the reader is cloyed with it, I will not dilate any more upon this point, but follow on our history.

CHAP. XI. — *How the Admiral was disgusted by the King of Portugal, on account of the Discovery he proposed to him.*

THE admiral now concluding that his opinion was excellently well grounded, he resolved to put it in practice, and to sail the western ocean in quest of those countries. But being sensible that such an undertaking was only fit for a Prince who could go through with and maintain it, he resolved to propose it to the King of Portugal because he lived under him. And though King John then reigning gave ear to the admiral's proposals yet he seemed backward in embracing them, because the great trouble and expence he was at upon account of the discovery and conquest of the western coast of Afric, called Guinea, without any considerable success as yet, or being as yet able to weather the cape of Good Hope, which name some say was given it instead of Agessingue, its proper denomination, because that was the farthest they hoped to extend their discoveries and conquests, or as others will have it, because this cape gave them hopes of better countries and navigation. Be it as it will, the aforesaid King had but little inclination to lay out more money upon discoveries; and if he gave any ear to the admiral, it was because of the excellent reasons he gave to prove his opinion, which so far prevailed upon him, that there remained only to grant the admiral those terms he demanded. For the admiral being a man of a noble and generous spirit, would capitulate to his great benefit and honour, that he might leave behind him such a reputation, and so considerable a family, as became his great actions and merits. For this reason the King, by the advice of one Doctor Calzadilla, of whom he made great account, resolved

to send a caraval privately to attempt that which the admiral had proposed to him; because in case those countries were so discovered, he thought himself not obliged to bestow any great reward, which might be demanded on account of the discovery. Having thus speedily equipped a caraval, and going out, it was to carry supplies to the islands of Cabo Verde, he sent it that way the admiral had proposed to go. But those he sent wanted the knowledge, constancy, and spirit of the admiral. After wandering many days upon the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the undertaking, and saying it was impossible there should be any land in those seas. This being come to the admiral's ear, and his wife dead, he took such an aversion to that city and nation, that he resolved to go to Castile, with a little son he had left by his wife, called D. James Colon, who inherited his father's estate. But fearing lest if the King of Castile should not consent to his undertaking, he might be forced to propose it to some other Prince, which would take up much time, he sent a brother he had with him, called Bartholomew Colon, into England, who, though he was no Latin scholar, was a skilful and judicious man in sea affairs, and could make sea-charts, globes, and other instruments fit for that profession, having been taught by the admiral his brother. Bartholomew Colon being on his way for England, it was his fortune to fall into the hands of pirates, who stripped him and the rest of his company. For this reason, and being sick and poor in that country, it was a long time before he could deliver his message, till having got some supply by making sea-charts, he began to make some proposals to King Kenry the VIIth, then reigning, to whom he presented a map of the world, on which were these verses, which I found among his papers, and shall be here inserted, rather for their antiquity than elegance.

Terrarum quicumque cupis feliciter oras
 Noscere, cuncta decens docte pictura docebit,
 Quæ Strabo, affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius atque
 Isidorus; non una tamen sententia cuique.
 Pingitur hic etiam nuper fulcata carinis
 Hispanis zona illa, prius ingonita genti,
 Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Pro auctore, five pictore.

And a little lower,

Genoa cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus
 Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit istud,
 Londiniis An. Dom. 1480, atque insuper anno,
 Octava Decimaque die cum tertia mensis
 Febr. Laudes Christo cæntentur abunde.

The sense of the first lines is to this-effect. Whosoever thou art that desirest to know the coasts of countries must be taught by this draught, what Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Isidorus assert, though not agreeing in all points. Here is also set down the formerly unknown torrid zone, now known to many. For the author or painter: the second verses implied that his name was Bartholomew Colon of the red earth, a Genoese; published this work at London, anno 1480, the 21st of February. Praise to God.

And because it may be observed that he says, "Colon of the red earth;" I must acquaint the reader, that I have seen some subscriptions of the admiral's before he had that title, where he writ *Columbus de terra rubra*. But to return to the King of England: I say, that he having seen the map, and what the admiral offered him, readily accepted of it, and ordered him to be sent for. But God having reserved it for Castile, the admiral had at that time gone his voyage, and was returned with success, as shall be shewn in its place.

CHAP. XII. — *The Admiral's Departure from Portugal, and the Conferences he had with Their Catholic Majesties, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, or Elizabeth.*

I WILL now forbear relating how Bartholomew Colon proceeded in England, and will return to the admiral, who, about the end of the year 1484, stole away privately out of Portugal, with his son James, for fear of being stopped by the King; for he being sensible how faulty they were whom he had sent with the caraval, had a mind to restore the admiral to his favour, and desired he should renew the discourse of his enterprise; but not being so diligent to put this in execution as the admiral was in getting away, he lost that good opportunity, and the admiral got into Castile to try his fortune, which was there to favour him. Therefore leaving his son in a monastery at Palos, called la Rabida, he presently went away to the Catholic King's court, which was then at Cordova; where being affable and of pleasant conversation, he contracted friendship with such persons as he found most inclinable to his undertaking, and fittest to persuade the King to embrace it; among whom was Lewis de Santangel, an Arragonian gentleman, clerk of the allowances in the King's household, a man of great prudence and reputation. But because the matter required to be handled with learning rather than empty words and favour, their Highnesses committed it to prior of Prado, afterwards archbishop of Granada, ordering him, together with some cosmographers, to take full information in this affair, and report their opinions therein. But there being few cosmographers at that time, those that were called together were not so skilful as they ought to be; nor would the admiral so far explain himself as that he might be served as he had been in Portugal, and be deprived of his reward. For this reason the answer they gave their Highnesses was as various as were their judgments and opinions. For some said, that since in so many thousand years as had passed since the creation, so many skilful sailors had got no knowledge of such countries, it was not likely that the admiral should know more than all that were then or had been before. Others, who inclined more to cosmographical reason, said the world was so prodigious great, that it was incredible three years sail would bring him to the end of the east, whither he designed his voyage; and to corroborate their opinion, they brought the authority of Seneca, who in one of his works, by way of argument, said that many wise men among them disagreed about this question, whether the ocean were infinite, and doubted whether it could be sailed, and though it were navigable, whether habitable lands would be found on the other side, and whether they could be gone to. They added, that of this lower globe of earth and water, only a small compass was inhabited, which had remained in our hemisphere above water, and that all the rest was sea and not navigable, but only near the coasts and rivers. And that wise men granted it was possible to sail from the coast of Spain to the farthest part of the west. Others of them argued almost after the same manner as the Portuguese had done about failing to Guinea, saying, that if any man should sail straight away westward, as the admiral proposed, he would not be able to return into Spain because of the roundness of the globe, looking upon it as most certain, that whosoever should go out of the hemisphere known to Ptolemy, would go down, and then it would be impossible to return, affirming it would be like climbing a hill, which ships could not do with the stiffest gale. Though the admiral sufficiently solved all these objections, yet the more powerful his reasons were, the less they understood him through their ignorance; for when a man grows old upon ill principles in mathematics, he cannot conceive the true because of the false notions at first imprinted in his mind. In short, all of them holding to the Spanish proverb, which, though it be contrary to reason, commonly says *dubitat Augustinus*, "St. Augustin questions it;"

because the said Saint in his twenty first book, and ninth chapter, "Of the city of God," denies and looks upon it as impossible that there should be antipodes, or any going out of one hemisphere into the other; and further urging against the admiral those fables that are current about the five zones, and other untruths, which they looked upon as most certainly true, they resolved to give judgment against the enterprize, as vain and impracticable; and that it became not the state and dignity of such great Princes, to be moved upon such weak information. Therefore, after much time spent upon the subject, their highnesses answered the admiral, that they were then taken up with many other wars and conquests, and particularly the conquest of Granada, which they had then in hand, and therefore could not conveniently attend that new undertaking, but that in time there would be more conveniency to examine and execute that which he proposed. And to conclude, Their Majesties would not give ear to the great proposals the admiral made.

CHAP. XIII. — *How the Admiral, not agreeing with the King of Castile, resolved to go elsewhere to offer his Service.*

WHILST this was in agitation, their catholic majesties had not been always settled in one place, because of the war they made in Granada, for which reason it was a long time before they came to a resolution and gave their answer. The admiral therefore went to Sevil, and finding their highnesses no way resolved more than at first, he concluded to give the Duke of Medina Sidonia an account of his project. But after many conferences, seeing there was no likelihood of coming to such conclusion as he wished for in Spain, and that the execution of his design was too much delayed he resolved to apply himself to the King of France, to whom he had already writ; concerning this affair, designing, if he were not admitted there, to go into England next, to seek out his brother, of whom he had as yet no manner of news. Being so resolved he set out for the monastery of Rabida, to send his son James, whom he had left there, to Cordova, and then proceed on his journey. But to the end what God had decreed, should not be disappointed, he put it into the heart of F. John Perez, guardian of that house, to contract such friendship with the admiral, and be so taken with his project, that he was concerned at his resolution, and for the loss Spain would sustain by his departure. Therefore he intreated him by no means to put his design in execution, for that he would go to the Queen, of whom he hoped, that he being her father confessor, she would give credit to what he should say to her. Though the admiral was quite out of hopes and disgusted to see so little resolution and judgment in their highnesses counsellors, yet, being on the other side very desirous that Spain should reap the benefit of his undertakings, he complied with the father's desires and request, because he now looked upon himself as a natural born Spaniard, because he had so long resided there; whilst he was following his project, and because he had got children there; which was the cause he rejected the offers made him by other Princes, as he declares in a letter he writ to their highnesses in these words, "that I might serve your highnesses, I have refused to take up with France, England and Portugal, the letters from which Princes your highnesses may see in the hands of doctor Villalan."

CHAP. XIV.—*How the Admiral returned to the Camp before Granada, and took his Leave of Their Catholic Majesties, having concluded nothing with them.*

THE admiral departing from the monastery of Rabida near Palos, together with F. John Perez, to the camp of S. Faith, where their catholic majesties then were to carry on the siege of Granada; the said father further informed the Queen, and pressed the business so home, that her majesty was pleased the conferences about the discovery should be renewed. But the opinions of the prior of Prado and others of his followers varying, and on the other side Colon demanding to be made admiral and viceroy, besides other matters of great consequence; it was thought too much to grant him, because if what he promised succeeded, they judged his demand too considerable, and in case it did not, they thought it a folly to give such titles; which made the business come to nothing. I cannot forbear declaring that I make great account of the admiral's wisdom, resolution and foresight, for he being so unfortunate in this affair, having so earnest a desire, as I have said before, to remain in this kingdom, and being reduced to such a condition, that he ought to take up with any thing, it was a greatness of spirit in him not to accept of any but great titles and honours, demanding such things as if he had foreseen and been more certainly assured of the success of his project, he could not have articed better, or more honourably than he did; so that at last they were forced to grant, that he should be admiral on the ocean, and enjoy all the allowances, privileges and prerogatives, that the admirals of Castile and Leon had in their several seas, all and that civil employments, as well of government as administration of justice, in all the islands and continent should be wholly at his disposal, and that all governments should be given to one or three persons he should name; and that he should appoint judges in all parts of Spain trading to the Indies, who should decide all matters relating to those parts. As for profit and revenue, he demanded, over and above the salary and perquisites of the aforesaid employments of admiral, viceroy and governor, the tenth of all that was bought, bartered, found, or got within the bounds of his admiralship, abating only the charge of the conquest; so that had there been one thousand ducats in an island, one hundred were to be his. And because his adversaries said he ventured nothing in that undertaking, but had the command of a fleet as long as it lasted, he demanded the eighth part of what he should bring home in his fleet, and he would be the eighth part of the expence. These being matters of such consequence, and their highnesses refusing to grant them, the admiral took leave of his friends, and went away towards Cordova, to take order for his journey into France, for he was resolved not to return to Portugal, though the King had writ to him, as shall be said.

CHAP. XV.—*How Their Catholic Majesties sent after the Admiral, and granted him all he demanded.*

IT was now the month of January in the year 1492, when the admiral departed from the camp of St. Faith, and that same day Lewis de Santangel before mentioned, who did not approve of his going away, but very desirous to prevent it; went to the Queen, and using such words as his inclination suggested, to persuade and reprove her at once, said, he wondered to see that her highness, who had always a great soul for all matters of moment and consequence, should now want the heart to venture upon an undertaking, where so little was ventured, and which might redound so much

much to the glory of God and propagation of the faith, not without great benefit and honour to her kingdoms and dominions; and such in short, that if any other Prince should undertake it, as the admiral offered, the damage that would accrue to her crown was very visible, and that then she would with just cause be much blamed by her friends and servants, and reproached by her enemies, and all people would say, she had well deserved that misfortune; and though she herself should never have cause to repent it, yet her successors would certainly feel the smart of it. Therefore, since the matter seemed to be grounded upon reason, and the admiral who proposed it was a man of sense and wisdom, and demanded no other reward but what he should find, being willing to bear part of the charge, besides venturing his own person; her highness ought not to look upon it as such an impossibility as those scholars made it, and that what they said that it would be a reflection on her if the enterprise did not succeed, as the admiral proposed, was a folly, and he was of a quite contrary opinion, rather believing they would be looked upon as generous and magnanimous Princes, for attempting to discover the secrets and wonders of the world, as other monarchs had done, and it had redounded to their honour. But though the event were never so uncertain, yet a considerable sum of money would be well employed in clearing such a doubt. Besides that, the admiral only demanded two thousand five hundred crowns to fit the fleet, and therefore she ought not to despise that undertaking, that it might not be said it was the fear of spending so small a sum that kept her back. The Queen knowing the sincerity of Santangel's words, answered, thanking him for his good advice, and saying, she was willing to admit of the proposals, upon condition the execution were respite, till she had a little breathing after the war. And yet if he were of another opinion, she was content that as much money as was requisite for fitting out the fleet, should be borrowed upon her jewels. But Santangel seeing the Queen had upon his advice condescended to what she had refused to all other persons, replied, there was no need of pawning her jewels, for he would do her highness that small service as to lend his money. Upon this resolution the Queen immediately sent an officer post, to bring the admiral back, who found him upon the bridge of Pinos, two leagues from Granada; and though the admiral was much concerned at the difficulties and delays he had met within his enterprise, yet understanding the Queen's will and resolution, he returned to the camp of St. Faith, where he was well entertained by Their Catholic Majesties, and his dispatch and articles committed to the secretary John Coloma, who by their highnesses' command and under their hand and seal, granted him all the articles and clauses we said above he had demanded, without altering or diminishing any thing in them.

• CHAP. XVI. — *How the Admiral fitted out three Caravals to go upon his Discovery.*

THE aforesaid articles being granted by Their Catholic Majesties, he set out from Granada on the twelfth of May this year 1492, for Palos, the port where he was to fit out his ships, that town being obliged to serve their highnesses three months with two caravals, which they ordered should be given to the admiral. These and another ship he fitted out with all care and diligence. The ship he went in was called the St. Mary, another was La Pinta, whereof Martin Alonzo Pinzon was captain, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, brother to Alonzo, both of the town of Palos, of the third which was called La Nina, and had square sails. They being furnished with all necessaries, and ninety men; set sail directly towards the Canaries on the third of August, and from that time forwards, the admiral was very careful to keep an exact

journal of all that happened to him during the voyage, specifying what wind blew, how far he sailed with every wind; what currents he found, and what he saw by the way, whether birds, or fishes, or other things, which he always did in four voyages he made from Spain to the Indies. I will not write all those particulars; for though to give an account of his voyage, and to shew what impressions and effects answered the course and aspects of the stars, and to relate what difference there is between that and our sea and our countries, would be now very beneficial; yet I do not think all those particulars would now be pleasing to the reader, whom such long and superfluous relations must tire. Therefore I shall only discourse of those things I shall think necessary and convenient.

CHAP. XVII. — *The Admiral arrived at the Canary Islands, and there furnished himself completely with all he wanted.*

THE next day after the admiral's departure for the Canary islands, being Saturday the fourth of August, the rudder of one of the caravals called La Pinta, broke loose, and being therefore forced to lie by, the admiral soon came by her side, but the weather blowing hard, could give no assistance, yet commanders at sea are obliged so to do, to encourage those that are in distress. This he did the more readily, as misdoubting this had happened by the contrivance of the master, to avoid going the voyage, as he attempted to do before they set out. Pinzon the captain, being an able seaman, soon repaired that fault with the help of some ropes, so that they were able to continue their voyage, till on Tuesday following, the weather being rough, the ropes broke, and they were forced again to lie by to mend what had given way. From which misfortune of breaking of the rudder twice, any body that had been superstitious, might have foreboded its future disobedience to the admiral, when through the malice of Pinzon, it twice got away from him, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

To return to what we have in hand, they apply the best remedy they could for the present, that they might at least reach the Canary islands, which all three ships discovered on Thursday the ninth of August about break of day, but the wind being contrary, they could not come to an anchor at Gran Canaria, though very near it, that day nor the two following. Here the admiral left Pinzon, that going ashore he might endeavour to get another ship; and he to the same purpose went away to the island Gomera, with the caraval called La Nina, that if they failed of a vessel in one island, they might find it in the other. Thus he came to Gomera on the Sunday following, being the twelfth day of August, and sent his boat ashore, which returned in the morning, with the news that there was never a vessel in the island at that time, but that they hourly expected the lady Beatrix de Bobadilla, proprietress of that same island, who was then at Gran Canaria, and had hired a vessel of forty tun, belonging to one Gradenna of Seville, which being fit for the voyage he designed, he might have taken. Therefore the admiral resolved to expect him in that port, believing that if Pinzon had not been able to repair his own vessel, he might himself have got another at Gomera. Having stayed there the two following days, and the vessel above mentioned not appearing, he sent a man aboard a bark that was bound from Gomera to Gran Canaria, to acquaint Pinzon where he lay, and assist him in fixing his rudder, writing to him that he did not go himself to assist him, because that vessel could not sail. But it being long after the departure of that bark, before the admiral received any answer; he resolved on the twenty third of August to return
with

with his two vessels to Gran Canaria, and failing the next day, met in the way the aforementioned bark, which was not yet arrived at Gran Canaria, by reason of the contrary winds. Having taken out the man he had sent aboard the bark, that night he sailed close by Tenerife, where they saw flames gush out of the high rock commonly called the Peake, or rather El Pico, which his men admiring at, he told them the occasion of that fire, proving what he said by the example of Mount *Ætna* in Sicily, and of many others like it. Leaving that island they arrived at Gran Canaria upon Saturday the twenty fifth, whither Pinzon with much difficulty was got in but the day before. By him he was informed that the lady Beatrix was sailed the Monday before, with that vessel he took such pains to get, and the others being much troubled at it, he made the best of whatever happened; affirming, that since it did not please God he should meet with that vessel, it was perhaps because in finding it, he would at the same time have met with some obstacle or opposition in pressing of it, and have lost time in shipping and unshipping the goods, which would be a hindrance to his voyage: for this reason, fearing if he returned to seek it at Gomera, he might miss of it by the way; he resolved to repair his caraval the best he could at Gran Canaria, making a new rudder, she having lost hers, and to change the sails of the other caraval called *La Nina*, which were square, to round, that she might follow the other ships with less danger and agitation.

CHAP. XVIII. — *How the Admiral set sail from the Island of Gran Canaria upon his Discovery, and what happened to him on the Ocean.*

WHEN the ships were refitted and in order to sail on Friday, (this by what follows ought to be Saturday) the first of September; in the afternoon the admiral weighed anchor, and departed from Gran Canaria, arriving the next day at Gomera, where four days more were spent in laying in provisions, wood and water; so that next Thursday in the morning which was on the sixth of September 1482, which may be accounted the first setting out upon the voyage on the ocean, the admiral departed from Gomera, and stood away to the westward, but made but little way by reason of the calm. On Sunday about day, he found himself nine leagues west of the island Ferro, where they lost sight of land, and many fearing it would be long before they should see it again, sighed and wept, but the admiral, after comforting them all with great promises of lands, and wealth to raise their hopes, and lessen the fear they had conceived of the length of the way, though they sailed eighteen leagues that day, he pretended by his computation it was but fifteen, resolving all the voyage to keep short in his reckoning, that his men might not think themselves so far from Spain as they were, if he should truly set down the way he made, which yet he privately marked down. Continuing thus his voyage, on Wednesday the twelfth of September, about sun-setting, being about one hundred and fifty leagues west of the island Ferro, he discovered a large body of the mast of a tree of one hundred and twenty ton, which seemed to have been a long time upon the water. There and somewhat further the current set strong towards the north-east; but when he had run fifty leagues farther westward, on the thirteenth of September, he found that at night fall the needle varied half a point towards the north-east, and at break of day, half a point more, by which he understood that the needle did not point at the north star, but at some other fixed and visible point. This variation no man had observed before, and therefore he had occasion to be surprised at it; but he was more amazed the third day after, when he was almost one hundred leagues further; for at night the needles varied about a point to the north-east, and in the morning

morning they pointed upon the star. On Saturday the fifteenth of September, being almost three hundred leagues west of Ferro, at night they saw a wonderful flash of light fall from the sky into the sea, about four or five leagues distance from the ships towards the south-west, though the weather was then fair, like April, the wind favourable at north-east, the sea still, and the current setting north-east. The men aboard the caraval, called La Nina, told the admiral, they had the Friday before seen a heron and another sort of bird, which the Spaniards call rabo de junco, which they were amazed at, those being the first birds they had seen : but they were more surprised the next day, which was Sunday, at the great abundance of weeds between green and yellow, that appeared upon the water, which seemed to be newly washed away from some island or rock. They saw enough of these weeds the next day, which made many affirm they were already near land, especially because they saw a small lobster alive among those weeds, which they said somewhat resembled the herb star-wort, but that the stalk and branches were long, and it was all full of small seeds. Afterwards they observed that the sea water was but half as salt as before ; besides, that night abundance of tunny fishes followed them, running along, and sticking so close to them, that those aboard the caraval Nina, killed one with a bearded iron. Being now three hundred and sixty leagues west of Ferro, they saw another of those birds the Spaniards call rabo de junco, because of a long feather their tail consists of, and in Spanish, rabo signifies a tail, as junco is a rush, so that rabo de junco imports rush tail. On Tuesday following, being the eighteenth of September, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who was gone a-head with the caraval called Pinta, which was an excellent failer, lay by for the admiral, and told him he had seen a great number of birds fly away westward, for which reason he hoped to find land that night, and he thought he saw the land to the northward, fifteen leagues distant ; that day about sun-setting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the admiral knowing for certain it was no land, he would not lose time to discover it, as all his men would have had him ; forasmuch as he was not yet come to the place where he expected by his computation to find land, therefore they took in their top sails at night, because the wind freshened, having for eleven days never abated one handful of sail, going still before the wind westward.

CHAP. XIX. — *How all the Men carefully observed what Signs they discovered, being eager to discover Land.*

ALL the men aboard the ships being unacquainted with that voyage, and fearful of the danger because far from any relief, there were some that began to mutter, and seeing nothing but sky and water, carefully observed every thing that appeared, at greater distance from land than any had been before. For which reason I will relate all they made any account of, and this only in the first voyage ; for I shall not mention lesser tokens generally seen upon such occasions. On the 19th of September, in the morning, a fowl called Alcatraz, which is a sort of sea-gull, flew over the admiral's ship, and others in the afternoon, which made him conceive hope of land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon these hopes, as soon as the wind abated, they sounded with two hundred fathom of line ; and though they found no bottom, they perceived the current now set south-west. On Thursday, the 22d, two hours before noon, two alcatrazes came to the ship, and another some time after ; besides, they took a bird like a heron, but that it was black, and had a white tuft on the head, the feet like a duck, as commonly water-fowls have ; they also caught a little fish,

fish, and saw abundance of weeds; and about evening there came aboard three land-fowls singing, but at break of day they flew away, which was some comfort to them; considering that the other fowls being large, and used to the water, might better go far from land, but that these little ones could not come from any far distant country. Three hours after they saw another alcatraz, that came from the west-north-west, and the next day afternoon they saw another rabo de junco and an alcatraz, and there appeared more weeds than before, towards the north, as far as they could see; which things sometimes were a comfort to them, believing they might come from some near land, and sometimes they caused dread, because they were so thick that in some measure they stayed the ships, and fear making things worse than they are, they apprehended that might befall them which is fabulously reported of St. Amaro in the frozen sea, who is said not to suffer ships to stir backwards or forwards, and therefore they steered away from those shoals of weeds, as much as they could. But to return to the tokens: the next day they saw a whale, and on Saturday following, being the 22d of September, some small birds; and the wind those days blew at south-west, sometimes more and sometimes less west, which, though contrary to their voyage, the admiral said he looked upon as very good, and a help to them; because the men continually muttering, among other things that increased their fear, said this was one; that since the wind was always right a-stern, they should never in those seas have a gale to carry them back; and though sometimes they found the contrary, they alleged that it was no settled wind, and that not being strong enough to swell the sea, it would never carry them back so far as they had to fail. Whatsoever the admiral could say, telling them that the reason was the lands being now near, which did not suffer the waves to rise, and using the best argument he could, yet he affirms he stood in need of God's particular assistance, as Moses did when he led the Israelites out of Egypt, who forbore laying violent hands upon him, because of the prodigies God wrought by his means. So, said the admiral it happened to him in that voyage; for upon Sunday following, the wind started up at west-north-west, with a rolling sea as the men wished; and three hours before noon they saw a turtle fly over the ship, and about evening an alcatraz, a river fowl, and other white birds, and some crabs among the weeds; and the next day they spied another alcatraz, and several small birds that came from the west, and small fishes, whereof the men of the other vessels stuck some with harping irons, because they would not bite at the hook.

CHAP. XX. — *How the Men mutinied to turn back, and seeing other Signs and Tokens of Land, went on well enough satisfied:*

THE more the aforesaid tokens were found vain, the more they took occasion to apprehend and mutter; caballing together, and laying the admiral, out of a foolish fancy of his own, had designed to make himself a great lord at the expence of their lives and danger; and since they had done their duty in trying their fortune, and had gone farther from land and any succour than any others had done, they ought not to destroy themselves, nor proceed in that voyage, since if they did, they should have cause to repent; for provisions would fall short, and the ships fail, which they knew were already so faulty, that it would be hard to get back so far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for so doing, but they would rather be looked upon as very brave men for going upon such a design and venturing so far; and that the admiral being a foreigner, and having no favour at court, and so many wise and learned men having

having condemned his opinion, there would be nobody now to favour and defend him, and they should sooner find credit, if they accused him of ignorance and mismanagement, than he, whatsoever he could say for himself. Nor did there want some who said, that to end all dispute, in case he would not acquiesce to them, they might make short and throw him overboard, and give out, that as he was making his observations he dropped into the sea; and no man would go about to enquire into the truth of it, which was the readiest way for them to return home and secure themselves. Thus they went on from day to day, muttering, complaining, and consulting together: nor was the admiral without apprehensions of their inconstancy, and ill intentions towards him. Therefore sometimes with good words, and sometimes with a full resolution to expose his life; putting them in mind of the punishment due to them if they obstructed the voyage, he in some measure quelled their apprehensions, and suppressed their ill designs. To confirm the hope he gave them, he put them in mind of the aforesaid signs and tokens, assuring them they would soon find land; which signs they were so attentive to, that they thought every hour a year till they saw land. On Tuesday the 25th of September, about sun-setting, as the admiral was discoursing with Pinzon, whose ship was very near, the said Pinzon on a sudden cried out, "Land, land, sir! Let not my good news miscarry;" and shewed him towards the south-west a bulk which looked very like an island, about twenty-five leagues from the ships. This was so pleasing to the men, that they returned thanks to God; and the admiral, who had given no credit to these words, to please the men, and that they should not obstruct his voyage, stood that way a great part of the night. Next morning they perceived that what they had seen were only clouds, which often look like land; for which reason, to the great dissatisfaction of most of the sailors, they turned the sterns of their ships westward, as they had always done, except when the wind hindered. Continuing still attentive to the signs, they saw an alcatraz, a rabo de junco, and other birds like those above mentioned. On Thursday the 27th of September, in the morning, they saw another alcatraz coming from the west, and sailing eastward, and abundance of fishes with gilt backs appeared, whereof they struck one with a harping-iron. A rabo de junco flew by them, and they found that the currents for those last days were not so regularly fixed as they used to be before, but turned with the tide, and there were not so many weeds as before. On Friday following, all the ships took some fishes with gilt backs, and on Saturday they saw a rabo de junco, which though it be a sea-fowl does not rest on it, but flies always in the air, pursuing the alcatrazes, till it makes them drop their excrement for fear, which it catches in the air for its nourishment; and thus it maintains itself on the sea; and it is reported there are many of them about the islands of Cabo Verde. Soon after they saw two other alcatrazes, and abundance of flying fishes, which are about a span long, and have two little wings like a bat; they fly about a pike high from the water, and a musket-shot in length, more or less, and sometimes they drop upon the ships. After noon they saw abundance of weeds lying in length north and south, as they had done before, besides three alcatrazes and a rabo de junco that pursued them.

On Sunday morning four rabo de juncoes came to the ship, by reason of whose coming so together, it was thought the land was nearer, especially because soon after there flew by four alcatrazes, and abundance of weeds were seen in a line lying west-north-west and east-south-east, and also a great number of those fishes, they call emperadores, which have a very hard skin, and are not fit to eat. How much soever the admiral regarded these tokens, yet he never forgot those in the heaven, and the course

course of the stars. He therefore observed in this place, to his great admiration, that the Charles-wain at night appeared in the west point, and in the morning they were directly north-east, by which he gathered that their whole night's course was but three lines, or nine hours, that is, so many parts of twenty-four; and this he made out every night. He also perceived, that at night-fall the compass varied a whole point to the north-west, and at break of day it came right with the star. These things confounded the pilots, till he told them the cause of it was the compass the star took about the pole, which was some satisfaction to them; for this variation made them apprehend some danger in such an unknown distance from home, and such strange regions.

CHAP. XXI. — *How they saw not only the aforementioned Signs and Tokens, but others, better than they, which were some Comfort to the Men.*

ON Monday the 1st of October, after sun-rising, an alcatraz came to the ship, and two more about ten in the morning, and long streams of weeds lay from east to west. That day in the morning, the pilot of the admiral's ship said they were five hundred and seventy-eight leagues west of the island Ferro: the admiral said, by his account, they were five hundred and eighty-four leagues; but in private he concluded it was seven hundred and seven, which is one hundred and twenty-nine leagues more than the pilot reckoned. The other two ships differed very much in their computation, for the pilot of the caraval Ninna on Wednesday following, afternoon, said they had sailed five hundred and forty leagues, and the other of the caraval Pinta said six hundred and thirty-four. Adding all they had sailed during those three days, they were still much short of truth; for they went always before the wind, and had run much more. But the admiral, as has been said, winked at this gross mistake, that the men might not be quite dejected, being so far from home. The next day, being the 2d of October, they saw abundance of fish, caught a small tunny, and saw a white bird, and many other small ones, and the weeds they saw were withered and almost fallen to powder. The next day after, seeing no birds, but some fish, they mistrusted they had left some islands on both hands, and were slipped between without discovering them; guessing that those many birds they had seen were passing from one island to another. They were very earnest to steer either one way or the other, to seek out those lands they imagined; but the admiral would not consent, being unwilling to lose the fair wind that carried him away to westward, which he accounted his surest course; and besides, because he thought it was lessening the reputation of his undertaking, to run from one place to another, seeking that which he always affirmed he well knew where to find. For this reason the men were ready to mutiny, continuing to mutter and conspire against him: but it pleased God, as was said above, to assist him by the means of fresh tokens; for on Thursday, the 4th of October, afternoon, above forty sparrows together, and two alcatrazes, flew so near the ships that a seaman killed one of them with a stone; and before this they had seen another bird like a rabo de junco, and another like a swallow, and a great many flying-fishes fell into the ships. Next day there came a rabo de junco and an alcatraz from the westward, and abundance of sparrows were seen. On Sunday the 7th of October, about sun-rising, some signs of land appeared westward, but being imperfect, no man would speak of it, not so much for the shame that would follow of asserting what was not, as for fear of losing thirty crowns a year, Their Catholic Majesties had promised for life, to him that should first discover land; and to prevent their crying land, land, at every turn, as they might

do without cause, at every turn, out of covetousness of that allowance, it was ordered that whosoever said he saw land, if it were not made out in three days after, should lose the reward, though afterwards he should prove the first discoverer. All aboard the admiral being thus forewarned, none of them durst cry out land; but those in the caraval Ninnà, which was a better sailer, and kept a-head, believing it to be certainly land, fired a gun, and put out their colours in token of land. But the farther they sailed, the more their joys vanished, till that appearance quite vanished, though it pleased God soon after to give them some manner of comfort, for they saw great flights of great fowl, and others of small land-birds, flying from the west towards the south-west. Therefore the admiral being now so far from Spain, and sure that such small birds would not go far from land; he altered his course, which till then was west, and stood to the south-west, saying, that if he changed his road, it was because he deviated but little from his first design, and because he would follow the example of the Portuguese, who had discovered most of their islands by means of such birds, and the more because those they saw followed almost the same way. He had always proposed to himself to find land according to the place they were then in; since as they well knew, he had often told them, he never expected to find land till he was seven hundred and fifty leagues to the westward of the Canaries; within which distance he had farther said, he should discover Hispaniola, which he then called Cipango; and there is no doubt but he had found it, had not he known it was reported to lie in length from north to south: for which reason he had not inclined more to the south to run upon it, and therefore that and others of the Caribbee islands lay now on his larboard-side, south of him, whither those birds were directing their course. Being so near to land was the reason they continually saw such abundance of birds; and on Monday the 8th of October, there came to the ship twelve singing birds of several colours, and after flying a turn about the ship, they held on their way. They also saw from the ships many other birds flying towards the south-west; and that same night abundance of large fowls were seen, and flights of small birds coming from the northward, and flying after the rest. Besides, they saw a good number of tunny fish. In the morning they spied a jay, an alcatraz, ducks and small birds, flying the same way the others had done; and they perceived the air to be fresh and odoriferous, as it is at Seville in April. But they were now so eager to see land, that they had faith in no signs whatsoever: so that though on Wednesday the 10th of October, they saw abundance of birds pass by both day and night, yet the men did not cease to complain, nor the admiral to blame their want of courage: declaring to them, that right or wrong they must go on in discovering the Indies Their Catholic Majesties had sent them to.

CHAP. XXII. — *How the Admiral discovered the first Land, which was an Island called De Los Lucayos.*

THE admiral being no longer able to withstand so many as opposed him, it pleased God that on Thursday the 11th of October, afternoon, the men took heart and rejoiced, having manifest tokens that they were near land, which were, that those aboard the admiral saw a green rush swim by the ship, and then a great green fish of that sort that goes not far from the rocks. Those aboard the caraval Pinta saw a cane and a staff, and took up another staff curiously wrought, and a small board, and abundance of weeds fresh washed away from the banks. Those in the caraval Ninnà saw other such like tokens, and a branch of a thorn full of red berries, which seemed to be newly

newly broke off. By these tokens, and reason itself, the admiral being assured he was near land, at night, after prayers, he made a speech to all the men in general, putting them in mind how great a mercy it was that God had brought them so long a voyage with such fair weather, and comforting them with tokens which every day were plainer and plainer; therefore he prayed them to be very watchful that night, since they well knew that in the first article of the instructions he gave each ship at the Canary islands, he ordained that when they had sailed seven hundred leagues to the westward, without discovering land, they should lie by from midnight till day. Therefore, since they had not yet obtained their desires in discovering land, they should at least express their zeal in being watchful. And forasmuch, as he had most assured hopes of finding land that night, every one should watch in his place; for besides the gratuity their highnesses had promised of thirty crowns a year for life, to him that first saw land, he would give him a velvet doublet. About ten at night, as the admiral was in the great cabin, he saw a light ashore but as it was so blind he could not affirm it to be land, though he called one Peter Gutierrez, and bid him observe whether he saw the said light, who said he did; but presently they called one Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, to look that way, but he could not see it, because he came not up time enough where it might be seen; nor did they see it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a candle or torch belonging to some fisherman or traveller, who lifted it up and let it fall down; or perhaps that they were people going from one house to another, because it vanished and suddenly appeared again; so that few would guess but that they were near land. Being now very much upon their guard, they still held on their course, till about two in the morning the caraval *Pinta*, which being an excellent sailer was far a-head, gave the signal of land, which was first discovered by a sailor whose name was Roderick de Triana being two leagues from shore. But the thirty crowns a year was not granted by their catholic majesties to him, but to the admiral, who had seen the light in the midst of darkness, signifying the spiritual light he was then spreading in those dark regions. Being now near land, all the ships lay by, thinking it a long time till morning, that they might see what they had so long desired.

CHAP. XXIII. — *How the Admiral went ashore and took possession for Their Catholic Majesties.*

DAY appearing, they perceived it was an island, fifteen leagues in length, plain, without hills, and full of green trees and delicious waters, with a great lake in the middle, inhabited by abundance of people, who ran down to the shore astonished and admiring at the sight of the ships, believing them to be some living creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the Christians less hasty to know them, whose curiosity was soon satisfied, for they soon came to an anchor; the admiral went ashore with his boat well armed, and the royal standard displayed, as did the captains of the other two ships in their boats, with their particular colours of this enterprize, which were a green cross with an F. on the one side, and on the other the names of Ferdinand and Isabel, or Elizabeth crowned. Having all given thanks to God, kneeling on the shore, and kissed the ground with tears of joy, for the great mercy received, the admiral stood up, and called that island *St. Salvador*. After that he took possession for Their Catholic Majesties, in the usual words, and with the solemnity proper in those cases; abundance of the natives that were come out being present,

present, and consequently the Christians admitted him as admiral and viceroy, and swore to obey him as representing their Highnesses' persons, and with such expressions of joy as became their mighty success, all of them begging his pardon for all the affronts they had done him through their fear and irresolution. Abundance of the Indians being come down to this rejoicing, and the admiral perceiving they were peaceable, quiet, and very simple people, he gave them some red caps, and strings of glass beads, which they hung about their necks, and other things of small value, which they valued as if they had been stone of high price.

CHAP. XXIV. — *The Manners and Customs of those People, and what the Admiral saw in that Island.*

THE admiral being gone off to his boats, the Indians followed him to them and to the ships swimming, and others in their canoes, carrying parrots, bottoms of spun cotton, javelins, and other such trifles to barter for glass beads, bells, and other things of small value. Like people in their original simplicity, they went naked as they were born, and a woman that was among them had no other clothing. Most of them were young, not above thirty years of age; of a good stature; their hair lank, thick, very black and short, being cut above their ears, except some few who had let it grow down to their shoulders, and had tied it with a strong thread about their head like women's tresses. Their countenances were pleasant, and their features good, but their too high foreheads made them look somewhat wild. They were of a middle stature, well shaped, plump, but of an olive colour like the people of the Canaries, or peasants that are sun-burnt. Some were painted with black, some with white and others with red; some only the faces, others the whole body, and others nothing but the eyes and nose. They had no weapons like our men, nor knowledge of them; for when the Christians shewed them a naked sword, they took it simply by the edge. Nor had they any knowledge of iron, and therefore they made their javelins we mentioned of wands, with the points hardened at the fire, arming them with a fish bone instead of iron. Some of them having scars of wounds about them, and being asked by signs how they came by them, they answered by signs that people came from other islands to take them away, and they received those wounds in their own defence. They seemed ingenious and of a voluble tongue, for they easily repeated the words they once heard. There was no sort of creatures there but parrots, which they carried to barter among the other things we have spoke of, and, in this trade they continued till night. Next day, being the 13th of October, in the morning many of them came down to the shore and went aboard in their boats called canoes, which were made of one piece, being the body of a tree hollowed like a tray. The biggest of them were so large, they contained forty or forty-five men, and so less and less, till some would hold but one. They rowed with a paddle like a baker's peel, or those they use in dressing hemp; true it is, that the oars are not fixed on the side with pins to turn as ours are, but they dip them in the water, and pull back as if they were digging. These canoes are so light and so artificially built, that if they overset they soon turn them right again, swimming, and empty the water by throwing the water from side to side like a weaver's shuttle; and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dried calabashes cut in two, which they carry for that purpose. That day they brought such things to barter for as they had the day before, giving all they had for any small things they could get. Jewels or any sort of metal were not seen among them, except some small plates of gold

gold which hung at their nostrils; and being asked whence they had that gold, they answered by signs towards the south, where there was a King who had abundance of pieces and vessels of gold, expressing that towards the south and south-west, there were many other islands and large countries. Being very covetous of any thing of ours, and being themselves but poor, and having nothing to give in exchange, as soon as they came aboard, if they could lay their hands on any thing, though it were but a piece of a broken earthen glazed dish or porringer, they leaped into the sea and swam ashore; and if they brought any thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling thing of ours, or bit of broken glass, so that some of them gave sixteen bottoms of cotton for three small pieces of Portuguese brass coin not worth a farthing; these bottoms weighed twenty-five pounds, and the cotton was very well spun. Thus they spent the day, and at night they all went ashore. It is to be observed, that their liberality in dealing did not proceed from the great value they put upon those things themselves which they had of our men, but because they valued them as being ours, looking upon it as most certain that our men were come down from heaven, and therefore they earnestly desired to have something left them as a memorial.

CHAP. XXV. — *How the Admiral departed from that Island, and went to discover others.*

NEXT Sunday, being the 15th of October, the admiral run along the coast of the island, towards the north-west, in his boats, to discover something about it; and that way he went, he found a large bay or harbour capable of containing all the ships in Christendom. The people seeing him scour along, ran after, along the shore, crying out, and promising to give him provisions, calling others to come to see the people dropped from heaven upon earth, and lifted up their hands to heaven, as it were giving thanks for their coming. Many of them swimming, or in their canoes, as best they could, came to the boats, asking by signs, whether they were come down from heaven, and praying them to land and rest themselves. The admiral gave them all glass beads, pins, and other trifles, rejoicing at their great simplicity, till he came to a peninsula, which made a good port, and where a good fort might be made. There he saw six houses of the Indians with gardens about them, as pleasant as they are in Castile in May. But his men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the land he looked for, nor so beneficial, as that he should make any longer stay there, he took seven of those Indians to serve him as interpreters; and returning to his ships, sailed for other islands that could be discovered from the peninsula, and appeared to be plain, green, and very populous, as the Indians themselves affirmed. The next day being Monday, the 16th of October, he came to one that was seven leagues from the other, and called it St. Mary of the Conception. That side of this island next St. Salvador extended north-west five leagues in length, but the admiral went to that side which lies east and west, and is above ten leagues in length; and being come to an anchor towards the west, landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the people of the island ran together to see the Christians, admiring as the others had done. The admiral perceiving this was the same thing as the last, the next day, being Tuesday, sailed westward to another island considerably bigger, and anchored upon the coast of it, which runs north-west and south-east, above twenty-eight leagues. This was like the others, plain, had a fine strand, and was called Fernandina. Before they came to this island, and that of the Conception, they found

found a man in a small canoe, who had a piece of their bread, and a calabash of water, and a little earth like vermillion, wherewith those people paint their bodies, as was said above, and some dry leaves, which they value, as being of a sweet scent and wholesome; and in a little basket he had a string of beads of green glass, and two small pieces of Portuguese money, by which it was guessed that he was come from St. Salvador, that he had passed by the Conception, and was going to Fernandina to carry news of the Christians: but because the way was far and he weary, he came to the ships, was taken up with his canoe, and courteously treated by the admiral, designing as soon as he came to land to send him ashore, which he did, that he might spread the news. The good account he gave caused the people of Fernandina to come aboard in their canoes, to exchange the same sort of things the others had done before, for these people were like the rest; and when the boat went ashore for water, the Indians very readily showed where it was, and carried a small cask-full on their shoulders to fill the hogheads in the boat. They seemed to be a wiser and discreeter people than the first, and as such bargained harder for what they exchanged, had cotton cloth in their houses, and bed-clothes; and the women covered their privities with short hanging cotton cloths, and others with a sort of swathe. Among other notable things they saw in that island, were some trees which seemed to be grafted, because they had leaves and branches of four or five several sorts, and yet were natural. They also saw fishes of several shapes and fine colours, but no sort of land creatures but lizards and snakes. The better to discover the island, they sailed away north-west, and came to an anchor at the mouth of a beautiful harbour, at the entrance whereof was a small island, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little water; nor did they much care, because they would not be far from a town that appeared at a distance: for in the biggest island they had yet seen they had not found above twelve or fifteen houses together, built like tents, in which they saw no other ornaments or moveables but what they carried to the ships to exchange. Their beds were like a net, drawn together in the nature of a sling tied to two posts in their houses, in which they lie. Here they saw some dogs like mastiffs, and others like beagles, but none of them barked.

CHAP. XXVI. — *How the Admiral sailed by other Islands that were in sight where he was.*

FINDING nothing of value in this island Fernandina, on Friday the 19th of October they sailed away to another, called Saomoto, to which he gave the name of Isabella, to proceed regularly in his names; for the first which the Indians called Guanabani he called St. Salvador, or St. Saviour, in honour of God, who had shewed it, and delivered him from many dangers. The second, for his particular devotion, to the conception of the Virgin Mary, and because she is the great patroness of Christians, he called St. Mary of the Conception; the third he called Fernandina, in honour of the Catholic King; and the fourth Isabella, in memory of the Catholic Queen; and the next after it which was Cuba, he styled Joanna, in respect to Prince John, heir of Castile, having in these names regard to both spirituals and temporals. True it is, that as to goodness, extent, and beauty, he said this Fernandina far exceeded the others; for besides that it abounded in delicious waters, pleasant meadows and trees, among which were many aloes; there were in it some hills, which the others wanted, being very plain. The admiral enamoured with its beauty, and to perform the ceremony of taking possession, landed upon some meadows as pleasant and delightful as they are in Spain in April; and there was heard

heard the singing of nightingales and other birds so sweet that he could scarce depart. Nor were they only about the trees, but flew through the air in such swarms that they darkened the sun, and most of them differed much from our birds. There being abundance of water and lakes, near to one of them they saw a sort of alligator, seven feet long; and above a foot wide in the belly, which being disturbed by our men threw itself into the lake; but it not being deep they killed it with their spears, not without dread and admiration, because of its fierce and frightful look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a dainty, it being the best food the Indians had, forasmuch as when that horrid skin and the scales that cover it are taken off the flesh is very white and very delicious; the Indians call them yvanas. Being very desirous to know more of that country, and it being then late, they left that creature for the next day, when they killed another, as they had done the first; and travelling up the land found a town, the people whereof fled, carrying away as much of their goods as they could. The admiral would not suffer any thing of what they had left to be taken away, lest they should look upon the Christians as thieves. Therefore their fear being soon over, they came of their own accord to the ships to barter as the others had done.

CHAP. XXVII. — *How the Admiral discovered the Island of Cuba; and what he found there.*

THE admiral having learned the secrets of the island Isabella, its product, and the manners of the people, would lose no more time among those islands, because they were many and like one another, as the Indians said. He therefore set sail with a fair wind for a very large country much applauded by them all, called Cuba, which lay towards the south, and on Sunday the 28th of October, he came up with the coast of it on the north side. This island at first sight appeared to be better and richer than those before-named, as well by reason of the beauty of its hills and mountains, as for the variety of trees, the large plains, and the greatness and extent of its coasts and rivers. Therefore to get some knowledge of its people, he came to an anchor in a large river, where the trees were very thick and tall, adorned with fruit and blossoms, differing from ours, and where there were abundance of birds, the place most delicious, for the grass was high, and nothing like ours; and though there were several sorts of herbs known to us, yet the great variety made our men not know them. Going to two houses that were not far off, they found the people were fled for fear, and had left their nets and all other fishing-tackle, and a dog that did not bark. As the admiral had ordered, nothing was touched, for it was enough for him at present to see what their food and necessaries were. Returning to their ships they held on their course westward, and came to another river, which the admiral called de Mares, or of seas. This much exceeded the other, because a ship could turn it up, and the banks were much inhabited; but the people seeing the ships, fled towards the mountains, which appeared, and were high, round, and covered with trees and pleasant plants, whither the Indians conveyed all they could carry away. The admiral being disappointed, by the people's fear, of learning any thing of the nature of the island, and considering if he landed with many men it would increase their terror, he resolved to send two Christians, with one of the Indians he brought from St. Salvador, and with one of that country, who ventured to come aboard in his canoe. These he ordered to travel up into the country, making much of the natives they met by the way; and that no time might be lost whilst they were going, he ordered the ship to be laid ashore to careen her, where they observed that all the fire they made was mastick, whereof there was plenty all the country over. This tree is in all respects like our mastick-tree, but much bigger.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *How the two Christians returned, and the Report they made of what they had seen.*

THE ship being repaired and ready to sail, the Christians returned with two Indians on the 5th of November, saying they had travelled twelve leagues up the land, and came to a town of fifty pretty large houses, all of timber covered with straw, and made after the manner of pavillions, like the others; that they contained about one thousand people, because all that were of one family lived in a house; that the principal men of the place came out to meet them, and led them by the arms to their town, giving them one of those great houses to lodge in, where they made them sit down upon seats made of one piece, in strange shapes, and almost like some creature that had short legs, and the tail lifted up to lean against, which is as broad as the seat, for the conveniency of leaning, with a head before, and the eyes and ears of gold. These seats they call *duchi*, where the Christians being seated, all the Indians sat about them on the ground, and then came one by one to kiss their hands and feet, believing they came from heaven; and they gave them some boiled roots to eat, not unlike chestnuts in taste; earnestly entreating them to stay there among them, or at least to rest themselves five or six days, because the two Indians they took with them gave those people an excellent character of the Christians. Soon after many women coming in to see them the men went out, and these with no less respect kissed their feet and hands, offering them what they brought. When their time came to return to the ships many Indians would go along with them, but they would admit only of the king, his son and one servant, whom the admiral did much honour to; and these Christians told him that in their way out and return they had found several towns, where they were entertained with the same courtesy, but that there were not in them above five houses together; besides, that by the way they met many people, who always carried a lighted firebrand, to light fire and perfume themselves with certain herbs they carried along with them, and to roast some of those roots they gave them, so far as that was their principal food. They also saw very many sorts of trees and plants, which were not to be seen about the sea-coast; and great variety of birds far differing from ours, but that among them there were partridges and nightingales. As for four-footed creatures they had seen none, but dumb dogs. That there was a great deal of tilled land, some sowed with those roots, a sort of beans, and a sort of grain they call *maize*, which was well tasted, baked or dried, and made into flour. They saw vast quantities of cotton well spun, in bottoms, in so much that in one house only, they saw above twelve thousand five hundred pounds of it. The plants it comes from are not set but grow naturally about the fields like roses, and open of themselves when they are ripe, but not all at the same time; for upon one and the same plant they had seen a little young bud, another open, and a third coming ripe. Of these plants the Indians afterwards carried great quantities aboard the ships, and gave a basket-full for a thong of leather; yet none of them make use of it to clothe themselves, but only to make nets for their beds, which they call *hamacs*, and in weaving aprons for women to cover their nakedness. Being asked whether they had gold or pearls, or spice, they made signs that there was great plenty towards the east, in a country they called *Bohio*, which is the island of *Hispaniola*, but it is not yet certainly known what place they meant.

CHAP. XXIX. — *How the Admiral desisted from following the western Coast of Cuba, and turned eastward towards Hispaniola.*

THE admiral having this account, and resolving to stay no longer in that river, ordered some natives of that island to be taken, designing to carry some from all parts into Spain to give an account of his country; and accordingly twelve were seized, men, women and children, and this so peaceably, and without any disturbance, that when they were ready to sail with them, the husband of one of the women, and father of two children that had been carried aboard, came to the ships in a canoe desiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his wife and children, which extremely pleased the admiral, who ordered he should be received, and they all well used and made much of. That same day, being the 13th of November, he came about to the eastward, designing for the island they called Bohio. The wind blowing hard at north, he was forced to come to an anchor again in the same island of Cuba, among some high islands lying near a large port, which he called del Principe, or the Prince's port, and the sea Our Lady's. These islands lay so thick and close, there was not above a quarter of a league distance between them at farthest, and but a musket-shot for the most part. The channels were so deep, and so well adorned with trees and greens, that it was very delightful going among them; and among the multitude of other trees there were abundance of mastic, aloes and palm, the trunk green and smooth, and other plants of sundry sorts. And though these islands were not inhabited, yet there appeared the tokens of many fires made by fishermen; for as it afterwards appeared, the people of Cuba went together in great number in their canoes over to these islands, and abundance more that lie hereabouts uninhabited, and live upon the fish they catch, upon birds, crabs, and other things they find on the earth; forasmuch as generally the Indians eat abundance of filthy things, such as great spiders, worms that breed in rotten wood and other corrupt places, and abundance of fish almost raw; for as soon as taken, before they roast it, they dig out the eyes to eat, and many other such things they feed on, which besides that they are nauseous, would kill any of us should we eat them. They follow this fishing and birding according to the season, sometimes in one island, sometimes in another, as one that changes his diet, being weary of the last. But to return to the islands of Our Lady's Sea: in one of them the Christians, with their swords, killed a beast like a badger, and in the sea found much mother of pearl; and casting their nets, among many other sorts of fish they caught, one was like a swine, all covered with a very hard skin, no part whereof was soft but the tail. They also observed that in this sea and the islands the tide swelled and fell much lower than in other places where they had been till then, and their tides were quite contrary to ours, for it was low water when the moon was south-west and by south.

CHAP. XXX. — *How the Admiral set sail again eastward for Hispaniola, and one of the Ships forsook him.*

ON Monday the 19th of November the admiral departed from the Prince's port in Cuba, and the sea of Our Lady, steering eastward for the island of Bohio and Hispaniola, but the wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the island Isabella, which the Indians call Somoto: and the said Prince's port, which lie almost north and south, about twenty-five leagues distant, in which sea he still found long traces of these weeds he had seen in the ocean, and he perceived they swam along
the

the current and never lay athwart it. During this time Martin Alonzo Pinzon, being informed by certain Indians he had concealed aboard his caraval, that in the island Bohio, which he said was Hispaniola, there was great plenty of gold; covetously blinding him, on Wednesday the 21st of November, he went away from the admiral without any stress of weather or any other occasion, for he could have come up to him before the wind, but would not; and so making as much way as possibly he could, his vessel being an excellent sailer, he made forwards all Thursday, whereas they had failed in sight of one another all the day before, and night coming on he quite vanished. Thus the admiral was left only with two ships, and the weather not being fit for his vessels to sail over towards Hispaniola he was forced to return to Cuba, to another port not far from the Prince's, which he called St. Catharine's, there to take in wood and water. In this port he accidentally saw signs of gold on some stones in the river where they were watering, and up the country there were mountains full of such tall pine trees as would make masts for the biggest ships. Nor was there any want of wood for planks to build as many ships as they would, and among them oaks and others like those in Castile. But perceiving that all the Indians directed him to Hispaniola, he run along the coast ten or twelve leagues farther towards the south-east, meeting all the way excellent harbours and many large rivers. The admiral says so much of the delightfulness and beauty of that country, that I have thought fit here to set down his own words, speaking of the mouth of the river, which makes a harbour by him called Puerto Santo, or holy harbour. Thus he says, "When I went with the boats before me to the mouth of the harbour towards the south, I found a river up whose mouth a galley could easily row, and the way up it was such, that it was not to be discovered but close by; the beauty of it invited me to go up a boat's length, where I found from five to eight fathom water; and proceeding, I went a considerable way up the river in the boats; because as well the beauty and delightfulness of the river and the clearness of the water, through which I could see the sand at the bottom; as the abundance of palm-trees of several sorts, the finest and highest I had yet met with; the other, infinite number of large green trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This country, most Serene Princes, is so wonderfully fine, as far exceeds all other beauty and delightfulness, as the day in brightness exceeds the night. Therefore I often told my companions, that though I should never so much endeavour to give your Highnesses a perfect account of it, my tongue and pen would always fall short of the truth. And to say the truth, I was astonished to see so much beauty, and know not how to express it; for I have writ of the other countries, of their trees and fruits, of the plants and ports, and of all that belonged to them, as largely as I was able, yet not as I ought, since all men affirmed it was impossible any other country could be more delicious. Now I am silent, wishing this may be seen by others, who will write of it, that they may prove how little credit is to be got more than I have done in writing or speaking of that place, considering what it deserves." The admiral going on with his boats saw a canoe among the trees in the port, drawn upon land under a bower, which canoe was made of the body of one tree, and as big as a twelve-oar barge, and in some houses hard by they found a ball of wax and a man's scull in two baskets hanging at a post. The same they afterwards found in another house; which made our men judge they were the sculls of the founders of those houses. No people appeared to receive any information of, for as soon as ever they saw the Christians they fled from their houses to other parts. Afterwards they found another canoe about seventy feet long, that would carry fifty persons, made like the other we spoke of before.

CHAP. XXXI. — *How the Admiral sailed over to Hispaniola, and what he saw there.*

THE admiral having sailed one hundred and six leagues eastward along the coast of Cuba came to the east point of it, which he called Alpha, and on Wednesday the 5th of December struck off to sail over to Hispaniola, distant sixteen leagues from Cuba eastward, and by reason of some currents could not reach it till the next day, when he put into Port St. Nicholas, so called by him in memory of that saint whose festival was that day. The port is large, deep, safe, and encompassed with many tall trees, but the country is more rocky, and the trees are less, that is, like those of Castile, among which there were small oaks, myrtle, and other shrubs, and a pleasant river ran along a plain towards the port, all about which there were large canoes like fifteen-oar barges. The admiral not being able to meet with any of those people, ran along the coast northward, till he came to a port he called the Conception, which lies almost due south of a small island about the bigness of Gran Canaria, which was afterwards called Tortuga. Perceiving that this island Bohio was very large, and that the land and trees were like those of Spain; and that at one draught of a net they had taken several fishes, like those of Spain, as soles, salmon, pilchards, crabs, and some others, therefore on Sunday the 9th of December, they gave it the name of Espannola, as called in English, Hispaniola. All of them being very desirous to enquire into the nature of this island; whilst the men were fishing on the shore, three Christians travelled along the mountain, and lighted on a company of Indians, as naked as those they had seen before, who seeing the Christians draw near them, in a great fright ran into the thickest of the wood, as having no clothes to hinder them. The Christians, to get some information, ran after them, but could only overtake a young woman, who had a plate of gold hanging at her nose. She was carried to the ships, where the admiral gave her several baubles, as bells and glass, and then sent her ashore, without the least disgust offered her, ordering three Indians of those he brought from the other islands to go with her, and three Christians, to the town where she dwelt. The next day he sent eleven men ashore well armed, who having travelled four leagues, found a sort of town or village of above one thousand houses, scattered about a valley, the inhabitants whereof seeing the Christians, all fled to the woods. But the Indian guide, whom our men brought from St. Salvador, went after them, and said such things to them of the Christians, affirming they were people come from heaven, that he persuaded them to turn back quietly and without any fear. Afterwards full of astonishment, they would lay their hands on our men's heads by way of honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they desired, without asking any return, praying them to stay that night in their village. The Christians would not accept of the invitation, but returned to their ships, carrying the news that the country was very pleasant, abounding in their provisions: that the people were whiter and handsomer than any they had yet seen in the other islands, and that they were tractable and courteous, and told them the country where the gold was found lay farther eastward. The admiral hearing this account, set sail immediately, though the wind was contrary, and on Sunday following, being the 15th of December, as he was plying between Hispaniola and Tortuga, he found one Indian alone in a little canoe, which they all wondered was not swallowed by the sea, the wind and the waves were so high. He took him into the ship, carried him to Hispaniola and set him ashore with several gifts. He told the Indians how kindly he had been used, and spoke so well of the Christians that abundance of them came presently aboard, but they brought nothing of value, except some small grains of gold hanging at their ears

and nostrils, and being asked whence they had that gold, they made signs there was a great deal higher up. The next day there came a great canoe from the island Tortuga, which was near the place where the admiral lay at anchor, with forty men in it, at such time as the Cacique or lord of that port of Hispaniola was upon the shore, bartering a plate of gold he had brought. When he and his saw the canoe, they all sat themselves down upon the ground, as a sign they would not fight. Immediately almost all those in the canoe landed, against whom the Cacique of Hispaniola got up alone, and with threatening words made them return to their canoe. Then he threw water after them, and taking up stones off the strand, cast them into the sea towards the canoe. But when they were all in submissive manner returned to their canoe, he took up a stone and delivered it to one of the admiral's officers, to throw at those in the canoe, to express that he took the admiral's part against the Indians, but the officer did not throw, seeing they presently went off in their canoe. After this, discoursing about the affairs of that island, which the admiral had called Tortuga, he affirmed there was more gold in it than in Hispaniola, and that in Bohio there was more than in any other, which was about fifteen days journey from the place where they were.

CHAP. XXXII. — *How the Principal King of the Island came aboard, and of the State he came in.*

ON Tuesday the 18th of December, the King that came the day before, where the canoe of Tortuga was, and who lived five leagues from the place where the ships lay, came in the morning to the town near the sea, some of the Spaniards at the same time being there by the admiral's order, to see whether they brought any more gold. These seeing the King come, went to acquaint the admiral, saying he brought above two hundred men along with him, and that he came not a foot, but was carried on a sort of palanquine by four men with great respect, though he was very young. This King being at a small distance from the ships, having rested a little, drew near with all his men, concerning which, the admiral himself writes thus: "There is no doubt but your Highnesses had been very much pleased to have seen his gravity, and the respect his people paid him, though all naked. When he came aboard, and understood I was under deck, being then at dinner, he surprised me, sitting down by me, without giving me time to go out to receive him, or rise from table. When he came down he made signs to all his followers to stay above, which they did with great respect, sitting down upon the deck, except two ancient men that seemed to be his counsellors, that sat down at his feet. They said this man was a Cacique. I ordered such meat as I was eating to be brought him; they just tasted of every thing, and sent the rest to their men, who all eat of it. The same they did as to drinking, for they only kissed the cup and gave it about. They were all wonderful grave, and spoke but few words, and those they uttered, by what I could gather, were very deliberate and staid. The two old men observed the King's mouth, and spoke for and to him. After eating, one of his gentlemen with great respect brought him a girdle, not unlike those used in Castile, though differently wrought, which he took in his hand, and gave me with two pieces of wrought gold very thin. Of which gold I believe there is little here, and I guessed that place was near to where they took it, which produced very much. I believing he would like a carpet or counterpane that lay on my bed, gave it him, together with some fine amber beads I had about my neck, with a pair of red shoes and a bottle of orange-flower water, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and both he and his counsellors expressed much concern because they did not understand me,

them, though I made out, that if I wanted any thing, all the island was at my command. I presently brought out a letter-case, in which I carried a gold medal weighing four ducats, on which your Highnesses' effigies are cut, and showed it him, saying over again, that your Highnesses were mighty Princes, and possessed the best part of the world, and shewed him the royal standard, and the other of the cross, which he made great account of. Therefore turning to his counsellors, he said, your Highnesses were certainly mighty Princes, since you had sent me so far as from heaven thither, without any fear. Much more passed between us, which I did not understand, but perceived they admired at every thing they saw; but it being then late, and he desiring to be gone, I sent him ashore very honourably in my boat, and caused several guns to be fired, and he being ashore got into his palanquine, attended by above two hundred men, and a son of his was carried on a man of note's shoulders. He ordered all the Spaniards that were ashore to have meat given them, and to be very courteously used. Afterwards, a sailor that met him on the way, told me that every one of the things I had given him, were carried before him by a man of great worth, and that his son went not along with him on the road, but at some distance behind him, with as many more attendance as he had, and a brother of his on foot, with near as many more, two great men leading him under the arms, to whom I had given some small matters when he came aboard after his brother."

CHAP. XXXIII. — *How the Admiral lost his Ship upon the Flats through the Carelessness of the Sailors, and the Assistance he received from the King of that Island.*

THE admiral continuing the relation as above, says, that on Monday the 24th of December, the weather was very calm, without any wind hardly, but so much as carried him from St. Thomas's sea to Punta Santa, or the holy Cape, off which he lay by about a league, and about eleven o'clock at night he went to take his rest, for he had not slept in two days and a night; and the weather being calm, the seaman that was at the helm, left it to a grummet, "which (says the admiral) I had forbid, during the whole voyage, bidding them, whether the wind blew or not, never to leave the helm to a grummet. And to say the truth, I thought myself safe from flats and rocks; for that Sunday I sent my boats to the King, they went at least three leagues and a half beyond the said Punta Santa; and the seamen had viewed all the coast, and the shoals that lie three leagues east-south-east of that Cape, and observed which way to sail, which I had not done during the voyage; and it pleased our Lord, that at midnight, seeing me gone to bed, and we being in a dead calm, and the sea as still as the water in a dish, all the men went to rest, leaving the helm to a grummet. Thus it came to pass, that the current easily carried away the ship upon one of those shoals, which, though it was night, made such a roaring noise, that they might be heard and discovered a league off. Then the fellow who felt the rudder strike and heard the noise, began to cry out, and I hearing it, got up immediately; for none had yet perceived that we were aground. Presently the master, whose watch it was, came out, and I ordered him and other sailors to take the boat, and carry out an anchor astern; whereupon he and others leaped into the boat, and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they rowed away, flying with the boat to the other caraval, which was half a league off. I then perceiving they ran away with the boat, that the water ebbed, and the ship was in danger, caused the masts to be cut down, and lightened her as much as I could to see to get her off; but the water still ebbing, the caraval could not budge, but turning athwart the streams, the seams opened, and all below deck was full of water. Meanwhile the

boat returned from the caraval to relieve me ; for the men aboard perceiving the boat fled, would not receive it, which obliged it to return to the ship. No hopes of saving the ship appearing, I went away to the caraval to save the men ; and because the wind blew from the land, and great part of the night was spent, and yet we knew not which way to get from among those flats ; I lay by with the caraval till day appeared, and then I drew towards land within the shoals, having first sent James de Arana the provost, and Peter Gutierrez, your Highnesses secretary, to acquaint the King with what had happened, telling him, that as I was going to visit him in his own port, as he had desired the last Saturday, I had lost my ship opposite to his town, and a league and a half from it upon a flat. The King understanding it, with tears in his eyes, expressed much grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place, with many large canoes. So they and we began to unload, and in a short time carried off all that was upon deck. The assistance this King gave was great ; and afterwards he himself, with his brothers and kindred, took all possible care both aboard and ashore, that all things might be done orderly ; and from time to time he sent some of his kindred weeping to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I do assure your Highnesses, better order could not have been taken in any part of Castile, to secure our things ; for we lost not the value of a pin, for he caused all our clothes to be laid together near his palace, where he kept them till the houses were voided, which he had appointed for us. He placed armed men to keep them, who stood there all day and all night, and all the people lamented, as if our loss had concerned them much ; so loving, tractable, and free from covetousness they are, that I swear to your Highnesses, there are no better people, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbour as themselves, and their conversation is the sweetest in the universe, being pleasant and always smiling. True it is, both men and women go as naked as they were born ; yet, your Highnesses may believe me, they have very commendable customs, and the King is served with great state ; and he is so staid, that it is a great satisfaction to see him, as it is to think what good memories these people have, and how desirous they are to know every thing, which moves them to ask many questions, and to enquire into the cause and effects of every thing."

CHAP. XXXIV. — *How the Admiral resolved to plant a Colony where the King resided, and called it the Nativity.*

ON Wednesday the 26th of December, the chief King of that country came aboard the admiral's caraval, and expressing much grief and sorrow, comforted him, offered all he would have, and saying he had already given the Christians three houses to lay up all they got out of the ship, and that he had given them many more, had they stood in need of them. In the meantime a canoe came with some Indians from another island, bringing some plates of gold to exchange for bells, which they valued above any thing. Besides the seamen came from shore, saying abundance of Indians resorted from other places to the town, who brought several things in gold and gave them for points, and other things of small value, offering to bring much more if the Christians would. Which the great Cacique perceiving was pleasing to the admiral ; he told him he would cause a great quantity to be brought from Cibao, a place that yielded much gold. Being ashore, he invited the admiral to eat axis and cazabi, which is their principal diet, and gave him some vizor masks, with the eyes, nose and ears of gold, and other pretty things, which they hung about their necks. Then complaining of the Caribbes, who carried away his men to make slaves and eat them ;
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he was much comforted, when the admiral comforting him, shewed him our weapons, saying, he would defend him with them. He was much astonished at our cannon, which so terrified them, that they fell down as if they were dead, when they heard the report. The admiral therefore finding so much kindness among those people, and such signs of gold, almost forgot the grief conceived for the loss of his ship; thinking God had permitted it that he might fix a colony there, and leave Christians to trade, and get farther knowledge of the people and country, learning the language, and conversing with the natives, that when he returned from Spain with succours, he might have some body to direct him in his affairs, for peopling and subduing that country. To this he was the more inclined, because many voluntarily offered themselves to stay and inhabit there. For this reason he resolved to build a tower with the timber of the ship that was wrecked, whereof he lost no part, but made use of it all. To forward his design, the next day being Thursday, the 27th of December, news was brought, that the caraval Pinta was in a river towards the east point of the island. To be assured of it, the Cacique, whose name was Guacanagari, sent a canoe with some Indians, who carried a Christian thither: he having gone twenty leagues along the coast, returned without any news of it; which was the reason that no credit was given to another Indian, who said he had seen her some days before. Nevertheless the admiral did not alter his resolution of leaving some Christians in that place, who were all still more sensible of the goodness and wealth of the country, the Indians bringing masks and other things of gold to give them, and telling them of several provinces in the island where it was found. The admiral now being ready to depart, and discoursing with the King concerning the Caribbes, or Canibals, of whom they complained and were in great dread, therefore to please him with leaving some Christians there, and at the same time make him afraid of our arms, he caused a gun to be fired against the side of the ship, which shot quite through it, and the bullet fell into the water, which not a little terrified the Cacique. Besides, he shewed him all our other weapons, and how they offended with them, and defended themselves, telling him, that since such weapons were left to defend him, he needed not to fear the Caribbes, for the Christians would destroy them all, and he would leave them for his guard, and return himself to Castile for jewels and other things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him James de Arana, son to Roderic de Arana of Cordova, of whom mention has been made above. To him, and Peter Gutierres and Roderic de Eskovedo, he left the government of the fort, and command of thirty-six men, with abundance of commodities, provision, arms and cannon, and the boat that belonged to the ship, with carpenters, bulkers, and all other necessities for settling there, also a surgeon, gunner, and such like persons. This done he prepared with all possible speed to return directly to Castile, without making any more discoveries, fearing, since he had but one ship left, lest some other misfortune might befall him, which might hinder their Catholic Majesties from coming to the knowledge of those kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

CHAP. XXXV. — *How the Admiral set out to return to Spain, and found the other Caraval commanded by Pinzon.*

ON Friday the 4th of January, at sun-rising, the admiral set sail, with the boats a-head, standing north-west, to get out of shoal water, that was about the port where he left the Christians, by him called the port of the Nativity, because on Christmas day he had landed, escaping the danger of the sea, and begun to build that colony.

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Those flats reach from Cape Santo to Cape Serpe, which is six leagues, and run out above three leagues to sea, and all the coast north-west and south-east is an open strand, and plain for four leagues up the country, where there are then high mountains, and abundance of large villages, in comparison of what is in the other islands. Then he sailed towards a high mountain, which he called Monte Christo, and lies eighteen leagues east of Cape Santo. So that whosoever would come to the city of the Nativity, when he discovers Monte Christo, which is round like a pavillion, and looks almost like a rock, must keep out at sea two leagues from it, and sail west till he comes to Cape Santo, when the city of the Nativity will be five leagues from him; and he must pass through certain channels among the flats, which lie before it. The admiral thought fit to mention these marks, that it might be known where the first habitation of Christians was in those western parts. Having sailed east of Monte Christo with contrary winds, on Sunday the 6th of January, in the morning, a sailer from the round top discovered the caraval Pinta that was sailing westward, right before the wind. As soon as it came up with the admiral, Martin Alonzo Pinzon, the captain, coming aboard the admiral's caraval, began to shew some reasons, and give excuses for his leaving of him, saying it had happened against his will. The admiral, though he very well knew the contrary, and was satisfied of the man's evil inclination, remembering his bold manner of proceeding before in the voyage, yet connived at him, and bore with all, for fear of ruining his undertaking, which might easily have been done, because most of his crew were Martin Alonzo's countrymen, and several of them his relations. And the truth is, that when he forsook the admiral, which was at Cuba, he went away with a design to sail to the island Bohio, because the Indians aboard his caraval told him, there was abundance of gold there. When he was there and found nothing of what had been told him, he was returning towards Hispaniola, where other Indians had told him there was much gold, and thus he had spent twenty days in sailing not above fifteen leagues east of the Nativity, to a river which the admiral called of Grace, and there Martin Alonzo had lain sixteen days, and had got gold enough, as the admiral had done at the Nativity, giving things of small value for it. Of this gold he distributed one half among his crew, to gain and please them, that he as captain might keep the rest, and afterwards he would persuade the admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his way to come to an anchor at Monte Christo; the weather not permitting him to proceed farther, he went in his boat up a river south-west of the mount, where in the sand he discovered signs of gold dust, and therefore called it the River of Gold. This river lies seventeen leagues east of the Nativity, and is not much less than the river Guadalquivar that runs by Cordova.

CHAP. XXXVI. — *Of the first Skirmish between the Christians and Indians, which happened about the Gulf of Samana in Hispaniola.*

ON Sunday the 13th of January, being near the cape called Enamorado, or the Lover's Cape, the admiral sent the boat ashore, where our men found some Indians with fierce countenances on the shore, with bows and arrows, who seemed to be ready to engage, but at the same time were in a consternation. However, having some conference with them, they bought two of their bows and some arrows, and with much difficulty prevailed to have one of them go aboard the admiral. Their speech was suitable to their fierceness, which appeared greater than any people they had yet met with had shown; for their faces were all daubed over with charcoal, it being the custom

custom of all those people to paint themselves, some black, some red, and some white; some one way, and some another; their hair was very long, and hung in a bag made of parrots' feathers. One of them standing before the admiral, as naked as he was born, as all the others there till then discovered were, he said in a lofty tone, they all went so in those parts. The admiral thinking this was one of the Caribbes; and that the bay parted them from Hispaniola, he asked of him where the Caribbes dwelt who pointed with his finger, in another island eastward, and that there were pieces of Guanin, as big as half the stern of the caraval; and that the island Matinino was all inhabited by women, with whom the Caribbes went and lay at a certain time of the year; and if afterwards they brought forth sons, they gave them to the fathers to carry away. Having answered to all the questions put to them, partly by signs, and partly by that little the Indians of St. Salvador could understand of their language, the admiral gave them to eat, and some baubles, as glass beads, and green and red cloth, which done, he sent them ashore, that they should cause gold to be brought if the others had any. The boat being ashore, they found on the shore among the trees fifty-five of them, all naked with long hair, as the women in Spain wear it, and behind on the crown of the head, they had plumes of parrots or other birds feathers, and all of them armed with bows and arrows. When our men landed, the Indian that had been aboard made the others lay down their bows and arrows, and a great cudgel they carry instead of a sword; for, as has been said, they have no iron at all; when they came to the boat, the Christians stepped ashore, and having begun to trade for bows and arrows by order of the admiral, the Indians who had already sold two, not only refused to sell any more, but with scorn, made as if they would seize the Christians, and run to their bows and arrows where they had left them, taking up with them ropes to bind our men; they being upon their guard seeing them come in that fury, though they were but seven, fell courageously upon them, and cut one with a sword on the buttock, and shot another with an arrow in the breast. The Indians astonished at the resolution of our men, and the wounds our weapons made, fled most of them leaving their bows and arrows; and many of them had been killed, had not the pilot of the caraval, who commanded the boat, protected them. The admiral was not at all displeased at this skirmish, imagining these were the Caribbes all the other Indians so much dreaded, or that at least they bordered on them, they being a bold and resolute people, as appeared by their aspect, arms, and actions, and he hoped that the islanders hearing how seven Christians had behaved themselves against fifty-five fierce Indians of that country, they would the more respect and honour our men that were left behind at the Nativity, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about evening, they made a smoke at land to show their courage; wherefore the boat went again to see what they would have, but they could never be brought to venture themselves, and so the boat returned. The bows were of yew, almost as big as those in France and England, the arrows of small twigs growing out of the ends of the canes, which are massive and very strait, about the length of a man's arm and a half; the head is made of a small stick hardened at the fire, about a quarter of a yard and half long, at the end whereof they fix a fish's tooth, or bone, and poison it. For this reason the admiral gave that gulph the name of Golpho de Flechas, that is, Gulph of Arrows, whereas the Indians called it Samana. There appeared a great deal of fine cotton and axi, which is the pepper they use, and is very hot, some of it long and some round. Near land, where there was little water, grew abundance of those weeds our men saw in long strings upon the ocean, whence they concluded it all grew near land, and when ripe, broke loose, and was carried out to sea by the current.

CHAP. XXXVII. — *How the Admiral set out for Spain, and the Caraval Pinta was parted from him in a great Storm.*

ON Wednesday, the 16th of January 1493, the admiral set forward with a fair wind from the aforesaid Gulf of Arrows, now called Samana, towards Spain, because now both the caravals were very leaky, and they took much pains to keep them up: Cape Santelmo being the last land they saw; twenty leagues north-east of it there appeared abundance of weeds, and twenty leagues still farther they found all the sea covered with small tunny fishes, whereof they saw great numbers the two following days, which were the 19th and 20th of January, and after them abundance of sea fowls, and all the way the weeds ran with the current in long ropes, lying east and west; for they had already found, that the current takes those weeds a great way off, and that they keep not on long in the same way; for sometimes they go one way, and sometimes another; and this they saw almost every day, till they were almost half seas over. Holding on their course with a fair wind, they made so much way, that in the opinion of the pilots, on the 9th of February, they were south of the islands Azores, but the admiral said they were one hundred and fifty leagues short, and this was the truth, for they still found abundance of weeds, which as they went towards the Indies, they did not see till they were two hundred and sixty-three leagues west of the island of Ferro. As they sailed on thus with fair weather, the wind began to rise more and more every day, and the sea to run so high, that they could scarce live upon it. For which reason, on Thursday the 14th of February, they drove which way soever the wind would carry them; and the caraval Pinta, commanded by Pinzon, not being able to lie athwart the sea, run away due north, before the south wind, the admiral steering north-east to draw nearer to Spain, which the caraval Pinta could not do, by reason of the darkness, though the admiral had always his light out. Thus when day appeared, they had quite lost sight of one another, each looking upon it as most certain that the other was lost; therefore betaking themselves to prayers and religious acts, those aboard the admiral's cast lots, which of them should go in pilgrimage for the whole crew to our lady of Guadalupe, which fell to the admiral. Afterwards they drew for another to go to Loretto, and the lot fell upon one Peter de Villa, a seaman of Port St. Mary. Then they cast lots for a third, who was to watch a night at St. Olive of Moguer, and the storm still increasing, they all made a vow to go barefoot and in their shirts at the first land they came to, to some church of our Lady. Besides these general vows, several others were made by private men, because the tempest was now vehement, and the admiral's vessel could scarce withstand it for want of ballast, which was fallen short, the provisions being spent. To supply which want, they thought convenient to fill the vessels in the ship with seawater, which was some help, and made the ship bear more upright, and be in less danger of oversetting. Of this violent storm, the admiral has these words. "I had been less concerned for the tempest, had I alone been in danger; for I know I owe my life to the Supreme Creator, and because I have been other times so near death, that only the least part was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely grieved and troubled me was the consideration, that as it had pleased our lord to give me faith and assurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been successful; so now that those who opposed it were to be convinced, and Your Highnesses served by me with honour and increase of your mighty state, his Divine Majesty should please to obstruct all this by my death, which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loss of all those men I had carried with me, upon promise of

happy

happy success. They seeing themselves in that affliction did not only curse their setting out, but the fear and awe my persuasions infused into them, to dissuade their return when outward bound, as they had several times resolved to do. But above all my sorrow was double, when I remembered two sons I had left at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a strange country, before I had done, or at least could be known to have done any service, which might be believed to incline Your Highnesses to remember them. And though on the one side I comforted myself with the faith, that our Lord would not permit a thing which was so much for the exaltation of his church, to be left imperfect, when I had, with so much opposition and trouble, almost brought it to perfection: yet on the other side I considered, it was his will, that because of my demerits he would not permit me to obtain such honour in this world, but snatched it from me. Being in this inward confusion, I remembered Your Highnesses good fortune, which though I were dead, and the ship lost, might find some means that a conquest so near achieved should not be lost, and that it was possible the success of my voyage should by some means or other come to your knowledge. For this reason, as briefly as the time would permit, I writ upon parchment, that I had discovered those lands, I had promised, as also in how many days, and what way I had done it. the goodness of those lands the nature of the inhabitants and how Your Highnesses subjects were left in possession of all I had discovered; which writing folded and sealed, I superscribed to Your Highnesses, promising in writing upon it one thousand ducats to him, that should deliver it sealed to you; to the end, that if any foreigners found it, the promised reward might prevail with them, not to give that intelligence to another. Then I caused a great cask to be brought to me, and having wrapped the writing in an oiled cloth and then put it into a cake of wax, I dropped it into the cask, and having stopped the bung close, cast it into the sea, all the men fancying it was some act of devotion. And apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the ship still sailing nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, and placed it at the top of the poop, to the end that when the ship sunk, the cask might take its chance, remaining still above water."

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *How the Admiral arrived at the Islands Azores, and the People of the Island of St. Mary took away his Boat and the Men in it.*

SAILING on in such mighty danger, and so great a storm, on Friday the 15th of February, at break of day. one Ruy Garcia, from the round top, saw land bear east-north-east from them. The pilot and seamen judged it was the rock of Lisbon, but the admiral concluded it was one of the islands Azores, and though they were at no great distance from it, yet they could not come to an anchor that day because of the weather. Thus plying about because the wind was east, they lost sight of the island and discovered another, about which they ran struggling against wind and weather, with continual labour and no respite, not being able to get to land. Wherefore the admiral in his journal says, "On Saturday the 16th of February I arrived at one of those islands at night, and by reason of the bad weather, could not tell which of them it was. That night I took a little rest, because from Wednesday till then, I had never slept, and was lame of both my legs, having been continually in the open air and wet; nor was it little that I suffered by provisions. Upon Monday morning, being at an anchor, I understood from some of the inhabitants, that it was the island of St. Mary, one of the Azores, and all of them admired I had escaped, considering the terrible storm, which had held for fifteen days without intermission in those parts."

These people understanding what the admiral had discovered, seemed to rejoice, giving praise to God, and three of them came aboard with some fresh provisions and many compliments from the commander of the island, who was far from thence at the town; for about this place there was nothing to be seen but a hermitage, which, as they said, was dedicated to the blessed virgin. Thereupon the admiral and all his crew remembering they had made a vow the Thursday before, to go barefoot and in their shirts, the first land they came at, to some church of our lady; they were all of opinion they ought here to perform it, especially it being a place where the people and governor expressed so much affection and tenderness for our men, and belonging to a King who was so great a friend to him of Castile. Therefore the admiral desired those three men to repair to the town, and cause the chaplain to come that had the keys of the hermitage, that he might say mass there. These men consenting, they went into the caraval's boat, with half the ship's crew, that they might begin to perform their vow, and being come back, the rest might go to do their part. Being landed barefooted and in their shirts, as they vowed to do, the governor, with abundance of people from the town, who lay in ambush, on a sudden rushed out upon them and made them prisoners, taking their boat, without which he thought the admiral could never get away from him.

CHAP. XXXIX. — *How the Admiral weathered another Storm, and at last recovered his Boat and Men.*

THE admiral thinking they stayed too long, who were gone ashore in the boat, it being then noon, whereas they went off by break of day, he suspected some misfortune had befallen them, either at land or at sea. Therefore, not being able from the place where he lay to discover the hermitage they were gone to, he resolved with his ship to sail about a point, whence the church could be seen. Being come near, he saw abundance of people a horseback, who dismounting, went into the boat to attack the caraval. The admiral therefore, mistrusting what might happen, ordered his men to be in readiness, and armed, but make no shew of resistance, that the Portuguese might come the nearer. When they were near the admiral, the captain of them stood up, demanding to parley, which the admiral granted, thinking he would come aboard, and might be secured without breach of faith, since he had seized his men without provocation. But the Portuguese durst not come nearer than to be heard, when the admiral told him, he admired at his irregular manner of proceeding, and that none of his men came in the boat, since they were gone ashore upon a safe conduct, and offers of relief, especially since the governor himself had sent to welcome him. He therefore desired him to consider, that besides his doing an action which enemies would not be guilty of, and against the laws of honour, the King of Portugal would be highly offended at it, whose subjects were, when they landed in the dominions of Their Catholic Majesties, or resided there, made much of, and treated with all manner of civility, and were safe without any safe conduct, as if they were in Lisbon, besides that Their Highnesses had given him letters of recommendation to all Princes, potentaries, and other persons in the world, which he should shew if he drew near. Therefore since such letters were received with respect in all parts, and he and the King's subjects well treated on their account, much more they ought to be so in Portugal, their Princes being so near neighbours and allies; especially he being their great admiral of the ocean and vice-roy of the Indies he had discovered, all which he was ready to shew him under Their Highnesses hands and seals. Accordingly at that distance

distance he shewed his commissions, and told him he might draw near without any apprehension; forasmuch as in regard to the peace and amity betwixt Their Catholic Majesties and the King of Portugal, they had commanded him to pay the utmost civility to such Portuguese ships as he met; adding, that though he should obstinately persist in keeping his men, yet that would not prevent his returning to Spain, he having still men enough to sail to Sevil, and to do him harm, if need were, whereof he himself would be the occasion, and such punishment would be adjudged well deserved of him; besides that his King would punish him, as giving cause for a war between him and Their Catholic Majesties. The captain and his men answered, that they neither knew Their Catholic Majesties, nor their letters, nor did they fear them, and would make him know what Portugal was. By this answer the admiral suspected, there had some breach happened between the two crowns since his departure, and therefore gave him such an answer as his folly deserved. At last, when they were parting, the captain stood up, and at a great distance said, he might go to the harbour with his caraval, for that all he did was by order of the King his master. The admiral hearing it, called all that were aboard to bear witness, and calling to the captain and Portuguese, swore he would never go off the caraval, till he had taken an hundred Portuguese, to carry them into Castile, and to destroy all that island. This said, he again came to an anchor in the port, where he was at first, the weather obliging him to it. But the next day the wind still increasing, and the place where he lay being unsafe, he lost his anchors, and was forced to stand out to sea, towards the island of St. Michael, where, in case he could not come to an anchor, he had resolved to run it out at sea, not without much danger, as well because the sea ran high, as by reason he had but three able seamen left, and some grumets, all the rest being landmen, and Indians, who understood nothing of sea affairs. But supplying the want of the absent in his own person, he passed that night with much labour and danger, till day appearing, perceiving he had lost sight of the island of St. Michael, and that the weather was calmer, he resolved to return to the island of St. Mary, to endeavour to recover his men, anchors, and boat. He came up with it on Thursday the 21st of January, afternoon, and soon after the boat came off with five men and a notary, who all, upon security given them, went aboard and lay there that night, it being late. The next day they said they came from the captain to know for certain whence the ship came, and whether it had the King of Spain's commission, which being made out, they were ready to show them all manner of friendship, which they did because they could not seize the ship nor the admiral, and that they might suffer for what they had done. The admiral suppressing his resentment said, he thanked them for their civil offers, and since they proceeded according to the maritime laws and customs, he was ready to satisfy them; and accordingly showed them the King of Spain's general letter of recommendation, directed to all his subjects and those of other Princes, as also his commission for that voyage; which the Portugueses having seen, they went ashore satisfied, and soon dismissed the seamen, with their boat, of whom they understood it was reported in the island, that the King had sent orders to all his subjects to secure the person of the admiral by any means whatsoever.

CHAP. XL. — *How the Admiral sailed from the Islands Azores, and was forced into Lisbon by a Storm.*

ON Sunday the 24th of February, the admiral sailed from the island of St. Mary for Spain, being in great want of wood and ballast, which he could not take in, because

because of the bad weather, though the wind was fair for his voyage. Being an hundred leagues from the nearest land, a swallow came into the ship, which, as was believed the storm had drove out to sea, which appeared more plainly, because the next day being the 28th of February, a great many more swallows and land fowl came aboard, and they saw a whale. On the 3d of March the tempest was so great, that after midnight it split their sails; wherefore being in great danger of their lives, they made a vow to send one in pilgrimage to our lady de Cinta at Guelva, whither he was to go barefoot, and in his shirt. The lot fell again upon the admiral, God showing thereby, that his offering were more acceptable than those of others; besides which, other private vows were made. Thus running on without a rag of cloth, but bare masts, a mighty sea, high winds and frightful thunder, each of which seemed enough to destroy the caraval, it pleased God to give them sight of land, about midnight, which offered no less danger than the rest; for to avoid being beaten to pieces, and running into some place where they knew not how to get off, they were forced to make some sail, to bear up against the storm till day, which appearing, they found they were upon the rock of Lisbon. The admiral was forced to put in there, to the great astonishment of the people of that country, and their seamen, who ran from all parts to behold as it were some wonder, a ship that had escaped so terrible a storm; having received news of many ships that had perished about Flanders, and in other countries of late days. He came to an anchor in the river of Lisbon upon Monday the 4th of March, and presently sent away an express to Their Catholic Majesties with the news of his arrival, and another to the King of Portugal, asking leave to go up to anchor before the city, the place where he was not being safe against any that should design to do him harm, upon pretence, it was done by the King's order, as believing by his ruin they might obstruct the King of Spain's success.

CHAP. XLI. — *How the People of Lisbon came to see the Admiral, as a Prodigy; and he went to visit the King of Portugal.*

ON Tuesday the 5th of March, the master of a great guard ship that lay in the harbour, came with his boat full of armed men to the admiral's caraval, requiring him to come along to give an account of himself to the King's officers, as was practised by all ships that came into the harbour. He answered, that the King of Spain's admirals, as he was, were not obliged to obey any such summons, nor to quit their ships, to give any account of themselves, and he was resolved to do his duty. The master bid him at least to send his boatswain. The admiral replied, it was still the same thing, whether he sent a grummet, or went himself, and therefore it was in vain to desire him to send any body. The master being sensible he was in the right, desired him at least to show him the King of Spain's letter, that might satisfy his captain: this being but reasonable, the admiral showed him Their Catholic Majesties letter, with which he was satisfied, and went back to his ship to give an account of what had happened to Alvaro de Acunna his captain, who came immediately with trumpets, fifes, drums, and great state aboard the admiral, expressing much kindness, and offering his service. The next day, it being known at Lisbon that the ship came from the Indies, such throngs of people went aboard to see the Indians, and hear news, that the caraval could not contain them, and the water was covered with boats, some of them praising God for so great a happiness, and others storming that they had lost that discovery, through their King's incredulity; so that day was spent with great concourse of people. The next day the King ordered his officers to present the admiral

with all sorts of refreshment, and all things he stood in need of either for himself, or his men, without asking any pay. At the same time he writ to the admiral, congratulating his happy arrival, and desiring, since he was in his dominions, he would come to see him. The admiral was doubtful what to do in this case, but he considered the King was in amity with Their Catholic Majesties, and had treated him courteously; and besides, to take off all suspicion that he came from his conquests, he consented to go to Valparaíso, nine leagues from Lisbon, where the King was, whither he came on Saturday night, being the ninth of March. The King ordered all the nobility of his court to go out to meet him, and being come into his presence, did him great honour, commanding him to put on his cap, and sit down, and having with a cheerful countenance heard the particulars of his prosperous voyage, offered him all he stood in need of, for the service of Their Catholic Majesties, though he thought, that forasmuch as he had been a captain in Portugal, that conquest belonged to him. To which the admiral answered, that he knew of no such agreement, and that he had strictly observed his orders, which were not to go to the mines of Portugal, nor to Guinea. The King said, all was well, and he doubted not but justice would be done. Having spent a long time in this sort of discourse, the King commanded the prior of Crato, the greatest man then about him, to entertain the admiral, and shew him all civility and respect, which was done accordingly. Having staid there all Sunday and all Monday, till after mass, the admiral took leave of the King, who expressed great kindness, and made him great proffers, ordering D. Martin de Noronha to go along with him, and many other gentlemen went for company to honour him, and hear an account of his voyage. As he was thus on his way to Lisbon, he passed by a monastery, where the Queen then was, who sent earnestly to intreat him he would not pass by without seeing her. She was much pleased to see him, and did him all the favour and honour that was due to the greatest lord. That night a gentleman came from the King, to the admiral, to let him know that if he pleased to go by land into Spain, he would attend him, provide lodgings all the way, and furnish him all necessaries, as far as the borders of Portugal.

CHAP. XLII. — *How the Admiral left Lisbon to return to Castile by Sea:*

ON Wednesday the 13th of March, two hours after day, the admiral set sail for Seville, and on Friday following at noon arrived at Saltes, and came to an anchor in the port of Palos, whence he had set out on the 3d of August the foregoing year 1492, seven months and eleven days before his return. He was there received by all the people in procession, giving thanks to God for his prosperous success, which, it was hoped, would redound so much to the propagation of Christianity, and increase of Their Catholic Majesties dominions; all the inhabitants of that place looking upon it as a great matter that the admiral set out from thence, and that most of the men he had with him belonged to it, though many of them, through Pinzon's fault, had been mutinous and disobedient. It happened that when the admiral came to Palos, Pinzon was arrived in Galicia, and designed to go by himself to Barcelona, to carry the news to Their Catholic Majesties, who sent him orders not to go thither without the admiral, with whom he had been sent to discover, at which he was so concerned and offended, that he returned indisposed, to his native country, where within a few days he died for grief: but before he got to Palos, the admiral set out for Seville, designing thence for Barcelona, where Their Catholic Majesties were; and he was forced to stay a little by the way, though but never so little, to the great admiration of the people

people wheresoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring towns, down to the roads to see him, the Indians, and other things he brought. Thus holding on his way he got to Barcelona about the middle of April, having before sent Their Highnesses an account of the happy success of his voyage, which was extraordinary pleasing to them, and they ordered him a most solemn reception, as to a man that had done them such singular service. All the court and city went out to meet him; and Their Catholic Majesties sat in public with great state, on rich chairs under a canopy of cloth of gold; and when he went to kiss their hands, they stood up to him as to a great lord, made a difficulty to give him their hands, and caused him to sit down. Having given a brief account of his voyage, they gave him leave to retire to his apartment, whither he was attended by all the court; and he was so highly honoured and favoured by their Highnesses, that when the King rode about Barcelona, the admiral was on one side of him, and the Infante Fortuna on the other; whereas before, none went by his majesty but the said Infante, who was his near kinsman.

CHAP. XLIII. — *How it was resolved that the Admiral should return with a powerful Fleet to people the Island Hispaniola, and His Holiness's Approbation of the Conquest was obtained.*

ORDERS were given at Barcelona, with great care and expedition for the admiral's return to Hispaniola, as well to relieve those that were left there, as to enlarge the colony and subdue the island, with the rest that were and should be discovered. To make their title to them the stronger, Their Catholic Majesties, by the advice of the admiral, procured the Pope's approbation and consent for the conquest of the said Indies, which Pope Alexander the Sixth, who then governed the church, readily granted; not only for what was already, but for all that should be discovered westward, till it should come to the east, where any Christian Prince was then actually in possession, forbidding all persons in general to intrude within those bounds. The same his holiness confirmed the next year, in very significant terms. And Their Catholic Majesties being sensible that the admiral had been the cause of all this favour granted by the Pope, and that his discovery had entitled them to the possession of all those parts, they were pleased he should be immediately gratified at Barcelona, on the 28th of May, and therefore granted him a new privilege, or rather an exposition, and explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had granted before, and in plain terms declared how far the bounds of his admiralship and viceroyship extended, being over all that which His Holiness had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before, which privileges and prerogatives are as follows.

CHAP. XLIV. — *Privileges and Prerogatives granted by Their Catholic Majesties to the Admiral.*

“FERDINAND and Elizabeth, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Minorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algezira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, count and countess of Barcelona, lord and lady of Biscay and Molina, duke and duchess of Athens and Neopatria, count and countess of Roussillon and Cerdagne, marquess and marchioness of Oristan, and Go-
 &c. : Forasmuch as you, Christopher Colon, are going by our command, with
 of our vessels and men, to discover and subdue some islands and continent in the
 ocean,

ocean, and it is hoped that by God's assistance, some of the said islands and continent in the ocean will be discovered and conquered by your means and conduct, therefore it is but just and reasonable, that since you expose yourself to such danger to serve us, you should be rewarded for it: And we being willing to honour and favour you for the reasons aforesaid, our will is, that you Christopher Colon, after discovering and conquering the said islands and continent in the said ocean, or any of them, shall be our admiral of the said islands and continent you shall so discover and conquer; and that you be our admiral, viceroy and governor in them, and that for the future you may call and style yourself, D. Christopher Colon, and that your sons and successors in the said employment may call themselves dons, admirals, viceroys and governors of them; and that you may exercise the office of admiral, with the charge of viceroy and governor of the said islands and continent, which you and your lieutenants shall conquer, and freely decide all causes civil and criminal, appertaining to the said employment of admiral, viceroy and governor, as you shall think fit in justice, and as the admirals of our kingdoms use to do; and that you have power to punish offenders; and you and your lieutenants exercise the employments of admiral, viceroy and governor in all things belonging to the said offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquisites and salaries belonging to the said employments, and to each of them, in the same manner as the high admiral of our kingdoms does. And by this our letter, or a copy of it signed by a public notary, we command Prince John, our most dearly beloved son, infantes, dukes, prelates, marquesses, great masters and military orders, priors, commendaries, our counsellors, judges, and other officers of justice whatsoever, belonging to our household, courts and chancery, and constables of castles, strong-houses and others; and all corporations, bailiffs, governors, judges, commanders, sea-officers; and the aldermen, common-council, officers and good people of all cities, lands and places in our kingdoms and dominions, and in those you shall conquer and subdue, and the captains, masters, mates and other officers and sailors, our natural subjects now being, or that shall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you shall have discovered the said islands and continent in the ocean; and you, or any that shall have your commission, shall have taken the usual oath in such cases, that they for the future look upon you as long as you live, and after you your son and heir, and so from one heir to another for ever, as our admiral on our said ocean, and as viceroy and governor of the said islands and continent, by you Christopher Colon discovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the employments of admiral, viceroy and governor, as such in all respects, and give you all the perquisites and other things belonging and appertaining to the said offices; and allow, and cause to be allowed you, all the honours, graces, concessions, pre-eminences, prerogatives, immunities and other things, or any of them, which are due to you, by virtue of your commands of admiral, viceroy and governor, and to be observed completely, so that nothing be diminished, and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor suffer it to be made; forasmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, bestow on you the employments of admiral, viceroy and perpetual governor for ever; and we put you into possession of the said offices, and of every of them, and full power to use and exercise them, and to receive the perquisites and salaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was said above. Concerning all which things, if it be requisite, and you shall desire it, we command our chancellor, notaries and other officers to pass, seal and deliver to you our letter of privilege, in such firm and legal manner as you shall require or stand in need of. And that none of them pre-
sume

sume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our displeasure, and forfeiture of thirty ducats for each offence. And we command him who shall shew them this our letter, that he summon them to appear before us at our court, where we shall then be, within fifteen days after such summons, under the said penalty. Under which same we also command any public notary whatsoever, that he give to him that shows it him, a certificate under his seal, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

“ Given at Granada, on the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord 1492. I the King, I the Queen.

“ By Their Majesties' command,

JOHN COLOMA, Secretary to the King and Queen.

“ Entered according to order, RODERIC DOCTOR.

“ Registered, SEBASTIAN DOLANA, }
FRANCIS DE MADRID, } Chancellors.”

“ And now, forasmuch as it has pleased our Lord, that you have discovered several of the said islands, as we still hope you will by his grace discover and find others, and the continent in the said ocean, and those parts of the Indies, and have desired and requested of us, that we would confirm to you our said grant here set down, and all the contents of it, to the end that you and your children, heirs and successors, one after another, and after your days, may have and enjoy the said employments of admiral, viceroy and governor of the said ocean, islands and continent, as well of those you have already found and discovered, as of those you shall for the future find and discover, with all the power, pre-eminence and prerogative, as the admirals, viceroys and governors in our kingdoms of Castile and Leon do enjoy; and that all the perquisites and salaries appertaining and belonging to the said office, and granted and allowed to our admirals, viceroys and governors, may be made good to you; or that we made such provision in this case, as in our goodness we shall think fit. And we having regard to the hazard and danger you have exposed yourself to in our service, in going to discover and find out the said islands, and that which you now run in attempting to find out the other islands and continent, wherein we have been, and hope to be by you well served: to requite and reward you, do, by these presents, confirm to you and your children, heirs and successors, one after another, now and for ever, the said employments of admiral of the said ocean, and viceroy and governor of the said islands and continent by you discovered and found out, and of the other islands and continent, that shall be by you or your industry found or discovered for the future in those parts of the Indies. And it is our will, that you, and after you your children, heirs and successors, one after another, enjoy the said employment of our admiral of the said ocean, which is ours, and commences at a line, we have caused to be drawn from the islands Azores to those of Cabo Verde, and so from pole to pole north and south; so that all beyond the said line westward is ours, and belongs to us. And accordingly we constitute you admiral, and your sons and successors, one after another, of all that part for ever. And we also appoint you our viceroy and governor, and after you, your sons, heirs and successors, one after another, of the said islands and continent discovered and to be discovered, in the said ocean in those parts of the Indies, as has been said; and we grant you the possession of all the said employments of admiral, viceroy and governor for ever, with full commission and authority to use and exercise in the said sea the office of admiral in all those things, and in the same manner and form, and with the rights and privileges, perquisites and salaries, as our admirals of Castile and Leon have and do use, have enjoyed or enjoy, as well in the said islands and continent already discovered, as in those that shall hereafter be

be discovered in the said ocean and said parts of the Indies, that the planters of them all may be better governed. And we grant you such power and authority, that you may, as our viceroy and governor, and your lieutenants, judges, commanders and officers by you created, exercise the civil and criminal jurisdiction, the supreme and mean authority, and the absolute and mixed command. And in those places you may remove, turn out, and put in others in their places, as often as you please, and shall think convenient for our service. And that they have power to hear, judge, and determine all suits or causes, civil or criminal, that shall occur or arise in the said islands or continent; and that they have and receive the fees and salaries usually annexed, and appertaining to those employments in our kingdoms of Castile and Leon. And you our said viceroy and governor may hear and determine all the said causes, and any of them, whensoever you shall please, upon the first motion by way of appeal or complaint, and examine, determine and decide them, as our viceroy and governor; and you and your children may do all that is reasonable in such cases, and all other things appertaining to the office of viceroy and governor, and that you and your lieutenants and officers appointed to this purpose, may take such cognizance, and use such methods as you shall think proper for our service, and the execution of our justice. All which you and they may do and perform lawfully and effectually, as they might and ought to do, had the said officers been appointed by us. But our will and pleasure is, that such letters patent as you shall grant, be drawn and granted in our name, with these words, 'Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile and Leon,' &c. and be sealed with our seal, which we will cause to be given you for the said islands and continent. And we command all the people, inhabitants, and other persons in the said islands and continent, to obey you, as our viceroy and governor of the same; and those that sail on the said seas to obey you as our admiral of the said ocean; and that all of them execute your letters and orders, and take part with you and your officers, for the execution of our justice; and give, and cause to be given you, all the aid and assistance you shall require and stand in need of, upon such penalties as you shall impose on them, which we by these presents do impose on them, and do look upon them as imposed; and do grant you authority to execute them on their persons and goods. And it is also our will, that if you shall find it for our service and the execution of justice, that any persons who shall be in the said islands or continent, depart from them, and do not return nor stay in them, and that they come and appear before us, you may in our name command, and make them depart the said islands. All whom by these presents we command, that they presently perform, execute, and put in practice all that has been said, without looking farther, or asking advice upon it, nor expecting any other letter or command from us, notwithstanding any appeal or petition they shall make or present against your said order. For all which things, and any other due or belonging to the said offices of our admiral, viceroy, and governor, we give you sufficient authority, with all incidents, dependencies, and emergencies to them annexed or inherent. Concerning all which things, if it shall be your will, we do command our chancellor, notaries, and other officers belonging to our seals, that they give, pass, dispatch, and seal you our letter of privilege, made as effective, firm, and strong, as you shall require of them, and stand in need of; and that none of them presume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our displeasure, and of thirty ducats to be paid to our treasury by every one that shall be guilty of the contrary. And besides, we command him that shall shew them this our letter to summon them to appear before us at our court, wheresoever we are, within

fifteen days, upon the said penalty. Under which we command any public notary, that shall be called for such purpose, that he give to him that shall shew it him, a certificate signed under his hand, that we may know how our commands are obeyed.

“ Given in the city of Barcelona, the 28th of May in the year of our Lord 1493.

“ I the King, I the Queen.

“ By Their Majesties’ order,

“ FERDINAND ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO, Secretary to the King and Queen, our Lord and Lady.

“ PETER GUTIERRES, Chancellor, without fees for seal or entry.

“ Delivered, RODERICK DOCTOR.

“ Entered, ALONZO PEREZ.”

CHAP. XLV.—*How the Admiral went from Barcelona to Seville, and set out thence for Hispaniola.*

ALL things necessary for the peopling of those countries being provided, the admiral departed from Barcelona for Seville in June; and being come thither, so diligently solicited the fitting out of the fleet Their Catholic Majesties had ordered him to provide, that in a short time seventeen ships, great and small, were made ready, well stored with provisions, and with all things thought necessary for peopling of those countries; as handicrafts of all sorts, labourers, countrymen to till the land; besides, the fame of gold and other rarities in those countries, had drawn together so many gentlemen, and other persons of worth, that it was necessary to lessen the number, and not to allow so many to go aboard, at least till it appeared in some measure how things would succeed in those parts, and till things were a little settled. Yet was it impossible so much to confine the number of people that went aboard, but that it amounted to fifteen hundred of all sorts; among whom some carried horses, asses, and other beasts, which were afterwards of great use and advantage to the planters in those countries. Being thus furnished, the admiral weighed anchor in the road of Cadiz, where the fleet had been fitted, upon Wednesday the 25th of September, 1493, an hour before sun-rising, my brother and I being there, and stood south-west for the Canary Islands, designing there to take in some necessary refreshment. On the 28th of September, being one hundred leagues from Spain, there came aboard the admiral’s ship abundance of land fowl, turtle-doves, and other sorts of small birds, which seemed to be passing over to winter in Africk, and to come from the Islands Azores. He holding on his course, on Wednesday the 2d of October arrived at Gran Canaria, and came to an anchor; at midnight sailed again for Gomera, where he arrived on the fifth of October; and orders were given for taking up with all speed whatsoever the fleet stood in need of.

CHAP. XLVI.—*How the Admiral, departing from Gomera, crossed the Ocean and discovered the Caribbee Islands.*

ON Monday, the 7th of October, the admiral continued his voyage towards the Indies, having first delivered a commission shut up and sealed, to every ship, commanding them not to open it, unless they were separated from him by stress of weather; for he in those letters giving an account of the course they were to steer, to come to the town of the Nativity in Hispaniola, would not have that course known to any without
great

great need. Thus failing with a fair gale till Thursday the 24th of October, when being four hundred leagues west of Gomera, he yet met with none of the weeds he had seen the first voyage, when he was out about two hundred and fifty leagues, to the great astonishment of them all. That day and the next a swallow flew about the fleet. On Saturday at night the body of St. Elmo was seen, with seven lighted candles on the round top, and there followed mighty rains, and frightful thunder. I mean, the lights were seen, which the seamen affirm to be the body of St Elmo, and they sing litanies and prayers to him; looking upon it as most certain, that in those storms where he appears, there can be no danger. Whatsoever this is, I leave to them; for if we will believe Pliny, when such lights appeared in those times to the Roman sailors in a storm, they said they were Castor and Pollux, whereof Seneca makes mention also at the beginning of his first book of nature. But to return to our history; on Saturday the 2d of November, at night, the admiral perceiving a great alteration in the sky and winds, and taking notice of the mighty rains, he concluded for certain that he was near some land, and for this reason caused most of the sails to be furled, and ordered all to be upon the watch; nor without cause; for that same night, as day began to break, they spied land seven leagues to the westward, which was a high mountainous island; and he called it Dominica, because discovered upon Sunday morning. A while after he saw another island north-east of Dominica, and then another, and another after that, more northward. For which mercy, God had been pleased to bestow on them, all the men assembling in the poop, sung the *Salve regina*, and other prayers and hymns very devoutly, giving thanks to God, for that in twenty days after departing from Gomera, they had made that land, judging the distance between them to be between seven hundred and fifty and eight hundred leagues. And finding no convenient place to come to an anchor on the east side of the island Dominica, they stood over to another island, which the admiral called *Marigalante*, that being his ship's name. Here landing, he with all necessary solemnity again confirmed the possession he had in his first voyage taken of all the islands and continent of the West Indies for Their Catholic Majesties.

CHAP. XLVII. — *How the Admiral discovered the Island of Guadalupe, and what he saw there.*

ON Monday the 4th day of November, the admiral sailed from the Island *Marigalante* northwards, by another great island, which he called St Mary of Guadalupe, for his own devotion, and at the request of the friars of the house of that name, to whom he had made promise to call some island by the name of their monastery. Before he came to it, at two leagues distance, they discovered a very high rock, ending in a point, whence gushed out a stream of water, as thick as a large barrel, which falling made such a noise, that it was heard aboard the ships, though many affirmed it was only a white vein in the rock, the water was so white and frothy by reason of its steep fall. Going ashore in the boat to view a fort of town they saw from the shore, they found no body there, the people being fled to the woods, except some children, to whose arms they tied some baubles to allure their fathers when they returned. In the houses they found geese like ours, and abundance of parrots, with red, green, blue, and white feathers, as big as common cocks. They also found pompions, and a sort of fruit which looked like our green pine-apples, but much bigger, and within full of a solid meat, like a melon, and much sweeter both in taste and smell, which grow on long stalks, like lilies or aloes, wild about the fields, and are better than those that are brought

up by art, as afterwards appeared. They also saw other sorts of fruits and herbs differing from ours; beds of cotton nets, that is, hammocks, bows, and arrows, and other such things, of which our men took none, that the Indians might be the less afraid of the Christians. But what they most admired was, that they found an iron pan; though I believe that the rocks and fire-stones in that country being of the colour of bright iron, a person of but indifferent judgment that found it, without looking farther, took it for iron, though in truth it was not so; for as much as from that day to this, there was never any thing of iron found among those people, nor did I hear the admiral speak of this. And therefore I am of opinion, that he using daily to write down whatsoever happened, and was told him, that he might among other things set down what was told him concerning this particular, by those that were ashore. And though it were of iron, it was not to be admired, because the Indians of the island of Guadalupe, being Caribbees, and making their excursions to rob as far as Hispaniola, perhaps they had that pan of the Christians, or of the other Indians of Hispaniola; and it is possible they might carry the body of the ship the admiral lost, to make use of the iron; and though it were not the hulk of that ship, it must be the remainder of some other wreck, carried thither by the wind and current from our parts. But be it what it will, they that day took neither the pan nor any thing else, but returned to their ships. The next day, which was Tuesday the 5th of November, the admiral again sent two boats ashore, to endeavour to take some body that might give him an account of the country, and inform him how far off, and which way Hispaniola lay. Each of the boats brought back a youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that island, but of another called Borriquen (now St. John), and that the inhabitants of that island of Guadalupe were Caribbees or Canibals, and had taken them prisoners from their own island. Soon after the boats returning to shore, to take up some Christians they had left there, found six women with them, who had fled to them from the Caribbees, and came of their own accord aboard the ships. The admiral to allure the islanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them some glass beads and bells, and made them be set ashore against their wills. This was not done unadvisedly, for as soon as they landed, the Caribbees in the sight of the Christians, took away all the admiral had given them. Therefore either through the hatred they bore the Caribbees, or for the fear they had conceived of those people, awhile after, when the boats returned for wood and water, the said women got into them, begging of the seamen to carry them aboard the ships, and giving them to understand by signs, that those people did eat men, and make slaves of them, and therefore they would not stay with them. So that the men yielding to their entreaties, carried them back to the ships, with two children and a young man that had made his escape from the Caribbees, thinking it safer to put themselves into the hands of people they never saw, and such strangers to their nation, than to remain among those they knew to be wicked and cruel, and who had eaten their husbands and children; and they say they do not kill and eat the women, but keep them as slaves. One of the women told them, that towards the south there were many islands, some inhabited, others not, which both she and the other women, severally called Giamachi, Cairvaco, Huino, Buriari, Arubeira, Sixibei. But the continent, which they said was very great, both they and the people of Hispaniola called Zuanta, because in former times canoes had come from that land to barter, with abundance of lads, of whom they said there were two-thirds in an island not far distant; and they also said, that a king of that country whither they fled, was gone with ten great canoes, and three hundred men, to make incursions into the neighbouring islands, and take people to eat. The same women gave information where the island Hispaniola

niola lay ; for though the admiral had inserted it in his sea-chart ; yet for his farther information, he would hear what the people of that country said of it. He would immediately have sailed that way, had he not been told, that one Captain Mark was gone ashore with eight men, without his leave, before day, and was not yet returned. He was therefore forced to send out to look for him, though in vain ; for by reason of the great thickness of the trees, there could be no discovering of them. Therefore the admiral, that they might not be lost, or be obliged to leave a ship behind to take them in, which might afterwards miss her way to Hispaniola, resolved to stay there till the next day ; and because the country, as has been said, was full of great woods, he ordered them to be sought after again, and that they should carry trumpets and muskets to bring them to the noise. These people having strayed all that day, returned to their ships without finding or hearing any news of them. The admiral therefore seeing it was now Thursday morning, and no news had been heard of them since Tuesday, and that they went without leave, resolved to continue his voyage, or at least make shew of so doing, that it might be a punishment to others, but at the intreaty of some of their kindred and friends, he stayed, and ordered the ships should in the mean while take in wood and water, and the men wash their linen ; and sent Captain Hojeda, with forty men, to look for those that were strayed, and pry into the nature of the country, where he found mastick, aloes, sandal, ginger, frankincense, and some trees in taste and smell like cinnamon, abundance of cotton, and many falcons, and saw two of them pursuing the other birds ; they also saw kites, herons, daws, turtles, partridges, geese, and nightingales, and affirmed that in travelling six leagues, they crossed twenty-six rivers, several whereof were vast deep, which makes me believe, that the country being uncouth, they often crossed the same river. Whilst these were admiring at what they saw, and other companies went about the island, seeking the stragglers, they returned to the ships without being met by any that looked for them, on Friday the 8th of November, saying the thickness of the woods was the cause they had lost themselves. The admiral to punish their presumption, commanded the captain to be cast into irons, and the rest to suffer by retrenching their allowance of provisions. Then he landed and went to some houses, where he saw all the things above-mentioned, especially a great deal of cotton spun and unspun, looms to weave, abundance of men's skulls hung up, and baskets full of mens' bones. These houses they saw were the best, and more plentifully stored with provisions and other things necessary for the use of the Indians, than any others the admiral saw in the islands at his first voyage.

CHAP. XLVIII. — *How the Admiral departed from the Island Guadalupe, and of some Islands he found in his Way.*

• ON Sunday the 10th of November the admiral weighed anchor, and sailed with the whole fleet along the coast of the island Guadalupe, towards the north-west for Hispaniola, and came to the island Monseratte, calling it by that name, because of its height, and understood by the Indians he had with him, that the Caribbees had unpeopled it, devouring the inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to St. Mary Redonda, so called because it is so round and upright, that there seems to be no getting into it without ladders, which the Indians called ocamaniro. Next he came to St. Maria la Antigua, which is above twenty-eight leagues in extent. Still holding on his course north-west, there appeared several other islands towards the north, and lying north-west and south-east, all very high and full of woods, in one of which they cast anchor, and called it St. Martin, where they took up pieces of coral, sticking to the anchor flooks,
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which made them hope they should find other useful things in those countries. Though the admiral was very desirous to know every thing, yet he resolved to hold on his course towards Hispaniola to relieve those he had left there; but the weather being bad, he came to an anchor on Thursday the 13th of November in an island, where he ordered some Indians to be taken, to know whereabouts he was. As the boat was returning to the fleet with four women and three children the men had taken, it met a canoe, in which there were four men and one woman, who perceiving they could not make their escape, stood upon their guard, and hit two of the Christians with their arrows, which they let fly with such force and dexterity, that the woman shot a target quite through; but the boat furiously boarding, the canoe overset, so that they took them all swimming in the water, and one of them swimming, shot several arrows, as if he had been upon dry land. These had their members cut off, for they are taken by the Caribbees in other islands and gelt, as we do to fat capons, that they may be more pleasing to the taste. The admiral departing hence, continued his voyage west-north-west, where he found above fifty islands, which he left to the northward; the biggest of them he called St. Ursula, and the others the Eleven thousand Virgins. Next he came to the island which he called St. John Baptist, but the Indians, Borriquen, and the fleet anchored in a bay on the west side of it, where they took several sorts of fish, as skate, olaves, pilchards, and shads, and saw falcons, and bushes like wild vines. More to the eastward, some Christians went to certain houses well built after their fashion, with a square before them, and a broad road down to the sea, with towers made of cane on both sides, and the top of them curiously interwoven with greens, as is seen in the gardens of Valencia. At the end of it next the sea, was a raised gallery or balcony that could hold ten or twelve people, lofty and well built.

CHAP. XLIX. — *How the Admiral arrived at Hispaniola, where he understood the Spaniards were dead.*

ON Friday the 12th of November the admiral came up with the north side of Hispaniola, and presently sent ashore at Samana one of the Indians born in that part, whom he brought out of Spain, being then converted to our holy faith, who offered to reduce all the Indians to submit to the Christians. The admiral continuing his voyage towards the town of Natal, or the Nativity, when he came to cape Angel, some Indians went aboard to barter their commodities with the Christians. Coming to an anchor in the port of Monte Christo, a boat that went ashore found near a river two dead men, one of them seemed to be young, the other old, who had a rope made of a certain sort of broom, or such like furze that grows in Spain, called esparto, about his neck, his arms extended, and his hands tied to a piece of wood, in the form of a cross; but they could not discern whether they were Christians or Indians, but looked upon it as an ill omen. The next day, being the 26th of November, the admiral sent ashore in several places; the Indians came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Christians, and touching our men's shirts and doublets, said, shirt, doublet, in Spanish, to shew they knew how those things were called; which delivered the admiral from the jealousy he had conceived on account of the dead men; judging that if those people had wronged the Christians left there, they had not come so boldly aboard the ships. But the next day, when he came to an anchor near the town of Navidad, or the Nativity, after midnight, a canoe came to the fleet, and asked for the admiral, and being bid to come aboard, for he was there, they would not do it, saying they were resolved not to go aboard till they saw and knew him. The admiral therefore was forced to come to the ship's side

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to hear them, and then presently two went up with two masks, which they gave to the admiral, from the Cacique Guacanagari, saying, he sent many commendations. They being asked by the admiral concerning the Christians left there, answered, that some of them died of distempers, some parted from their company, and some were gone into other countries; but that all of them had four or five wives, though it appeared by their way of speaking that all or most of them were dead; yet the admiral not thinking fit to take any notice at that time, sent back the Indians, with a present of some things made of latten, and other baubles for Guacanagari and themselves, and so they went away that same night, with the gifts for the Cacique.

CHAP. I. — *How the Admiral went to the Town of Navidad, or the Nativity; found it forsaken and burnt, and had an Interview with King Guacanagari.*

ON Thursday the 28th of November, about evening, the admiral with all his fleet came into the port, before the town of Navidad or the Nativity, found it all burnt, and that day nobody was seen all about there: next day in the morning, the admiral landed very much concerned to see the houses and fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians, but only ragged cloaths and such like things, as is usual in a place plundered and destroyed; and seeing nobody to inquire of, the admiral went with some boats up a river that was hard by. Whilst he was going up it, he ordered the well he had made in the fort to be cleansed, thinking to find gold in it; because at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded those he left behind to throw all the gold they could get into that well, but nothing was found in it; and the admiral that way he went up with his boats could lay hold of no Indian, because they all fled from their houses to the woods. Having therefore found nothing but some of the Christians' cloaths, he returned to Navidad, where he saw eight of the Christians, and three others, in the fields near the town, whom they knew to be Christians by their cloaths, and they seemed to have been dead about a month. The Christians going about to seek some other tokens or writings of the dead, a brother of the Cacique Guacanagari, came with some Indians to talk with the admiral. These could speak some words of Spanish, and knew the names of all the Christians that had been left there, and said that those Spaniards soon began to fall at variance among themselves, and to take every one what gold and as many women as they could; whereupon Peter Gutierrez and Escovedo killed one James, and then they and nine others went away with their women to a cacique, whose name was Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, and killed them all; then many days after came with a great many men to Navidad, where there was only James de Arana, with ten men who had remained with him to guard the fort, all the rest being dispersed about the island. The Cacique Caunabo coming up by night, fired the houses where the Christians lived with their women, for fear whereof they fled to the sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died ashore, whom they shewed. That Guacanagari himself, fighting with Caunabo in defence of the Christians, was wounded and fled. This account agreed with that given by other Christians, sent by the admiral to learn more of the country, who went to a town where Guacanagari lay ill of a wound, which he said had hindered him from waiting on the admiral, and giving him an account of what was become of the Christians; among whom he said, soon after the admiral returned for Spain, there began to be dissension, and every one would barter gold for himself, and take what women he thought fit; and not satisfied with what Guacanagari gave and allowed to be given them, they divided into several parcels, and dispersed some one way and some another, and that some Biscainers join-

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ing together, went where they were all killed ; and this was the truth of what had happened, which they might tell the admiral, desiring him by those same Christians, that he would go see him, because he was in such a condition that he could not leave his house. The admiral did so, going the next day to visit him, and he with great signs of sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his men had been all wounded in defence of the Christians, as appeared by their wounds, which were not given by Christian arms, but with aragayas, or wooden swords, and arrows pointed with fish-bones. This discourse being over, he presented the admiral with eight strings of small beads, made of white, green, and red stones, a string of gold beads, a regal crown of gold, and three little calabashes full of gold sand ; all which might be about four marks weight in gold, each mark being half a pound. The admiral in return, gave him abundance of our baubles, which might be worth three royals, (or 1s. 6d.) and were valued by him above a thousand. Though he was very ill, he would needs go with the amiral to see the fleet, where he was courteously entertained and much pleased to see the horses, of which the Christians had before given him an account. And because some of those that were dead had misinformed him concerning our holy faith, the admiral was forced to instruct him in it, and afterwards would have him wear an image of the Virgin Mary about his neck, which at first he had refused to receive.

CHAP. LI. — *How the Admiral left the Colony of Navidad, and went to found the City which he called Isabella.*

THE admiral reflecting on the disaster of those Christians, and his own misfortune at sea, having lost the men and fort ashore, and his ship upon the water, and that not far off there were better and more commodious places to plant a colony ; on Saturday the 7th of December he sailed with the whole fleet eastward, and about evening cast anchor not far from the islands of Monte Christo, and the next day at Monte Christo, among those seven low little islands, whereof mention has been made already, which, though they are without trees, are nevertheless pleasant ; for in that winter season, they there found flowers, and nests with eggs, others with young birds, and all other things that are seen in summer. Thence he went to anchor before a town of Indians, where, resolved to plant a colony, he landed with all the men, provisions and utensils he brought aboard the fleet, in a plain near a rock, on which a fort might conveniently be built, where he built a town and called it Isabella, in honour of Queen Isabel or Elizabeth. This place was judged very convenient, forasmuch as the port was very large, though exposed to the north-west, and had a most delicate river a bow-shot from it, from which canals of water might be drawn to run through the middle of the town, and beyond was a mighty open plain, from which the Indians said the mines of Cibao were not very remote. * For these reasons the admiral was so eager upon settling the said colony, that what with the fatigue endured at sea, and what he here went through, he not only wanted time to write day by day what happened, according to his custom, but it happened he fell sick, which interrupted his writing from the 11th of December till the 12th of March in the year 1494. During which time, having ordered the affairs of the town the best he could, for affairs abroad he sent one Alonzo de Hojeda, with fifteen men, to seek out the mines of Cibao. Afterwards on the 2d February, twelve ships of the fleet returned to Castille, under the command of one Captain Anthony de Torres, brother to Prince John's nurse, a man of great judgment and honour, and in whom Their Catholic Majesties and the admiral much confided. He had all in writing at large that had happened, as also the nature of the country, and what it required. Not long

long after Hodeja returned, and giving an account of his journey, said, that the second day, after he set out for Isabella, he lay at the pass of a mountain, which was very difficult of access, that afterwards, at every league's distance he found caciques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his journey the sixth day after he set out, he came to the mines of Cibao, where the Indians immediately before him, took up gold in a small river, as they had done in many others of the same province, where he affirmed there was great plenty of gold. This news much rejoiced the admiral, who was then recovered of his sickness, and he resolved to go ashore, to observe the disposition of the country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly on Wednesday the 12th of March 1494, he set out from Isabella for Cibao, to see the mines, with all the people that were in health, both a foot and a horseback, leaving a good guard in the two ships and three caravals that remained of the fleet, and causing all the ammunition and tackle belonging to the other ships to be put aboard his own, that none might rebel with them, as they had attempted to do whilst he was sick. Because many having gone that voyage, upon the belief that as soon as they landed they might load themselves with gold, and so return rich home (which gold wheresoever it is found requires time, trouble, and labour to gather it); the thing not falling out as they expected, being therefore dissatisfied and offended, as also because of the building of the new town, and weary of the diseases, the climate, and change of diet caused among them, they had privately conspired to revolt from the admiral, and taking the ships that remained by force to return in them to Spain. One Bernard de Pifa, who had been an officer of justice at court, and went that voyage in the quality of their Catholic Majesties' comptroller, was the ring-leader and head of these mutineers; therefore the admiral, when informed of it, would not punish him any otherwise than by securing him aboard a ship, with a design to send him afterwards into Spain, with his process drawn up, as well for mutinying as for having writ a false information against the admiral, which he had hid in the ship. Having therefore ordered all these affairs, and having left some persons both at sea and ashore, together with his brother D. James Colon, to look to and secure the fleet, he set forwards towards Cibao, carrying along with him all the tools and necessaries to build a fort, to keep that province under, and secure the Christians left there to gather gold against any attempts or designs of the Indians. And the more to terrify them, and take away all hopes that they might do in the admiral's presence as they had done in his absence with Arana and the thirty-eight Christians left among them, he then carried along with him all the men he could, that they might in their own towns see and be sensible of the power of the Christians, and be sensible that whensoever any wrong was done to one single man of ours travelling through the country, there was a force of men to chastise it. And to appear the more formidable, when he set out for Isabella and other towns, he made his men march with their arms in rank and file as is usual in time of war, and with trumpets sounding and colours flying. In his way, he marched along that river which lay about a musket-shot from Isabella; and a league beyond, he crossed another less river, and went to lie that night three leagues off, in a plain divided into pleasant fields, reaching to the foot of a craggy hill, and about two bow-shots high. This he called Puerto de los Hidalgos, or the Gentleman's Port (the Spaniards call passes on mountains dry ports), because some gentlemen went before to order the road to be made; and this was the first road made in the Indies, for the Indians make their ways broad enough but for one man to pass at a time. Beyond this pass he came into a large plain, over which he travelled five leagues the next day, and went to lie near a great river, which the men passed upon floats and in canoes. This river, which he called of Canes,

fell into the sea at Monte Christo. In his journey he passed by many Indian towns, the houses whereof were round, thatched, and with such a little door, that he who goes in must stoop very low. Here, as soon as some of the Indians brought from Isabella went into the houses, they took what they liked best, and yet the owners were not at all displeased; as if all things were in common. In the like manner, the people of the country coming near to any Christian, would take from him what they thought fit, thinking our things had been as common as theirs. But they were soon undeceived, being told the contrary. In their way they passed over mountains most pleasantly wooded, where there were wild vines, aloes, and cinnamon trees, and another sort that produces a fruit like a fig, and were vastly thick at the foot, but the leaves were like those of the apple tree. Of this sort of tree the scammony is said to come.

CHAP. LII. — *How the Admiral came to the Province of Cibao, where he found the Gold Mines, and built the Castle of St. Thomas.*

ON Friday the 14th of March, the admiral set forward from the river of Canes, and a league and a half from it found a great river, which he called the River of Gold, because in passing it they gathered some grains of gold. Having passed it with some difficulty, he proceeded to a large town, where many of the people fled to the mountains, but most of them fortified their houses, barring their doors with some canes, as if that were a great defence to hinder any body from coming in; for according to their custom, no man dares break in at the door he finds so barred, forasmuch as they have no wooden doors, or other means to shut themselves in, and it seems these bars are sufficient. Hence the admiral went to another fine river, which he called the Green River, the banks whereof were covered with bright round stones, and there he rested that night. Holding on his journey the next day, he passed by some great towns, where the people had put sticks across their doors, like the others above-mentioned, and the admiral and his men being tired, they stayed that night at the foot of a rugged mountain, which he called Port Cibao, forasmuch as the province of Cibao begins beyond the mountain. From this the first mountain they passed was eleven leagues distant, all which distance is a plain, and the way directly south. Setting out the next day, he travelled along a path, where they were forced, with much difficulty, to lead the horses; and thence he sent back some mules to Isabella to bring bread and wine; for they began to want provisions, and the journey was long, and they suffered the more because they were not yet used to the Indian diet, as they are now who live and travel in those parts, who find the food of that country more easy of digestion and more agreeable to that country than what is carried from Europe, though it is not of so great nourishment. Those that went for provisions being returned, the admiral passing over the mountain on Sunday the 16th of March, entered the country of Cibao, which is rough and stony, full of gravel, plentiful of grass, and watered by several rivers, in which gold is found. The further they went into this country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbered with mountains, on the tops whereof there appeared grains of gold sand; for as the admiral said, the great rains carry it down from the tops of the mountains to the rivers in small sand. This province is as big as Portugal, and there are in it abundance of mines, and gold in the brooks; but for the most part there are very few trees, and those along the banks of rivers, and are most of them pines and palms of several sorts. Now Hojeda having, as was said, travelled that country, the Indians had some knowledge of the Christians; so it happened, that what way soever the admiral went, the said Indians came out to
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the road to meet him, with presents of provisions, and some small quantity of gold dust they had gathered, after they understood they came for it. The admiral perceiving he was now eighteen leagues from Isabella, and the country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a fort to be built in a very pleasant and strong place, which he called the castle of St. Thomas, to command the country about the mines, and to be a place of safety for the Christians that went thither. The command of this new fort he gave to D. Peter Margarite, a person of account, with fifty-six men, among whom were workmen of all sorts to build the castle, which was built with clay and timber, that being a sufficient strength to keep out any number of Indians that should come against it. Here breaking ground to lay the foundation, and cutting a rock to make the ditches, when they were got two fathoms below the stone, they found nests made of hay and straw, and instead of eggs, three or four round stones as big as oranges, as artificially made as if they had been cannon-balls; and in the river that runs at the foot of that hill the castle now stands upon, they found stones of several colours, some of them large, of pure marble, and others of jasper.

CHAP. LIII. — *How the Admiral returned to Isabella, and found that Soil was very fruitful.*

THE admiral having given orders for the finishing and fortifying of the castle, set out for Isabella on Friday the 21st of March, and near the Green River met the mules going with provisions, and not being able to stay there, because of the great rains, he stayed there, sending the provisions to the fort. Afterwards endeavouring to find the ford of that river and of the river del Oro, which is bigger than Ebro, he stayed some days in those Indian towns, eating their bread and garlic, which they gave for a small matter. On Sunday the 29th of March he came to Isabella, where melons were already grown fit to eat, though it was not above two months since the seed was put into the ground. So cucumbers came up in twenty days, and a wild vine of that country being pruned, had produced grapes which were good and large. The next day, being the 30th of March, a countryman gathered ears of wheat he had sown at the latter end of January. There were also vetches, but much bigger than those they sowed; and all they sowed sprung up above ground in three days, and the twenty-fifth day they eat of it. The stones of fruit set in the ground sprouted out in seven days, and the vine branches shot out in the same time, and in twenty-five days after they gathered green grapes. The sugar-canes budded in seven days, which proceeded from the temperature of the climate, not unlike to that of our country, for it was rather cold than hot; besides, that the waters there are very cold, thin, and wholesome. The admiral was well enough pleased with the air, the soil, and the people of the country. On Tuesday the 1st of April there came a messenger from fort St. Thomas, who brought news that the Indians of that country fled, and that a cacique, whose name was Caunabo, was preparing to come and attack the fort. The admiral knowing how inconsiderable the people of that country were, made little account of that report, especially confiding in the horses, by whom the Indians were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were so much afraid that they durst not go into any house where a horse stood. However the admiral thought fit to send more men and provisions, considering that since he designed to go and discover the continent with three caravals he had left him, it was fit all things should remain quiet behind. Therefore on Wednesday the 2d of April he sent seventy men, with provisions and ammunition to the fort, twenty-five of which were to keep guard, and the others help to make another road, the first being very troublesome.

troublesome, as were the fords of the rivers. These being gone, whilst the ships were fitted to go upon the new discovery, he attended to order all things necessary for the town he was building, dividing it into streets, with a convenient market-place, and endeavouring to bring the river to it along a large cut canal; for which reason he also made a dam that might serve the mills, because the town being almost a cannon-shot from the river, the people would have been troubled to fetch water so far, especially then when most of them were very weak and indisposed, by reason of the sharpness of the air, which did not agree with them; so that some were sick, and had no other Spanish provisions but biscuit and wine, by reason of the ill management of the captains of the ships, as also because in that country nothing keeps so well as in Spain. And though they had plenty of the country provisions, yet not being used to that food it did not agree with them. Therefore the admiral had resolved to leave but three hundred men in the island and to send the rest into Spain, which number, considering the nature of the island, and of the Indies, he knew was sufficient to keep that country in subjection to Their Catholic Majesties. In the mean while, because the biscuit grew towards an end, and they had no flour but wheat, he resolved to make some mills, though there was no fall of water fit for that purpose within a league of the town; at which work, and all others, he was forced to stand over the workmen, they all endeavouring to save themselves from any labour. After that, he resolved to send out all the people that were in health, except handicraft-men and artificers, to the royal plain, that travelling about the country they might pacify it, strike a terror into the Indians, and by degrees be used to their food, since they daily felt more want of that of Spain. Hojeda was sent to command these men till they came to St. Thomas's, there to deliver them to D. Peter Margarite, who was to lead them about the island, and Hojeda himself to command in the fort; he having taken the pains the winter before to discover that province of Cibao, which in the Indian language signifies stony. Hojeda set out from Isabella on Wednesday the 29th of April, towards St. Thomas's with all the aforesaid men, being above four hundred, and having passed the river del Oro, apprehended the cacique that lived there, and a brother and nephew of his, sending them in irons to the admiral, and cut off the ears of one of his subjects, in the great place of his town, because three Christians coming from St. Thomas to Isabella, this cacique gave them five Indians to carry their cloaths over the river at the ford, and they being come to the middle of the river, returned to their town with them, and the cacique instead of punishing them, took the cloaths for himself, refusing to restore them. Another cacique who dwelt beyond the river, relying on the service he had done the Christians, resolved to go with the prisoners to Isabella, and intercede with the admiral for them, who entertained him courteously, and ordered that the other Indians, with their hands bound, should be publicly sentenced to die in the market-place; which the honest cacique seeing, he with many tears obtained their lives, promising they should never be guilty of any other offence. The admiral having discharged them all, a man a horseback came from St. Thomas's, and gave an account, that he had found in that same cacique who had been prisoner in his town, five Christians taken by his subjects as they were coming for Isabella, and that he frightening the Indians with his horse had released them, above four hundred men running away from him, of whom he wounded two in the pursuit; and that when he had passed the river, he saw they turned upon the said Christians, whereupon he made as if he would go back against them, but they for fear of his horse all ran away, lest the horse should fly over the river.

CHAP. LIV. — *How the Admiral settled the Affairs of the Island, and went to discover Cuba, supposing it to be the Continent.*

THE admiral being resolved to go out to discover the continent, appointed a council to govern the island in his absence; the persons it consisted of were D. James Colon, his brother, with the title of president, F. Boyl, and Peter Fernandez Coronell, regents, Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal, rector of Bacca, and John de Luxan of Madrid, gentlemen to Their Catholic Majesties. And that there might not want meal for support of the people, he hastened the building of the mills, notwithstanding the rain and flood very much obstructed it. From these rains, the admiral says, proceeds the great moisture, and consequently the fruitfulness of the island, which is so wonderful, that they eat fruit of the trees in November, when they were blossoming afresh, which shews that they bear twice a year. But herbs and seeds grow at all times, and so they find on the trees, nests with eggs, and young birds. As the fruitfulness of the soil appeared extraordinary, so they daily received fresh advices of the wealth of the country; for some of those the admiral had sent out were always returning with news of new mines discovered, besides the relation of the Indians concerning the great plenty of gold found in several parts of the island. The admiral not so satisfied, resolved to go out to discover along the coast of Cuba, not knowing whether it was an island or continent. Therefore taking three ships along with him, he set sail upon Thursday the 24th of April, afternoon, and came to an anchor that day at Monte Christo, west of Isabella. On Friday he went to Guacanagari's port, thinking to find him there, but he seeing the ships fled for fear, though his subjects falsely affirmed he would soon return. But the admiral not caring to stay without great cause, departed on Saturday the 26th of April, and went to the island Tortuga, which lies six leagues to the westward: he lay by it that night, in a calm with his sails abroad, the tide running back against the currents. Next day the north-west winds and currents setting from the west, obliged him to go back to an anchor in the river of Guadalquiver, which is in the same island, there to wait for a wind that would stem the current, which both then and the year before he found to run strong there toward the east. On Tuesday the 29th of the same month, the wind being fair he came to cape St. Nicholas, and thence crossed over to the island of Cuba, running along the south coast of it, and having sailed a league beyond Cabo Fuerte, put into a large bay which he called Puerto Grande, or great port, the mouth whereof was one hundred and fifty paces over, and had much water. Here he cast anchor, and took some refreshment of broiled fish and oysters, whereof the Indians had great store. On the 1st of May he continued his voyage along the coast, where he found commodious harbours, fine rivers, and high mountains. Upon the sea, after he left Tortuga, he met abundance of the weeds he saw on the ocean, in his voyage to and from Spain. He sailing close along the shore, abundance of people came aboard in their canoes from the island, thinking our men were come down from heaven, bringing of their bread, water, and fish, and giving it all freely, without asking any thing for it; but the admiral, to send them home well pleased, ordered they should be paid, giving them beads, bells, and such like baubles.

• CHAP. LV.—*The admiral discovers the Island of Jamaica.*

ON Saturday, the 3d of May, the admiral resolved to sail over from Cuba to Jamaica, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the report of such plenty.

plenty of gold they heard there was in it proved true, and the wind being fair, and he almost half way over, discovered it on Sunday. Upon Monday he came to an anchor, and thought it the beautifullest of any he had yet seen in the Indies, and such multitudes of people in great and small canoes came aboard, that it was astonishing. The next day he ran along the coast to find out harbours, and the boats going to found the mouths of them, there came out so many canoes and armed men, to defend the country, that they were forced to return to the ships, not so much for fear, as to avoid falling to enmity with those people. But afterwards, considering that if they shewed signs of fear, the Indians would grow proud upon it, they returned together to the port, which the admiral called Puerto Bueno, that is, Good Harbour. And because the Indians came to drive them off, those in boats gave them such a flight of arrows from their cross-bows, that six or seven of them being wounded, they retired. The fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of canoes from the neighbouring places in a peaceable manner, to see and barter provisions, and several things they brought, and gave for the least trifle that was offered them. In this port, which is like a horse-shoe, the admiral's ship was repaired, it being leaky; and that done, they set sail on Friday the 9th of May, keeping so close along the coast westward that the Indians followed in their canoes to trade, and get something of ours. The wind being somewhat contrary, the admiral could not make so much way as he wished, till on Tuesday the 13th of May he resolved to stand over again for Cuba, to keep along its coast, designing not to return till he had sailed five or six hundred leagues, and were satisfied whether it was an island or continent. That same day, as he was going off from Jamaica, a very young Indian came aboard, saying he would come into Spain, and after him came several of his kindred and other people in their canoes, earnestly intreating him to go back, but they could never alter his resolution; and therefore to avoid seeing his sisters cry and sob, he went where they could not come at him. The admiral, admiring his resolution, gave order that he should be used with all civility.

CHAP. LVI.—*The Admiral from Jamaica returns to the coast of Cuba, still thinking it to be the Continent.*

THE admiral leaving Jamaica, on Wednesday the 14th of May came to that point of Cuba, which he called Cabo de Santa Cruz, or Cape Holy Cross, and running along the coast, there happened a great storm of thunder and lightning, which together with the flats and currents, put him in no small danger and to very much trouble, being obliged at the same time to struggle against these two evils, which required contrary remedies; for it is a proper remedy against thunder to strike the sails, and it was requisite to spread them to avoid the flats, and had this calamity lasted for eight or ten leagues it had been insupportable. But the worst of it was, that all over that sea, both north and north-east, the further they went the more low little islands they met with, and though there were trees in some of them, yet others were sandy, and scarce appeared above the surface of the water, some a league, some more and some less in compass. True it is, that the nearer they sailed to Cuba, the higher and pleasanter the little islands appeared; and being a matter of difficulty, and to no purpose, to give every one of them a name, the admiral called them all in general Jardin de la Reyna, the Queen's Garden. But as many islands as he saw that day, he saw many more and bigger the next day than he had before, and not only to the north-east, but north-west and south-west; insomuch that they counted one hundred and sixty islands that day, all parted by deep channels, which the ship sailed through. In some of these islands they saw

saw abundance of cranes, in shape and bigness like those of Spain, but that they were as red as scarlet. In others they found abundance of tortoises, and of their eggs, not unlike a hen's, but that the shells are very hard. The tortoises lay these eggs in a hole they make in the sand, and covering them, leave them till the heat of the sun hatches and brings forth the tortoises, which in time grow as big as a buckler, or great target. In these islands they also saw crows and cranes like those of Spain, and sea-crows, and infinite numbers of little birds that sung sweetly, and the very air was as sweet as if they had been among roses and the finest perfumes in the world; yet the danger was very great, there being such abundance of channels, that much time was spent in finding the way out. In one of these channels, they spied a canoe of Indian fishermen, who very quietly, without the least concern expected the boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a sign to them in it, till they had done fishing. Their manner of fishing was so strange and new to our men, that they were willing to comply with them; it was thus: they had tied some small fishes they call reves by the tail, which run themselves against other fish, and with a certain roughness they have from the head to the middle of the back, they stick so fast to the next fish they meet, that when the Indians perceive it, drawing their line, they draw them both together; and it was a tortoise our men saw so taken by those fishermen, that fish clinging about the neck of it, where they generally fasten, being by that means safe from the other fish biting them, and have seen them fasten upon vast sharks. When the Indians in the canoe had taken their tortoise, and two other fishes they had before, they presently came very friendly to the boat, to know what our men would have, and by their directions went along aboard the ships, where the admiral treated them very courteously, and understood by them, that there was an infinite multitude of islands in that sea; and they freely gave all they had, though the admiral would suffer nothing to be taken of them but the fish, the rest being their nets, hooks, and calabashes full of water to drink. Having given them some small trifles, they went away very well pleased, and he held on his course with a design not to do so long, because he began to want provisions already; whereas, had he been well stored, he thought not to have returned into Spain, but cast about, though he was very much spent, not only because he fell ill, but also because he had not slept or lain in a bed ever since he sailed from Spain till the 19th of May, when he writ this, except eight nights, when he was much indisposed. And if he had much care upon him at other times, it was doubled this voyage, by reason of the innumerable quantity of islands, among which he was sailing, which were so many, that on the 20th of May he discovered seventy-one, besides many more he saw west-south-west at sun-setting. Which islands or sands are not only frightful by their multitude, appearing on all sides, but what is yet more terrible, is, that every night there rises off them a great fog eastward, so dismal to behold, that it seems as if some great shower of hail would fall, the thunder and lightning are so violent; but when the moon rises it all vanishes, part of it turning to rain and wind, which is so usual and natural in that country, that it did not only happen all those nights the admiral was there, but I saw the same in those islands in the year 1503, in my return from the discovery of Veragua; and generally here at night the wind is north, coming off the island Cuba, and afterwards, when the sun is up, it comes about east, and follows the sun till it comes to the west.

CHAP. LVII.—*Of the great fatigue the Admiral underwent, sailing among abundance of Islands.*⁴

THE admiral still holding on his course westward, among infinite numbers of islands, upon Thursday the 22d of May came to an island somewhat bigger than the rest, which he called St. Mary; and landing at a town, there was in it, not one Indian would stay to talk to the Christians, nor did they find any thing in the houses but fish, which is all the food those people live on, and several dogs like mastiffs, who eat fish too. Thus without talking to any body, or seeing any thing remarkable, he sailed away north-east, among abundance of islands, in which there were many cranes as red as scarlet, parrots, and other sorts of birds, dogs like those before mentioned, and abundance of those weeds he saw on the ocean when he first discovered the Indies. Thus sailing among so many sands and islands fatigued him very much; for sometimes he was forced to stand west, sometimes north, and sometimes south, according as the channels would permit; for notwithstanding his care in sounding, and keeping men upon the round top to look out, yet the ship often touched, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the flats on all hands. Sailing on in this manner, he came again to Cuba to take in water, whereof they had much need. And though there was no town where they put in, because the place was wooded, yet one of the seamen that went ashore, going up among the trees with a cross-bow to kill some bird or beast, found thirty people armed with such weapons as they use, that is spears and staves which they wear instead of swords and call macanas. Among them he said he saw one clad with a white coat, or a vest down to his knees, and two that carried him had their down to their feet all three of them as white as the Spaniards; but that he had no talk with them, because being afraid of such a number he began to cry out to his companions, and the Indians ran away without looking back. Though the admiral the next day sent people ashore to know the truth of it, they could not travel above half a league, because of the thickness of the trees and bushes, and because all that coast is boggy and muddy, for two leagues up the country, where there are hills and mountains, so that they only saw footsteps of fishermen on the shore, and abundance of cranes like those in Spain, but bigger. Then sailing about ten leagues westward, they saw houses on the shore, from which some canoes came with water, and such things as those people eat, which they brought to the Christians, who paid well for them; and the admiral caused one of those Indians to be stopped, telling him and the rest by his interpreters that he would let him go freely home as soon as he had directed him in his voyage, and given some account of that country. At which the Indian was very much pleased, and assured the admiral that Cuba was an island, and that the king or cacique of the western part of it, never spoke to his subjects but by signs, by whom all his orders were immediately obeyed; that all that coast was very low, and full of small islands, which was found to be too true. The next day, being the 11th of June, to pass from one channel to another, the admiral was forced to have the ships towed over a flat, where there was not a foot water, and all the breadth of it was not above two ships length. Bearing up closer to Cuba, they saw tortoises of a vast bigness, and in such numbers that they covered the sea. At break of day they saw such a cloud of sea-crows that they darkened the sun, coming from the seaward to the island, where they all lighted; besides them, abundance of pigeons, and birds of other sorts were seen, and the next day there came such swarms of butterflies, that they darkened the air, and lasted till night, when the great rain carried them away.

CHAP. LVIII.—*How the Admiral returns back towards Hispaniola.*

ON Friday the 13th of June, the admiral perceiving that the coast of Cuba ran far west, and that it was a matter of the greatest difficulty to sail that way, by reason of the infinite multitude of islands and sands that were on all sides, and that he already began to want provisions, for which reason he could not continue his voyage as he had intended, he resolved to return to the town he had begun to build in Hispaniola, and to furnish himself with wood and water; he anchored in the island Evangelista, which is thirty leagues in compass, and seven hundred from Dominica. Having provided himself with what he wanted, he directed his course southward, hoping to get out better that way; and sailing through the channel he saw looked clearest, after sailing a few leagues, found it shut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify the men seeing themselves as it were hemmed in on all sides, and destitute of provisions and all comfort. But the admiral, who was wise and courageous, perceiving their faint-heartedness, said with a cheerful countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the same way he came; forasmuch as if they had continued their voyage that way they intended to go, it might perhaps have happened they might have run themselves into some place whence it would have been hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither ships nor provisions to go back, which at present they could easily do. Thus with great satisfaction of all the men, he returned to the island Evangelista, where he had watered, and on Wednesday the 25th of June sailed thence north-west towards some small islands that appeared five leagues off. Going still a little forward he came into a sea so patched with green and white, that it looked like one entire sand, though there was two fathoms water; along which he sailed seven leagues, till he met another sea, as white as milk, which he much admired, the water being very thick. This sea dazzled the eyes of all that beheld it, and seemed to be all a shoal, without water enough for the ships, yet there were about three fathoms water. But when he had sailed about four leagues upon that sea, he came into another sea as black as ink, and five fathoms deep, through which he held his course till he came up with Cuba. Thence standing to the eastward, with scant winds, through narrow channels and shoals; on the 30th of June, as he was writing his journal of the voyage, his ship run aground so fast, that neither anchors nor other inventions being able to get it off, it pleased God it was drawn off a-head, though with some damage because of its beating on the sand. However, with God's assistance they got off at last, and he sailed on as the wind and shoal-water would permit, always through a very white sea and two fathoms deep, neither deeper nor shallower, unless he came too close to some of the sands, where there was want of water. Besides which trouble, every day about sunset he was troubled with mighty showers, which rise in the mountains from the morasses near the sea, which were a great fatigue to him, till he came close to Cuba towards the east, the way he came at first. Thence, as he had found before, came off a most fragrant scent, as it were of flowers. On the 7th of July he landed to hear mass, and there resorted to him an old cacique lord of that province, who was very attentive at mass; when it was ended, by signs, and the best he could express, he said it was very well done to give thanks to God, because the soul which was good would go to heaven, and the body remain on earth, but that the wicked souls must go to hell. And among other things he said, he had been in the island Hispaniola, where he knew some of the chief men; that he had been at Jamaica, and a great way towards the west of Cuba, and that the cacique of that port was clad like a priest.

CHAP. LIX. — *The great Hunger and other Calamities the Admiral and his Men endured, and how he returned to Jamaica.*

THE admiral failing thence on Wednesday the 16th of July, still attended by terrible rains and winds, drew near to Cape Cruz in Cuba, where he was on a sudden assaulted by such a violent rain and storm as bore his ship's side under water; but it pleased God they immediately struck all their sails, and dropped their best anchors; but they took in so much water at the deck, that the men were not able to pump it out, especially in the condition they were, being much spent for want of provisions: for they eat nothing but a pound of rotten biscuit a day, and about half a pint of wine, unless they happened to catch some fish, which yet they could not keep from one day to the next, provisions in those parts being of a very slight nature, and because the weather was always more inclinable to heat than in our countries; and this want being common to all, the admiral in his journal speaks thus concerning it: "I myself am at the same allowance, God grant it may be to his honour, and for Your Highness's service, for I shall never again for my own benefit expose myself to such sufferings and dangers; never a day passing, but I see we are all upon the brink of death." In this danger and distress he arrived at Cape Cruz the 18th of July, where he was friendly entertained by the Indians. They brought him abundance of cazabi, so they call their bread made of roots grated, a great deal of fish, store of fruit, and such other things as they eat. The wind being contrary to sail for Hispaniola, he stood over to Jamaica on Wednesday the 22d day of July, and sailed along westward close under the shore, the country all along most delightful and fruitful, with excellent harbours at every league distance, and all the coast full of towns, the people whereof followed the ships in their canoes, bringing such provisions as they eat, and much better liked by the Christians than that they found in the other islands. The climate, air, and weather was the same as the rest; for in this western part of Jamaica there gathered every evening a storm of rain which lasted about an hour more or less, which the admiral said, he attributed to the great woods that were in those countries, for that he knew this was usual at first in the Canary islands, Madera, and the Azores; whereas, now the woods are cut down that shaded them, there are not so great and frequent storms and rains as there were formerly. Thus the admiral sailed on, though with contrary winds, which obliged him every night to take the shelter of the land, which appeared green, pleasant, fruitful, abounding in provisions, and so populous that he thought none excelled it, especially near a bay which he called De las Vacas, because there are nine islands close to the land, which he said was as high as any he had seen, and believed reached above the region where the storms breed, yet it is all peopled, very fruitful and pleasant. This island he judged to be eight hundred miles in compass, and when fully discovered, computed it to be fifty leagues in length and twenty in breadth. Being much taken with its beauty, he had a great mind to stay there to be fully informed of the nature of it, but the great want of provisions we mentioned, and the leakiness of the vessels would not permit. Therefore as soon as the weather was a little fair, he sailed away eastward, so that on Tuesday the 19th of August he lost sight of that island, standing over directly for Hispaniola, and called the most eastward cape of Jamaica on the south coast Cabo del Farol.

CHAP. LX. *The Admiral discovers the South Side of Hispaniola, till he returned East about the Town of Isabella.*

ON Wednesday the 20th of August the admiral had sight of the south side of Hispaniola, and called the first point Cape St. Michael, which was thirty leagues distant from the easterliest point of Jamaica, yet at present through the ignorance of the sailors it is called Cape Tiburon. From this cape on Saturday the 23d of August there came aboard a cacique, who called the admiral by his name, and had some other Spanish words, by which he was convinced this was the same land as Hispaniola. At the end of August he anchored in an island, which is called Alto Velo, and having lost sight of the other two ships under his command, he caused some men to go ashore in that little island, whence being very high they might see a great way round; but they discovered none of their companions. As they were going aboard they killed eight sea-wolves, that lay asleep on the sand, and took abundance of pigeons and other birds; for that island not being inhabited, nor those creatures used to see men, they stood still to be killed with staves. The same they did the two following days, waiting for the ships that had been astray ever since the Friday before, till at the end of six days they came, and all three together went away to the island Beata twelve leagues distant from Alto Velo. Hence they passed on coasting Hispaniola, in sight of a delightful country, which was a plain running up a mile from the sea, so populous that it seemed to be one continued town for a league in length. In which plain there appeared a lake five leagues long from east to west. The people therefore of the country having some knowledge of the Christians, came aboard in their canoes, bringing news that some Spaniards from Isabella had happened to come among them, and that they were all well, which much pleased the admiral, and to the end they too might hear of his health and his company's, and of his return, being somewhat more towards the east, he sent nine men to cross the island, passing by the forts of St. Thomas and the Magdalen to Isabella, and he with his three ships still keeping along the coast eastward, sent the boats for water to a place, where a great town appeared. The Indians came out against them with bows and poisoned arrows, and with ropes in their hands, making signs that they would bind the Christians they should take with them. But as soon as the boats came to the shore, the Indians laid down their arms, and offered to bring bread and water, and all they had, asking in their language for the admiral. Going hence they saw in the sea a fish as big as a whale, which on its neck had a great shell, like a tortoise, and bore its head, which was as big as a hog's head, above water, had a tail like a tunny fish, very long, and two large fins on the sides. The admiral by this fish and other signs, perceiving there would be some change of weather, he sought for some harbour to secure himself. And on the 15th of September it pleased God to shew him an island, being near the east part of Hispaniola, called by the Indians Adamanai, and the weather being very stormy, dropped anchor in the channel between it and Hispaniola, close to a small island that lies between both, where that night he saw the eclipse of the moon, which he said varied five hours twenty-three minutes from Cadiz to the place where he was. This I suppose made the bad weather last so long, for he was forced to lie close in that very place till the 20th of the month, not without fear for the other ships, which could not get in, but it pleased God to save them. Being afterwards together again, on the 24th of September they sailed to the most easterly point of Hispaniola, and thence passed over to a little island lying between Hispaniola and St. John de Borriquen, called by the Indians Mona. From this island

the admiral does not continue the journal of his voyage, nor does he say how he returned to Isabella, but only that going from Mona to St. John, the great toil he had gone through, his own weakness and want of provisions cast him into a dangerous disease between a pestilential fever and a lethargy, which presently deprived him of all his senses and memory. Whereupon all the men aboard the ships resolved to desist from the design he had in hand of discovering all the islands of the Caribbees, and to return to Isabella, where they arrived in five days, on the 29th of September, and there it pleased God to restore his health, though his sickness lasted above five months, which was attributed to the great sufferings he had gone through during that voyage, and to his extraordinary weakness; for sometimes he had not sleep three hours in eight days, which seems almost impossible, were not he himself and his men witnesses of the truth of it.

CHAP. LXI. — *How the Admiral subdued the Island Hispaniola, and took such Order that they might not revolt again.*

THE admiral returning to Hispaniola from the discovery of Cuba and Jamacia, found there his brother Bartholomew Colon, who, as was said before, had been sent to treat with the King of England about the discovery of the Indies. He returning to Spain with the grant of his demands, understood at Paris, by Charles King of France, that the admiral his brother had discovered the Indies, and he supplied him with one hundred crowns to proceed on his journey. Upon this news he made all the haste he could to overtake the admiral in Spain; yet when he came to Sevil, his brother was set out for the Indies with seventeen sail. Therefore to fulfil the orders he had left him at the beginning of the year 1494, he went away to Their Catholic Majesties, carrying me and my brother D. James Colon to serve Prince John as his pages, as had been appointed by the Queen, who was then at Valladolid. As soon as we came thither, Their Majesties sent for D. Bartholomew Colon, and sent him to Hispaniola with three ships, where he served some years, as appears by a manuscript I found among his papers, in which are these words. "I served as captain from the 14th of April 1494 till the 12th of March 1496, when the admiral set out for Spain, and then I began to act as governor till the 24th of August 1498, when the admiral returned from the discovery of Paria, when I again served as captain till the 11th of December 1500, when I returned to Spain." But to return to the admiral: he returning from Cuba made him governor of the Indies, though afterwards there arose a controversy on this account, because Their Catholic Majesties said they had not granted the admiral power to appoint any such. But to decide this difference Their Highnesses granted it a new, and so for the future he was called Adelantado, that is, lieutenant of the Indies.

The admiral having the assistance and advice of his brother, took some rest, and lived in quiet, though on the other side he met with trouble enough, as well from his sickness, as because he found almost all the Indians had revolted, through the fault of D. Peter Margarite, of whom we spoke above. He, though obliged to respect and honour him that at his departure for Cuba had left him the command of three hundred and sixty foot and fourteen horse, to travel over the island, and reduce it under the obedience of Their Catholic Majesties and the Christians, and particularly the province of Cibao, whence the chief profit was expected, yet did all things so much to the contrary, that as soon as the admiral was gone, he went with all his men to the great plain called Vega Real, ten leagues from Isabella, without stirring to over-run

and reduce the island. Hence there ensued discord and factions at Isabella; he endeavouring that those of the council instituted by the admiral, should obey his orders, sending them very insolent letters, till perceiving he could not succeed in his design of getting the whole command into his hands, rather than stay the coming of the admiral, who would call him in question for his behaviour, he went aboard the first ships that came from Spain and returned in them, without giving any account of himself, or any ways disposing of the men left under his command. Upon this every one went away among the Indians where he thought fit, taking away their goods and their women, and committing such outrages that the Indians resolved to be revenged on those they found alone or straggling; so that the Cacique of the Magdalen, whose name was Guatigwana, had killed ten, and privately ordered a house to be fired in which there were eleven sick. But he was severely punished when the admiral returned; for though he himself could not be taken, yet some of his subjects were made prisoners and sent into Spain in four ships, Antony de Torres brought on the 24th of February 1495. Six or seven more, who in other parts of the island had done harm to the Christians suffered for it. The caciques had certainly killed many, and would have destroyed more, but the admiral came in time to curb them all, who found the island in such disorder, that most of the Christians committed a thousand insolencies, for which they were mortally hated by the Indians, who refused to submit to them. It was no difficult matter for them all to agree to cast off the Spanish yoke; because, as has been said, there were four principal Kings or caciques, to whom all the others were subject. The names of those four were Caunabo, Guacanagari, Behechico, and Guarionex; and each of these had under him seventy or eighty other little lords; not that they paid tribute or gave any thing, but were obliged, whensoever called upon, to assist them in their wars and till the ground; but Guacanagari, one of these who was lord of that part of the island where the town of the Nativity had been built, continued a friend to the Christians. As soon therefore as he heard of the admiral's coming, he went to visit him, saying, he had no way been aiding or advising with the others, which might appear by the great civility the Christians had found in his country, where one hundred men had been always very well used and furnished with all things he could get to please them; for which reason the other Kings were become his enemies, and particularly Behechico had killed one of his women, and Caunabo had taken another, wherefore he prayed him to cause her to be restored, and assist him to revenge these wrongs. The admiral resolved to do so, believing what he said was true, because he wept every time he called to mind those that had been killed at the Nativity, as if they had been his own children; and he was the more inclinable to it, considering that the discord among them would make it more practicable to conquer the country, and punish the revolt of the other Indians, and killing of the Christians. Therefore on the 24th of March 1495 he set out from Isabella to carry on the war, and the aforesaid Guacanagari with him, being very desirous to crush his enemies, though the undertaking seemed very difficult, they having raised above one hundred thousand Indians, whereas the admiral had not along with him above two hundred Christians, twenty horses, and as many dogs. The admiral being acquainted with the nature and qualities of the Indians, when he was two days journey from Isabella, divided his forces, giving half to his brother the lieutenant, that he might attack that multitude scattered about the plains in two places, believing the terror of hearing the noise in several places would put them to flight sooner than any thing else, as in effect it proved. The battalions of foot on both sides falling upon the multitude of Indians, and breaking them with the first discharge of their cross-bows and muskets, the horse and dogs fell

in next in most furious manner, that they might not rally; whereupon those faint-hearted creatures fled, some one way and some another; and our men pursuing and killing a great number, made such havock that in a short time, through God's assistance, they obtained a complete victory, many of the enemies being slain, and others taken, among whom was Caunabo, the chief cacique of them all, together with his wives and children. This Caunabo afterwards confessed he had killed twenty of the Christians left with Arana in the town of the Nativity, the first voyage when the Indies were discovered, and that afterwards, under colour of friendship, he went in great haste to see the town of Isabella, to observe how he might best attack it, and do as he had done at the Nativity. Of all which things the admiral had been fully informed by others; and therefore to punish him for that offence, and this second revolt, and gathering of forces he had now marched against him, and having taken him, and his brother, he sent them all prisoners into Spain; for he would not, without the knowledge of Their Catholic Majesties, execute so considerable a person, being satisfied with punishing some of those that were most in fault. The victory obtained, and this man's imprisonment, put the affairs of the Christians into such a good posture, that though at that time they were but six hundred and thirty, many of them sick, and others women and children, yet in the space of a year the admiral spent in ranging the island, without being forced to draw sword any more, he reduced it to such obedience, that they all promised to pay tribute to Their Catholic Majesties every three months, that is all that inhabited the province of Cibao, where the gold mines were, from fourteen years of age upward to pay a large horse-bell full of gold-dust, and all the rest twenty-five pounds of cotton a head. And that it might be known who had paid this tribute, there was a sort of brass and tin coin stamped, one of which pieces was to be given to every one that paid, and he to wear it about his neck, that whosoever was found without it might be known not to have paid and punished. And doubtless this order would have proved effectual, had not those troubles we shall speak of afterwards happened among the Christians; for after the taking of Caunabo, the country was so peaceable, that for the future one single Christian went safely where he pleased; and the Indians themselves would carry him about on their shoulders, which the admiral attributed only to God and the good fortune of Their Catholic Majesties, considering it had been otherwise impossible for two hundred men, half sick and ill-armed, to overthrow such a multitude, which it pleased his Divine Majesty not only to bring under his command, but to send such scarcity of provisions, and such violent diseases among them, that they were reduced to one-third of what they had been at first; to make it appear the more plain, that such miraculous victories, and the subduing of nations are his gift, and not the effect of our power or conduct, or of their want of courage; for though our men had been superior to them, yet their multitude might make amends for any advantage we had over them.

CHAP. LXII.—*Some remarkable Things in the Island, as the Customs, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Indies.*

THE people of the island being brought under, and conversing more freely with our men, many other particulars, and the secrets of their religion were found out, but particularly that there were mines of copper, azure, and amber; as also, ebony, cedar, frankincense, and other rich gums and spice of several sorts, but wild, which being cultivated, might be brought to perfection; as for instance, cinnamon of good colour, but bitter, ginger, long-pepper, abundance of mulberry trees for making of silk, which

bear

bear leaves all the year, and many other useful trees and plants not known in our parts. Besides, the Spaniards were informed of many other things relating to their customs, which to me seem to deserve a place in our history. To begin with their religion, I will here set down the admiral's own words, writ by himself; which are these :

“ I could discover neither idolatry nor any other sect among them, though every one of their kings, who are very many, as well in Hispaniola as in all the other islands and continent, has a house apart from the town, in which there is nothing at all but some wooden images carved, by them called *cemies*; nor is there any thing done in those houses but what is for the service of those *cemies*, they repairing to perform certain ceremonies, and pray there, as we do in our churches. In these houses they have a handsome round table, made like a dish, on which is some powder, which they lay on the head of the *cemies* with a certain ceremony; then through a cane that has two branches clapped to their nose, they snuff up this powder: the words they say none of our people understand. This powder puts them besides themselves, as if they were drunk. They also give the image a name, and I believe it is their father's or grandfather's, or both; for they have more than one, and some above ten, all in memory of their forefathers, as I said before. I have heard them commend one above another, and have observed them to have more devotion, and show more respect to one than another, as we do in processions in time of need; and the people and *caciques* boast among themselves of having the best *cemies*. When they go to these their *cemies* they shun the Christians, and will not let them go into those houses; and if they suspect they will come, they take away their *cemies*, and hide them in the woods for fear they should be taken from them; and what is most ridiculous, they use to steal one another's *cemies*. It happened once, that the Christians on a sudden rushed into the house with them, and presently the *cemi* cried out, speaking in their language, by which it appeared to be artificially made; for it being hollow they had applied a trunk to it, which answered to a dark corner of the house covered with boughs and leaves, where a man was concealed who spoke what the *cacique* ordered him. The Spaniards therefore reflecting on what it might be, kicked down the *cemi*, and found as has been said; and the *cacique* seeing they had discovered his practice, earnestly begged of them not to speak of it to his subjects, or the other Indians, because he kept them in obedience by that policy. This we may say has some resemblance of idolatry, at least among those that are ignorant of their *caciques'* fraud, since they believe it is the *cemi* that speaks, and all of them in general are imposed upon, and only the *cacique* and he that combines with him abuse their credulity, by which means he draws what tribute he pleases from his people. Most of the *caciques* have three great stones also, to which they and their people shew a great devotion. The one they say helps the corn and all sorts of grain; the second makes women be delivered without pain; and the third procures rain or fair weather, according as they stand in need of either. I sent Your Highness three of these stones by Antony de Torres, and have three more to carry along with me. When these Indians die, they have several ways of performing their obsequies, but the manner of burying their *caciques* is thus: they open and lay him at the fire, that he may keep whole. Of others they take only the head, others they bury in a grot or den, and lay a calabash of water and bread on his head; others they burn in the house where they die, and when they are at the last gasp, they suffer them not to die but strangle them; and this is done to *caciques*. Others are turned out of the house, and others put them into a hammock, which is their bed, laying bread and water by their head, never returning to see them any more. Some that are dangerously ill are carried to the *cacique*, who tells them whether they are to be strangled or not, and what

he says is done. I have taken pains to find out what it is they believe, and whether they know what becomes of them after they are dead; especially I enquired of Caunabo, who was the chiefest King in Hispaniola, a man in years, knowing, and of a most piercing wit. He and the rest answered, that they go to a certain vale, which every great cacique supposes to be in his country, where they affirm they find their parents, and all their predecessors, and that they eat, have women, and give themselves up to pleasures and pastimes, as appears more at large in the following account, in which I ordered one F. Roman, who understood their language, to set down all their ceremonies and antiquities, though there are so many fables that nothing can be made of it, but that they have all some regard to a future state, and hold the immortality of the soul."

The Manuscript of F. Roman, concerning the Antiquities of the Indians, which he, as being skilled in their Tongue, has carefully gathered by order of the Admiral.

I F. Roman, a poor anchorite of the order of St. Jerome, by order of the most illustrious lord admiral, viceroy and governor of the islands and continent of the Indies, write what I could hear and learn of the belief and idolatry of the Indians, and how they serve their Gods. Every one observes some particular way and superstition and worshipping idols, which they call cemies. They think there is an immortal being, like heaven, invisible, and that has a mother, but has no beginning, and this being they call Jocakuvague Maorocon, and its mother they call Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito and Zuimaco, which are several names. Those I here write of are the people of the island Hispaniola, for I know nothing of the others, having never been in them. They also know whence they came, the original of the sun and moon, how the sea was made, and whither the dead go. And they believe the dead appear to them upon the roads when any of them go alone, for when there are a great many together they do not appear to them. All this their ancestors have made them believe, for they can neither read nor tell beyond ten.

CHAP. I. — *Whence the Indians came, and after what Manner.*

THERE is a province in Hispaniola called Caanan, in which there is a mountain called Canta, where there are two grots or caverns; the one called Cacibagiagua, the other Amaiauva; most of the people that first inhabited the island came out of Cacibagiagua. These being in those caverns, kept watch by night, and one Marocael had the charge of it, who coming one day too late to the door, they say the sun took him away. Seeing therefore that the sun had carried him away for his neglect, they shut the door against him, and so he was turned into a stone near the door. Then they say, that others going a fishing were taken by the sun, and became trees, by them called Jobi, but otherwise Mirabolans.

The reason why Marocael watched and warded, was to observe whether he would find and distribute the people, and it appears he staid to his own harm.

CHAP. II. — *How the Men parted from the Women.*

IT happened that one Guagugiana bid another, whose name was Giadrubava, go and gather an herb called digo, wherewith they cleanse their body when they go to wash. He went out before day, the sun took him by the way, and he became a bird that

that sings in the morning, like the nightingale, and is called *giahuba bagiaci*. *Guagugiana* perceiving he did not return, whom he had sent to gather *digo*, resolved to go out of the aforeſaid grot *Cacibagiagua*.

CHAP. III.

GUAGUGIANA resolved to go away in a paſſion, ſeeing they did not return whom he had ſent to gather *digo* to waſh him, and ſaid to the women, leave your huſbands, and let us go into other countries, and we ſhall get jewels enough. Leave your children, and let us only carry the herbs along with us, and we will come again for them.

CHAP. IV.

GUAGUGIANA ſet out with all the women, and went to ſeek another country, and came to *Matinino*, where he immediately left the women, and went into another country, called *Guanin*, having left the children by a brook. Afterwards, when hunger began to pinch them, they ſay they cried, and called their mothers, that were gone; and the fathers could not relieve the children, who for hunger, called their mothers, ſaying, “*ma, ma,*” to ſpeak, but in truth to beg of the earth. And they thus crying and begging of the earth, ſaying, “*too, too,*” like one that very earneſtly begs a thing, they were transformed into little creatures like dwarfs, and called *tona*, becauſe of their begging of the earth. And thus all the men were left without women.

CHAP. V.

THAT there went women again to the ſaid iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, formerly called *Aiti*, and ſo the inhabitants of it are called, and the other iſlands called them *Bouchi*: and forasmuch as they have no letters, nor way of writing, they can give no good account how they underſtand this ſtory of their anceſtors, and therefore they do not agree in what they ſay, nor is what they relate to be put into any order. When *Guagugiana*, who carried away all the women went off, he took with him the wives of his *cacique*, whoſe name was *Anacacugia*, deceiving them as he had done the others. Beſides, a kinsman of *Guagugiana*, who followed him, went upon the ſea, and *Guagugiana* ſaid to his kinsman, when he was in the canoe, look what a fine *cobo* there is in the water, which *cobo* is the ſea-snail, or *periwinkle*; and he looking down for the *cobo*, *Guagugiana* his kinsman took him by the feet and threw him into the ſea, and ſo took all the women to himſelf, and left thoſe at *Matinino*, where it is ſaid there are none but women to this day; and he went away to another iſland called *Guanin*, and it was ſo called for what he carried to it when he went thither.

CHAP. VI.

THAT *Guagugiana* returned to the ſame *Canta*, whence he had carried the women: they ſay that *Guagugiana* being in that country whither he went, ſaw he had left a woman in the ſea, at which he was not pleaſed, and looked about where to waſh himſelf, being full of thoſe blotches we call the French pox. The woman put him into a *guanara*, that is, a by-place; and being there, he was healed of his ſores.

Afterwards he asked her leave to go his way, and she gave it him. This woman's name was Guabonito; and Guagugiana changed his name, calling himself from that time forwards, Biberoci Guahagiona. And the woman Guabonito gave Biberoci Guahagiona much Guanine and Cibe, that he might carry them tied to his arms; for in those countries, the Colecibi are of stone, very like inarble, and they wear them about their wrists and necks; and the Guanini's wear them at their ears, making holes in them when they are little, and they sound like fine mettle. They say, that Guabonito, Albeborael, Guahagiona, and the father of Albeborael, were the first of these Guanini's. Guahagiona staid in that country with the father, called Hiauna, his son from his father took the name Hia Guaili Guanin, which signifies son of Hiauna, and from henceforward, was called Guanin, and is so to this day. And they not knowing how to write, cannot give a good account of these fables, nor can I write them well; wherefore I believe, I mention the last first and the first last. But all I write is related by them, and so I deliver it as I had it from the people of the country.

CHAP. VII. — *How Women came again to the aforesaid Island Aiti, now called Hispaniola.*

THEY say the men went one day to wash themselves, and when they were in the water it rained much, and they were very desirous to have women; and that very often, when it rained, they had gone to seek out the track of their women, and could find no news of them; but they say, that as they were washing themselves that day, they saw fall down from the trees, as it were sliding down the branches, the shape of people, which were neither men nor women, nor had the secret parts of men or women, which they went to catch, but they fled as swift as if they had been eagles. Therefore by order of their cacique, they called two or three men, since they themselves could not catch them, to watch how many there were of them, and find out for each of them a man that was Caracaracoli; for those men had rough hands, and therefore would hold fast. They told the cacique they were four, and so they took four men that were Caracaracoli, which is a distemper like the itch, that makes the body very rough. When they had taken those creatures, they held a council about them, how to make them women, since they had neither the privities of man or woman.

CHAP. VIII. — *How they found the Way to make Women.*

THEY sought out a bird called turiri, formerly turire cahuvail, that is, a wood-pecker, that makes holes in trees, and taking those creatures that had neither the parts of man nor woman, tied them hands and feet, and bound the said bird to their body; the which bird taking them to be trees, began to work as it uses, pecking and boring that part where women's privities should be; and thus say the antientest Indians, they came to have women. I writing in haste, and not having paper enough, could not place every thing rightly, but through mistake transposed some; but the mistake is not great, for they believe all that is here writ. Let us now return to what we should have said first, that is, their opinion concerning the original and beginning of the sea.

CHAP. IX. — *How they say the Sea was made.*

THERE was a man they call Giaia, whose right name they know not, his son was called Gjiaiel, that is, Giaia's son. This Gjiaiel intending to kill his father, he banished him, where he remained an outlaw four months; after which his father killed him, put his bones into a calabash, and hung it to the top of his house, where it continued some time. It happened that being desirous to see his son, Giaia one day said to his wife, I have a mind to see our son Gjiaiel, and she was content. Taking down the calabash, he turned it over to see his son's bones, and there came out of it abundance of great and small fishes. Perceiving that the bones were turned into fishes, they resolved to eat them. Now they say, that one day, when Giaia was gone to his Conichi, that is, his lands he had by inheritance, there came four sons of a certain woman, called Itiba Tahuvava, all born at one birth; for the said woman dying in labour, they cut her open, and took out the said sons; and the first they cut was Caracaracol, that is, Mangy; which Caracaracol had to name the others had no name.

CHAP. X.

HOW the four sons of Itiba Tahuvara, who died in labour, went to take down Giaia's calabash; in which was his son Gjiaiel who had been converted into fish, and none of them durst lay hold of it but Dimivan Caracaracol, who unhung it; and they all eat their belly full of fish, but whilst they were eating, they perceived Giaia was coming from his estate, and going about in that hurry to hang up the calabash; they did not hang it right, so that there ran so much water from it, as overflowed all the country, and with it came out abundance of fish; and hence they believe the sea had its original. Afterwards they went and met with a man whose name was Cone, and he was dumb.

CHAP. XI. — *What happened to the Four Brothers, when they fled from Giaia.*

AS soon as they came to Bassamanaco's door, and found he brought cazzabi, they said, Ahicavo Gearocoel; that is, let us be acquainted with this grandfire of ours. So Demivan Caracaracol, seeing his brothers before him, went in to try whether he could get some cazzabi, which is the bread they eat there. Caracaracol going into the house of Aiamavaco, asked some cazzabi of him, which, as has been said, is bread. He clapt his hand on his nose, and threw on him a guanguaio, full of cogioba, which he had made that day, and is a sort of powder they take sometimes to purge them, and for other purposes you shall know hereafter. This they take through a cane half a cubit long, one end whereof they put to their nose, and the other to the powder, and so snuff it up, which purges them very much. So he gave him that guanguaio instead of bread, and leaving what he was about, went away very angry because they asked it of him. — After this, Caracaracol returned to his brothers, and told them what had happened to him with Baianamicoel, and the stroke he gave him on the shoulder with the guanguaio, and that it pained him very much. His brothers looked upon his shoulder, and perceived it was much swollen, which swelling increased so much, that he was like to die. Therefore they endeavoured to cut it open, and could not; but taking an instrument of stone, they opened it, and out came a live female

tortoise; so they built their house, and bred up the tortoise. I understood no more of this matter, and what we have writ signifies but little. They say further, that the sun and moon came out of a grotto, that is in the country of a cacique, whose name is Maucia Tiuvcl, and the grotto is called Giovovava; and they pay a great veneration to it, and have painted it all after their fashion, without any figure, but leaves and the like. In the said grotto, there were two little stone cemies, about a quarter of a yard long, their hands bound, and they looked as if they sweated. These cemies they honoured very much; and when they wanted rain, they say they used to go visit them, and they presently had it. One of the cemies is by them called Boinael, the other Maroio.

CHAP. XII. — *What their Opinion is concerning the wandering of the Dead, after what Manner they are and what they do.*

THEY hold there is a place to which the dead go, called Coaibai, and lying in a part of the island known by the name of Soraia. The first that was in Coaibai, they say was one Machetaurie Guaiava, who was lord of the said Coaibai, the habitation and dwelling-place of the dead.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Figure they assign the Dead.*

THEY say they are shut up in the day, and walk abroad in the night; that they feed on a certain fruit called guabazza, which tastes like —, that in the day-time they are —, and at night were converted into fruit, and that they feast, and go about with the living; and thus it is they know them: they feel their belly, and if they cannot find their navel, they say they are dead; for they say the dead have no navel; and therefore they are sometimes deceived, when they do not observe this, and lie with some of the women of Coaibai, whom they think they have in their arms, they have none, because they vanish of a sudden. This they still believe as to this affair. Whilst a man is living, they call the soul goeiz, and when dead opia, which goeiz they say often appears to them, as well in the shape of a man as of a woman; and they say there have been men that would fight with it, and when they came to cloke it vanished, and the man clapped his arms elsewhere about some tree, to which he clung fast. This they believe all in general, great and small, and that it appears to them in the shape of their father, mother, brother, kindred, or any other. The fruit they say the dead feed on is about the bigness of a quince. The dead do not appear to them in the day-time, but always at night; and therefore if any one ventures to go abroad at night, it is with great fear.

CHAP. XIV. — *Whence they have this, and who makes them hold such an Opinion.*

THERE is a sort of men among them called Bohutis, who have many juggling tricks, as we shall say hereafter, to make them believe they talk with the dead, that they know all their actions and secrets, and when they are sick, cure them. Thus they impose upon them, which I have seen with my own eyes; though as to the other particulars I relate only what I have heard from many of them, especially the principal men, with whom I conversed more than with others; for these believe such fables more firmly than the others, for they have all their superstition sroduced into old songs, and are directed by them, as the Moors are by the Alcoran. When they sing these songs they

they play upon an instrument called maiohavan, made of wood, hollow, strong, yet very thin, and as long as a man's arm; that part where they play on it is made like a smith's tongs, and the other end like a club, so that it looks like a calabash with a long neck. This instrument they play on, and is so loud, that it is heard a league and a half off; and to that music they sing those songs they have got by heart. The chief men play on it, who learn it from their infancy, and so sing to it according to their custom. Let us now proceed to speak of many other ceremonies and customs of these Gentiles.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Observations of the Indian Buhuitibus; how they profess Physic, teach the People, and are often deceived in their Cures.*

ALL, or most of the people of the island of Hispaniola have abundance of cemies of several sorts: some have their father, mother, kindred and predecessors; some figures cut in stone and wood, and many of both sorts, some that speak, others that cause things to grow, some that eat, and others that cause rain, and others that make the wind blow; which things those ignorant people believe the idols perform, or rather those devils, they having no knowledge of our holy faith. When any one is sick they bring him to buhuitihu, that is, as was said above, the physician. The doctor is obliged to be dieted as the sick man is, and to look like him, which is done thus: he is to purge himself as the sick man does, which is done by snuffing a certain powder, called cohoba, up his nose, which makes him drunk, that he knows not what he does, and so says many extravagant things which they affirm is talking with the cemies, and that they tell them how the sickness came.

CHAP. XVI. — *What these Buhuitibus do.*

WHEN they go to visit any sick body, before they set out from their house, they take the foot of a pot, or pounded charcoal, and black all their face, to make the sick man believe what they please concerning his distemper. Then they take some small bones, and a little flesh, and wrapping them all up in something that they may not drop, put them in their mouth, the sick man being before purged with the powder aforesaid. When the physician is come into the sick man's house, he sits down, and all persons are silent; and if there are any children, they put them out, that they may not hinder the Buhuitihu in performing his office; nor does there remain in the house any but one or two of the chief persons: being thus by themselves, they take some of the herb gioia — broad, and another herb, wrapped up in the web of an onion half a quarter long; one of the gioias and the other they hold, and drawing it in their hands they bruse it into a paste, and then put it in their mouths to vomit what they have eaten, that it may not hurt them; then presently begins their song, and lighting a torch, take the juice. This done, having stayed a little, the buhuitihu rises up, and goes towards the sick man, who sits all alone in the middle of the house, as has been said; and turns him twice about, as he thinks fit; then stands before him, takes him by the legs, and feels his thighs, descending by degrees to his feet; then draws hard, as if he would pull something off; then he goes to the door, shuts it, and says, Begone to the mountain, or to the sea, or whither thou wilt; and giving a blast, as if he blowed something away, turns about, claps his hands together, shuts his mouth, his hands quake as if he were cold, he blows on his hands, and then draws in his blast as if sucking the marrow of a bone, sucks the sick man's neck, stomach, shoulders, jaws,

jaws, breast, belly, and several other parts of his body. This done they begin to cough, and make faces, as if they had eaten some bitter thing, and the doctor pulls out that we said he put into his mouth at home, or by the way, whether stone, flesh, or bone, as above. If it is any thing eatable, he says to the sick man, "Take notice, you have eaten something that has caused this distemper; see how I have taken it out of your body; for your cemi had put it into you because you did not pray to him, or build him some temple, or give him some of your goods." If it be a stone, he says, "Keep it safe." Sometimes they take it for certain, that those stones are good and help women in labour; wherefore they keep them very carefully wrapped up in cotton, putting them into little baskets, giving them such as they have themselves to eat, and the same they do to the cemies they have in their houses. Upon any solemn day, when they provide much to eat, whether fish, flesh, or any other thing, they put it all into the house of the cemies, that the idol may feed on it. The next day they carry all home, after the cemi has eaten. And so God help them, as the cemi eats of that, or any other thing, they being inanimate stocks or stones.

CHAP. XVII. — *How the aforesaid Physicians have been sometimes deceived.*

WHEN they have done as has been said, and yet the patient dies, if the dead man has many friends, or was lord of a territory, and can oppose the said buhuitihu, that is physician, for mean people dare not contend with them, he that would do him harm does it thus: when they would know whether the patient died through the physician's fault, or whether he did not observe what was prescribed; they take an herb, called gueio, whose leaves are like basil, thick and broad, being called by another name, zachon; they take the juice of this leaf, pare the dead man's nails, and cut off the hair on his forehead, which they powder between two stones, and mix with the aforesaid juice of the herb, and pour it down the dead man's throat, or nostrils, and so doing, ask him, whether the physician was the occasion of his death? and whether he observed order? this they ask several times, till he speaks as plain as if he were alive; so that he answers to all they ask of him, saying, the buhuitihu did not observe order, or was the cause of his death; and they say, the physician asks him whether he is alive, and how he comes to talk so plain; and he answers he is dead. When they have known what they desire of him, they return him to his grave, whence they took him to make this enquiry. They use another method to know what they desired: they take the dead body and make a great fire, like that used for making of charcoal, and when the wood is turned into a live coal, they throw the body into that violent fire, and cover it with earth, as the colliers do the coals, where they let it lie as long as they think fit, and there ask questions, as was said before; who answers, he knows nothing. This they ask ten times, and then he speaks no more. They ask, whether he is dead, but he speaks only those ten times.

CHAP. XVIII. — *How the Kindred of the Party departed revenge themselves, when they have got an Answer by means of the Drench.*

THE dead man's kindred get together upon a day appointed, wait for the aforesaid buhuitihu, and bastinado him, till they break his legs, arms, and head, so that he is all battered, and so they leave him for dead. At night, they say, there come abundance of snakes of several sorts, white, black, green, and of several other colours, which lick the said physician's face, and all his body, so left as has been said, and remains in that manner

two or three days. Whilst he is thus, they say the bones of his legs and arms knit together again, he gets up, and walks fair and softly towards his house, and they that saw him ask the question of him, were not you dead? he answers, the cemies came to his assistance in the shape of snakes. The dead man's kindred, in a rage, because they thought they had revenged their relation's death, seeing him alive, grow desperate, and endeavour to lay hold of him to put him to death; and if they can catch him again, they put out his eyes, and bruise his testicles; for they say none of these physicians can die, though never so much bastinadoed, if they do not cut out his testicles.

How they know what they desire of him they burn, and how they take their revenge.

When they uncover the fire, the smoke that comes from it, rises till they lose sight of it, and makes a noise, as it breaks out: then it turns down again, and goes into the house of the buhuitihu, or physician: and that very moment, he that did not observe order, falls sick, is covered with sores, and all the skin of his body flays off; and this they take for a sign that he did not do his duty, and therefore the patient died; for which reason they endeavour to kill him, as was said in the other case. These are the forceries they use.

•CHAP. XIX. — *How they make and keep their wooden and stone Cemies.*

• THOSE of wood are made thus: when any one is travelling he says he sees some tree that shakes its root; the man, in a great fright, stops, and asks who he is; it answers my name is Buhuitihu, and he will inform you who I am. The man repairing to the said physician, tells him what he has seen. The wizard, or conjurer, runs immediately to see the tree the other has told him of, sits down by it and makes it cogioba, as was said above in the story of the four brothers. The cogioba being made, he stands up, gives it all its titles, as if it were some great lord, and asks of it, "Tell me who you are, what you do here, what you will have with me, and why you send for me? Tell me whether you will have me cut you, whether you will go along with me, and how you will have me carry you; and I will build you a house and endow it." Immediately that tree, or cemi, becomes an idol, or devil, answers, telling how he will have him do it. He cuts it into such a shape as he is directed, builds his house, and endows it; and makes cogioba for it several times in the year; which cogioba is to pray to it, to please it, to ask and know of the said cemi, what good or evil is to happen, and to beg wealth of it. When they would know whether they shall be victorious over their enemies, they go into a house, whither none but the chief men are admitted. The lord of them is the first that begins to make the cogioba, and to make a noise; whilst he does it, none of the company speaking till he has done. His prayer being ended, he stands awhile with his head turned about, and his arms on his knees; then he lifts up his head, and looks towards heaven, and speaks. Then they all answer him with a loud voice, and when they have all spoke, giving thanks, he tells the vision he saw, being made drunk with the cogioba he snuffed up his nose, which flies into his head: he says, he has talked with the cemi, and shall obtain victory, or that his enemies shall fly, or that there shall be a great mortality, or war, or famine, or some such thing as occurs to him in his drunken fit.

Consider, what a condition their brains are in; for they say the houses seem to them to be turned topsy turvy, and that the men go upon their heads. This cogioba they make for stone and wooden cemies, as well as for the dead bodies, as has been said above.

above. The stone cemies are of several sorts: some there are, which, they say, the physicians take out of the body of the sick, and those they look upon as the best to help women in labour. Others there are that speak, which are shaped like a long turnip, with the leaves long and extended, like the shrub bearing capers. Those leaves for the most part are like those of the elm. Others have three points, and they think they cause the giuca to thrive. Their roots are like a radish. The leaves of giuca have at least six or seven points; nor do I know what to compare them to, for I have seen nothing like it in Spain or elsewhere. The stem of the giuca is as high as a man. Let us now speak of their opinions concerning the idols and cemies, and how they are deceived by them.

CHAP. XX. — *Of the Cemi, Baidra, and Aiba.*

THEY say in the time of the wars he was burnt, and afterwards being washed with the juice of giuca, his arms grew out again, his body spread, and he recovered his eyes. The giuca was small, and they washed it with the above-mentioned water and juice to make it grow bigger, and they affirm it made those sick who had made the said cemi, because they had not brought it to Giuca to eat. This cemi was called Baidrama, and when any one fell sick, they called the buhuitihu, and asked him whence the distemper proceeded: he answered, Baidrama had sent it, because they had not sent him to eat by those that had charge of his house. This the buhuitihu said, the cemi Baidrama had told him.

CHAP. XXI. — *Of Guamorete's Cemi.*

THEY say that when they built the house of Guamorete, who was a man of note, they put into it a cemi that was on the top of his other house, which cemi was called Corocose; and when they had wars among themselves, Guamorete's enemies burnt the house in which this cemi Corocose was. They say he presently got up, and went a bow-shot from that place, near to a water. They further say, that when he was on the top of the house, he would come down and lie with the women. That afterwards Guamorete died, and the cemi fell into the hands of another cacique, and still continued to lie with the women: and moreover, that he had two crowns grew on his head; for which reason they said, since such a one has two crowns, he is certainly Corocose's son; and this they looked upon as most certain. This cemi came afterwards to another cacique, called Guatabanex, and his country is called Giacoba.

CHAP. XXII. — *Of another Cemi, called Opigielguoviran, which belonged to a great Man whose Name was Cavaramora, who had many Subjects.*

THIS cemi Opigielguoviran, they say, has four feet like a dog's, and is made of wood, and that he would often at night go out of the house into the woods, whither they went to seek him out, and when brought home again, they bound him with cords, yet he would go away to the woods. They say that when the Christians came to the island of Hispaniola he broke loose and went into a morass, whither they followed him by the track, but never saw him since, nor know any thing of him. As I received this, so I deliver it.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Of another Cemi, called Guabancex.*

THIS cemi Guabancex was in the country of a great cacique, whose name was Aumatex; and they say, it is a woman cemi, and has two others with it; one a crier, the other gatherer, or governor of the waters. When Guabancex is angry, they say, it raises the winds and waters, overthrows houses, and shakes the trees. This cemi they say, is a female, and made of stones of that country. The other two cemies that are with it, are called, one of them Guatauva, and is a crier, that by order of Guabancex, makes proclamation for all the other cemies of that province to help to raise a high wind, and cause much rain. The other is, Coatrischie, who they say, gathers the waters in the vallies among the mountains, and then lets them loose to destroy the country. This they believe as most certain.

CHAP. XXIV. — *Their belief of another Cemi, called Faraguvaol.*

THIS cemi belongs to a principal cacique of the island of Hispaniola, is an idol, has several names, and was found as you shall now hear. They say, that on a certain day in past times, before the island was discovered, they know not how long since, being abroad a hunting, they found a certain creature; they ran back, and that got into a ditch; looking into it, they saw a beam, which looked like a thing that had life in it. The huntsman seeing it, ran to his lord, who was a cacique, and father to Guaraionel, telling him what he had seen. They went thither, and found the thing as the huntsman had given information, and taking that log, they built a house to it. They say it went out of that house several times, and returned to the place whence they brought it, not exactly to the same spot, but near it; for the aforesaid lord, and his son Guaraionel, ordering it to be sought out, found it hid; and that another time they bound and put it in a sack, and yet bound as it was, it went away as before. Those ignorant people look upon this as undoubted truth.

CHAP. XXV. — *Of those Things they affirm were reported by two principal Caciques of the island Hispaniola; one of them called Cazziva, father to the aforesaid Guaraionel; the other Ganamaco.*

THAT great lord, who, they say, is in heaven, at the beginning of the book, is this Cazziva, who kept a sort of abstinence here, which all of them generally perform; for they shut themselves up six or seven days, without taking any sustenance but the juice of herbs, with which they also wash themselves. After this time they begin to eat something that is nourishing. During the time they have been without eating, weakness makes them say, they have seen something they earnestly desired, for they all perform that abstinence in honour of the cemies, to know whether they shall obtain victory over their enemies, or to acquire wealth, or any other thing they desire. They say, this cacique affirmed he had spoke with Giocauvaghama, who told him, that whosoever survived him, would not long enjoy his power, because they should see a people clad in their country, who would rule over, and kill them, and they should die for hunger. They thought at first, these should be the canibals, but afterwards considering, that they only plundered and fled, they believed it was some other people the cemi spoke of; and now they believe it is the admiral and those that came with him. Now I will give an account of what I saw and knew, when F. Roman, a poor

anchorite, went to the province Madalena, to a fort built by D. Christopher Colon, admiral, viceroy, and governor of the islands and continent of the Indies, for their majesties King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel. I being in that fort, with Arriaga, appointed governor of it by the aforesaid viceroy D. Christopher Colon, it pleased God to give the light of his faith to a whole family of ill principled people of that province of Madalena, which province was called Maroris, and the lord of it Guavaouviouel, that is, son of Guavauechin. In the said house are his servants, and retainers, whose surname is Gialuvavariu, and were in all sixteen persons, all relations, and among them five brothers. Of these one died, and the other four were baptized; and I believe, they died martyrs, for so it appeared by the manner of their death and their constancy. The first that received baptism was an Indian called Guaticava, afterwards John. This was the first Christian that suffered a cruel death, and to me he seems to have died a martyr; for I have heard from some that were by when he died, that he said, *Dio aboridacha, Dio aboridacha*, that is, I am God's servant. So died his brother Anthony, and another with him, saying the same words. All the people of this house attended me, to do whatsoever I pleased. Such as are left alive at this day, are now Christians, by means of D. Christopher Colon, viceroy and governor of the Indies, and by the grace of God they are very numerous at present.

Let us now say what happened in the province of Madalena. When I was there, the aforesaid lord admiral came to the assistance of Arriaga and some Christians, besieged by the subjects of a principal cacique, called Caovalto. The admiral told me, that the language of the province Madalena Maroris was different from the rest, and not understood in all parts of the country; and therefore bid me go and reside with another principal cacique, called Guarionex, lord of many subjects, whose language was understood all over the island. In obedience to his orders, I went to reside with the said Guarionex. True it is, I said to D. Christopher Colon, my lord, why will you have me go to live with Guarionex, when I know no language but that of Maroris? Be pleased to give leave that one of those Nobuircis, (who were afterwards Christians, and knew both the languages) may go along with me; which he granted, and bid me carry whom I pleased; and it pleased God to give me for a companion, the best of the Indians, and who was best instructed in the Catholic faith; and afterwards took him from me; God be praised who gave and took him away; for indeed, I looked upon him as a good child and a brother; and it was that Guaicavanu, who was afterwards a Christian, and called John. What happened to us there I shall not relate, and how I and Guaicavanu went to Isabella, where we waited for the admiral, till he returned from the relief of Madalena. As soon as he came, we went where he had ordered, with one John de Aguada, who had the command of a fort, which D. Christopher Colon had built, half a league from the place where we were to reside. The admiral commanded the said John de Aguada to allow us such provisions as there were in the fort, which is called the Conception. We continued with that cacique, Guarionex, almost two years, instructing him in our faith, and the manners of Christians. At first he appeared well inclined, and gave some hopes of complying and becoming a Christian, bidding us teach him the Lord's prayer, the creed, and all other Christian prayers, which many in his house learnt; and he said his prayers every morning, and caused all his family to do so twice a day; yet afterwards he fell off from his good purpose, through the fault of some of the principal men of that country, who blamed him for submitting to the law of Christ, since the Christians were ill men, and drove them out of their country by force. Therefore they advised him never to mind any thing that belonged to the Christians; but that he should

join and conspire with them for their destruction, because they could not satisfy them, and were resolved to submit no longer. Thus he fell off from his good beginning, and we perceiving he neglected what he had learnt, resolved to depart thence, and go where we might be more successful in instructing the Indians in the faith. We therefore went away to another principal cacique, who shewed a favourable inclination, saying, he would be a Christian; his name was Maviatue.

Accordingly we set out to go to the said Maviatue's country; I F. Roman Pane, poor anchorite, and F. John Borgognon of the order of St. Francis, and John Matthew the first that was baptized in Hispaniola.

The second day after we set out from the town and habitation of Guarionex, to go to the other cacique, called Maviatue; we found Guarionex's people building a house near the house of prayer, where we left some pictures for the catecumens, to kneel and pray before them. These were the mother, brothers, and kindred, of the aforesaid John Matthew, the first Christian; afterwards seven more joined them, and at last all the family became Christians, and persevered in the faith; so that all the aforesaid family was left to keep that house of prayer, and some lands I had caused to be tilled. They being so left to keep the house, two days after we were gone towards the aforesaid Maviatue, six men went to the aforesaid house of prayer, left in the custody of the seven catecumens, and by order of Guarionex, told them, they should take those pictures, left by F. Roman, and destroy them, since he and his companion were gone, and they knew not what was become of them. These six servants of Guarionex found six children keeping the house of prayer, who being so instructed, said, they should not come in; but they went in by force, took the pictures, and carried them away.

CHAP. XXVI. — *What became of the Pictures, and a Miracle God wrought to shew his Power.*

THESE men being gone out of the house, threw the pictures down, covered them with earth, and pissed upon them, saying, now you will yield much fruit. This they said, because they buried them in a field that was sown, saying, what grew there would be good; but this they did in scorn. The children that were keeping the house by order of the catecumens, seeing this, they ran to their friends who were upon their lands, and told them, that Guarionex's men had abused and scorned the pictures; which they understanding, lest what they were about, and ran crying out to give an account of it to D. Bartholomew Colon, who was then governor, his brother being gone into Spain. He, as lieutenant to the viceroy, proceeded against the offenders, and having convicted them publicly, burnt them. This did not deter Guarionex and his subjects, from their design of murdering all the Christians on the day when they were to bring in their tribute; but the conspiracy was discovered, and they apprehended on the same day they were to put it in execution. Still they held on their resolution, and accordingly killed four Spaniards, besides John Matthew and his brother Anthony, who had been baptized; and running where they had hid the pictures, tore them in pieces. Some days after, the owner of that field went to dig up his agi's, which are certain roots like turnips, and some like radishes; and in the place where the pictures had been buried, two or three agi's were grown in the shape of a cross, as if they had been stuck one through another; nor could any man find this cross, but only the mother of Guarionex, who was the worst woman I knew in those parts, who looked upon this as a great miracle, and said to the commander of the

the fort of the Conception, this miracle has been shewn by God, where the images were found : God knows to what end.

Let us now give an account, how they were converted that first became Christians, and how much will be requisite to convert them all. To say the truth, that island stands in much need of people to punish the lords, when they will not suffer their people to be instructed in the faith ; for they have nothing to say against it, which I can with truth maintain, because it has cost me much labour to know it ; as I am satisfied may be gathered by what has been said hitherto ; and a word to the wife is enough.

The first Christians were those we have beforementioned in the island of Hispaniola, that is, Gianauvariú, in whose house there were seventeen persons who all became Christians, only giving them to understand, that there is one God, who has made all things, and created heaven and earth, without any further arguments or controversy ; for they were easy of belief. With others there must be force and ingenuity used, for all of them are not alike ; forasmuch, as if those had a good beginning and a better end, they were none of those others that begin well, and then fall off from what has been taught them ; and therefore there is need of force and punishment.

The first that received baptism in the island Hispaniola, was John Matthew, who was baptized on the feast of St. Matthew the evangelist, in the year 1496, and after him all his family ; where were many Christians, and a greater progress had been made, had they been instructed in the faith, and the Spaniards been in a condition to keep them under. And if any one should ask, why I make this so easy a matter ? I say, it is because I know it by experience, especially in the person of a principal cacique, called Mahuviavire, who has continued now for three years in his good purpose, saying, he will be a Christian, and have but one wife ; for they used to have two or three, and the great men twenty five or thirty. This is what I could learn and find out as to the customs and ceremonies of the Indians of Hispaniola, with all the pains I have taken ; wherein I expect no spiritual nor temporal advantage. May it please our Lord, if this turns to his honour and service, to give me his grace to persevere ; and if it must fall out otherwise, may he deprive me of my understanding.

The End of the Work of the poor Anchorite Rosnan Panc.

CHAP. LXIII. — *How the Admiral returned to Spain to give their Majesties an Account of the Condition he left the Island in.*

TO return to the main subject of our history ; I say, the admiral having brought the island into a peaceable condition, and built the town of Isabella, besides three forts about the country, he resolved to return into Spain, to acquaint their Catholick Majesties with several matters he thought convenient for their service ; but particularly because of many malicious slanderers, who through envy ceased not to give the king a false information of the affairs of the Indies, to the great prejudice and dishonour of the admiral and his brothers. For these reasons he went on board on Thursday the 10th of March 1496, with 225 Spaniards and 30 Indians, sailed from Isabella about break of day, and turned it along the coast with two caravals, one called Santa Cruz, the other Niña, the same he went in to discover the island of Cuba. On Tuesday the 22d of March he lost sight of the east point of Hispaniola, holding on his

his course eastward as the wind would permit. But the wind for the most part continuing at east, on the 6th of April, finding his provisions fell short, and his men were weary and discouraged, he fell off towards the south to the Caribbee islands, and came up with them in three days, anchoring at Marigalante on Saturday the 9th of April. The next day, though it was not his custom to weigh anchor on a Sunday, when in any port, he set sail, because his men muttered, saying, when they were to seek their bread, they needed not so strictly observe days. So he anchored at the island Guadaloupe, and sending the boats well-manned ashore, before they came to land, abundance of women came out of a wood, with bows and arrows and feathers, as if they would defend their island. For this reason, and because the sea ran somewhat high, those in the boats kept aloof, and sent two Indian women, they brought from Hispaniola, ashore swimming, of whom those other women particularly inquired concerning the Christians; and understanding they only desired provisions in exchange for such things as they had, bid them go with their ships to the north-side, where their husbands were, who would furnish them with what they wanted. The ships sailing close under the shore, saw abundance of people come down to the shore with bows and arrows, who let fly upon our men with great cries, though in vain, for their arrows fell short. But perceiving the boats full of men were going ashore, the Indians went back into an ambush, and when our men drew near, came out to hinder their landing, till being frightened with the cannon fired at them from the ships, they fled to the wood, leaving their houses and goods, where the Christians took and destroyed all they found. Being acquainted with the way of making bread, they fell to work, and made enough to supply their want. Among other things they found in the houses, there were great parrots, honey, wax and iron, whereof they had hatchets to cut, and looms like those for tapestry-work, in which they weave their tents. Their houses were square, and not round, as is usual in the other islands. In one of them was found the arm of a man roasting upon a spit. Whilst the bread was making, the admiral sent forty men up the country, to learn something of it; who the next day returned with ten women and three boys, the rest of the people being fled. Among these women, was the wife of a cacique, whom a Canaryman, that was very nimble, had much difficulty to overtake; and she had got from him, but that seeing him alone, she thought to take him, and closing she got him down, and had stifled him, but that others came in to his assistance. These women's legs are swathed with cotton from the ankle to the knee, that they may look thick, which ornament they call coiro, and look upon it as very genteel; and they gird so hard, that if it happen to slip off the leg, that part appears very thin. The same both men and women use in Jamaica, who swathe their arms up to the arm-pits, that is, about the smallest parts like the old fashioned sleeves used among us. These women are also excessive fat, and there were some thicker than a man could grasp. As soon as children can stand upon their legs and walk, they give them a bow, that they may learn to shoot; and they all wear their hair long and loose upon their shoulders, nor do they cover any part of the body. That lady they took, said, the island was only inhabited by women, and that those who would have hindered the men landing were women, except only four men, who were there accidentally from another island; for at a certain time in the year they come to sport, and lie with them. The same was observed by the women of another island, called Matrimonio, of whom she gave the same account we read of the Amazons; and the admiral believed it by what he saw among those women, and because of the courage and strength that appeared in them. They also say, those women seem to be endowed with clearer under-

understandings than those of the other islands; for in other places they only reckon the day by the sun, and the night by the moon; whereas these women reckoned by other stars, saying, when the Charles Wain rises, or such a star is north, then it is time to do so and so.

CHAP. LXIV. — *The Admiral sails from the Island Guadaloupe for Spain.*

WHEN they had made provision of bread for twenty days, besides what they had aboard, the admiral resolved to continue his voyage towards Spain; but perceiving that island was an inlet to the others, he thought fit first to satisfy those women with some gifts, in satisfaction for the loss they had sustained, and therefore sent them all ashore, except the chief lady, who chose to go into Spain with her daughter, among the other Indians of the island Hispaniola, one of whom was Cuonabo, who, it has been said, was the chief man in all the island, and that because he was not a native of it, but of the Caribbees, and therefore that lady was content to go into Spain with the admiral. He having furnished himself with bread, wood, and water, set sail on Wednesday the 20th of April from Guadaloupe, with the wind very scant, keeping near the latitude of 22 degrees; for at that time they had not found out the method of running away north to meet the south-west winds.

Having made but little way, and the ships being full of people, on the 20th of May, they all began to be much afflicted for want of provisions, which was so great, that they had but six ounces of bread a day for each, and less than a pint of water, without any thing else. And though there were eight or nine pilots in those two ships, yet none of them knew where they were; but the admiral was confident they were but a little west of the Azores, whereof he gives an account in his journal thus.

This morning the Dutch compasses varied, as they used to do, a point; and those of Genoa, that used to agree with them, varied but a very little, but afterwards failing east vary more, which is a sign we are one hundred leagues, or somewhat more, west of the Azores; for when we were just one hundred, there were but a few scattered weeds in the sea; and the Dutch needles varied a point, those of Genoa cutting the north point; and when we are somewhat farther east-north-east, they will alter again; which was verified on Sunday following, being the 22d of May; by which, and the exactness of his account, he found he was one hundred leagues from the islands Azores, which he was surprized at, and assigned this difference to the several sorts of load-stones the needles are made by; for till they come just to that longitude, they all varied a point, and there some held it; and those of Genoa exactly cut the north-star. The same was yet farther demonstrated the next day, being the 24th of May. Thus continuing their voyage, though all the pilots went like blind men, on Wednesday the 8th of June, they came in sight of Odemira, between Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, all the pilots for several days having still made for the land, except the admiral, who the night before slackened his sails for fear of land, saying, he did so because they were near cape St. Vincent, which all laughed at; some of them affirming they were in the English channel, and those that erred least, said, they were on the coast of Galicia, and therefore ought not to take in any sail, it being better to die ashore than starve miserably at sea, the scarcity being so great, that there were many, who, like the canibals, were for eating the Indians they had aboard; and others, to save the little provision there was left, were for throwing them overboard; which they would have done, had not the admiral used all his authority to prevent it, considering they were human creatures, and therefore ought not to be worse used than the rest; and so it pleased God to reward him

him with the sight of land next morning, as he had promised them all, for which reason he was afterwards looked upon by the seamen as most expert, and almost prophetic in sea affairs.

CHAP. LXV. — *How the Admiral went to Court, and their Catholick Majesties set him out again for the Indies.*

THE admiral being landed in Spain, began to prepare for his journey to Burgos, where he was favourably received by Their Catholic Majesties, who were there celebrating the nuptials of Prince John their son, who married Margaret of Austria, daughter to Maximilian the Emperor, who was conducted into Spain, and received by most of the nobility, and the greatest appearance of persons of quality that had ever been seen together in Spain. But though I was present as page to Prince John, I shall not mention the particulars of this solemnity, as well because it does not belong to our history, as because Their Highnesses historiographers have doubtless taken care to do it. Therefore to return to what concerns the admiral, I say, that being come to Burgos, he presented Their Majesties with several things he brought as samples from the Indies, as well birds and beasts, as trees, plants, instruments and other things the Indians use for their service and diversion; also several girdles and masks, with eyes and ears of plates of gold, besides much gold sand, gross and small, as nature produced it: some grains as big as vetches, some as beans, and some as pigeons eggs. This was not afterwards so much valued, because in progress of time, there were pieces of gold found that weighed above thirty pounds. Yet at this time what he brought was much valued, in hopes of what was hoped for, and accordingly Their Majesties received it in good part. When the admiral had given them an account of all that related to the improving and peopling the Indies; he was desirous to return with speed, for fear some disaster should happen in his absence, especially because he had left the people there in great want of all necessaries. Though he pressed hard on this account, yet the affairs of that court being subject to delays, he could not be so soon dispatched, but that ten or twelve months elapsed before he obtained two ships, which were sent before with succours under the command of Peter Fernandez Coronel. These set out in February 1498, and the admiral stayed to negotiate the obtaining such a fleet as was requisite for him to return to the Indies. But he was forced to stay above a year at Burgos and at Medina del Campo; where, in the year 1499, Their Catholic Majesties granted him many favours, and gave the necessary orders for his affairs, and for the government, and settling of the Indies. Whereof I here make mention, that it may appear how ready Their Catholic Majesties were as yet to reward his merits and service, and how much they afterwards altered, through the false informations of malicious and envious persons, inso much as to suffer the wrongs to be done him, which we shall give an account of hereafter. But to return to his departure from court to Seville, there the fitting out of the fleet was retarded much longer than was convenient, through the negligence and ill management of the King's officers, and particularly of D. John de Fonseca, arch-deacon of Seville. Whence it proceeded, that the said D. John, who was afterwards Bishop of Burgos, ever was an utter enemy to the admiral and his affairs, and was chief of those that brought him into disgrace with Their Catholic Majesties. And to the end that D. James my brother and I, who had served as pages to Prince John, who was now dead, might not suffer by his delays, nor be absent from court, till the time of his departure; he sent us, on the 2d of November 1497, from Seville, to serve still as pages to Her Majesty Queen Isabel, or Elizabeth, of glorious memory.

CHAP. LXVI. — *The Admiral sets out from Spain to discover the Continent of Paria.*

THE admiral forwarding his expedition with all possible care, on the 30th of May 1498, set sail from the bay of St. Lucar de Berrameda, with six ships loaded with provisions and other necessities, for the relief of the planters in Hispaniola, and peopling of that island.

On the 7th of June he arrived at the island of Puerto Santo, where he heard mass, and staid to take in wood and water, and what else he stood in need of; yet that same night sailed away towards Madeira, whither he came on Sunday the 9th of June, and there at the town of Fonchal, was courteously received and treated by the governor of that island, with whom he staid to provide himself farther till Saturday in the afternoon, when he sailed, and on Wednesday the 19th of June arrived at Gomera, where there was a French ship that had taken three Spaniards; who seeing the admiral's squadron, weighed and stood to sea with them. The admiral supposing they had been merchant ships, and fled, believing him to be a Frenchman, took no care to pursue, till when they were at a great distance, he was informed what they were, and sent after them three of his ships; for fear of which the French left one of the ships they had taken, and fled with the other two, so that the admiral could not fetch them up. They might have carried the other off too, had they not forsaken it; for when the admiral appeared in the port, in the consternation they were in, they had not time to man it; so that there being but four Frenchmen aboard, and six Spaniards of those that had been taken in it; these seeing the assistance coming to them, clapt the French under hatches, and returned to the port, where the ship was restored to its master; and the French had suffered, but that D. Alvaro de Lugo the governor, and all the island interceded for them, who begged them to exchange for six of their men the French had carried away, which the admiral granted. Still hastening on his way, he sailed for the island Ferro on Thursday the 21st of June. There he resolved to send away three of his six ships to Hispaniola, and to sail away with the rest towards the islands of Capo Verde; thence to sail directly over, and discover the continent. He therefore appointed a captain over each ship, of those he sent to Hispaniola, one of which was Peter de Arana, cousin to that Arana who died in Hispaniola; the second, Alonza Sancher de Carvagal; and the third, one John Anthony Colon, his own kinsman; to whom he gave particular instruction, that each of them should command a week in his turn. This done, he set out for the islands of Capo Verde, and those captains for Hispaniola. But that climate he was then entering upon being unhealthy at that time, he had a terrible fit of the gout in one leg, and four days after he fell into a violent fever; yet notwithstanding his sickness, he was still himself, and diligently observed the way the ship made, the alterations of the weather that happened, as he had done since his first voyage.

On Wednesday the 25th of June he discovered the island de Sal, one of those of Capo Verde; passing by it, he came to another called *Boa Vista*, a name remote from the truth, for it signifies a good sight, and the place is dull and wretched. Here he cast anchor in a channel near a small island on the west side of it, near to where there are six or seven houses of the inhabitants for persons troubled with the leprosy, who came thither to be cured. And as sailors rejoice when they discover land, so do these wretches much more, when they see any ships. Therefore they presently ran down to the shore, to speak to those the admiral sent ashore in the boats to take in water and salt, there being also abundance of goats there. Understanding they were Spaniards,

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the Portuguese who had charge of the island for the owner, went aboard to speak to the admiral, and offer him all he demanded; for which the admiral thanked him, ordered him to be well treated, and some provision given him, because by reason of the barrenness of the island, they always live miserably. The admiral being desirous to know what method they used to cure the lepers, that man told him, that the temperature of the air was one main cause of it; and the next was their diet, because there came thither a vast number of tortoises, on which the sick feed, and anoint themselves with their blood, and continuing it a short time they recover; but that those who are born infected with this distemper are longer a curing. That the reason of having so many tortoises, was the shores being all sandy, whither the tortoises, in the months of June, July, and August, came over from the shore of Africk, most of them as big as an ordinary target, and that every night they came up to sleep and lay their eggs on the sand; that the people went along the shore in the night with lanthorns or other light, seeking the track the tortoise leaves on the sand, which they follow till they find the fish; which being tired with coming so far, sleeps so sound that it hears not its enemy. He having found and turned his belly up, without doing any more harm, goes on to seek more; for when turned, they cannot stir from the place, or recover their feet. Having got as many as they think fit, they come again in the morning to chuse those they like best; and letting go the least, carry away the others to eat. So wretchedly do the sick live, without any other employment or sustenance, the island being very dry and barren, without trees or springs, so that they drink of certain wells whose water is thick and brackish. Those who had charge of the island, which were only that man and four more, had no other employment, but only to kill goats and salt them to send into Portugal. He said, there were such multitudes of these goats on the mountains, that some years they killed to the value of three or four thousand ducats; and that they all came from eight goats, carried thither by the proprietor of the island, whose name was Roderick Alfonso, the King of Portugal's secretary of the customs. That very often the hunters are four or five months without bread, or any other thing to eat, except goats' flesh and fish; for which reason he made great account of the provision he had given him. That man and his companions, with some of the admiral's men, went out a goat-hunting; but perceiving it required much time to kill all he had need of, he would stay no longer, being in great haste.

On Saturday the 30th of June he sailed for the island of Santiago, the chief of Capo Verde, where he arrived the next day in the evening, and anchored near a church, sending ashore to buy some cows and bulls to carry alive to Hispaniola: yet observing it was a difficult matter to furnish himself so soon as he desired, and how prejudicial delays were to him, he resolved to stay no longer; and the more for fear his men should sicken, that country being unhealthy. He says, that all the while he was at that island, he never saw the sky nor any star; but there was always a thick hot fog, inasmuch that three parts of the inhabitants were sick, and they all of them had a base colour.

CHAP. LXVII.—*How the Admiral sailed from the Islands of Capo Verde, to discover the Continent; of the violent Heat he endured, and great Brightness of the North-Star.*

ON Thursday the 5th of July the admiral left the island of Santiago, sailing south-west, with a resolution to hold that course till he was under the equinoctial, and then to steer due west, that he might find some other land, or cross over to Hispaniola. But the currents among those islands setting violently towards the north and north-west.

to the boats in going backwards and forwards. On the way before they came to this point, a canoo began to follow them with twenty-five men in it, and stopped at about a cannon shot distance, calling out and talking very loud. Nothing could be understood, though it was supposed they inquired who our men were, and whence they came, as the other Indians used to do at first. There being no possibility of persuading them with any words to come aboard, they began to shew them several things, that they might covet to have them, such as little brads, balons, looking-glasses, and other things the rest of the Indians used to make great account of. But though this drew them a little, yet they soon stopped again; and therefore the more to allure them, the admiral ordered one to get upon the poop with a tabor and pipe, and some young fellows to dance. As soon as the Indians saw it, they put themselves into a posture of defence, laying hold of their targets, and shooting their arrows at those that danced, who, by the admiral's command, that those people might not go unpunished, or condemn the Christians, leaving their dance began to shoot with their cross bows, so that they were glad to draw off, and made to another caraval, clapping close to its side without any apprehension. The pilot of the ship went over into the canoo, and gave them some things they were very well pleased with, and said, if they had been ashore they would have brought him bread from their houses, and so they went towards land; nor would they in the ship stop ever a one, for fear of displeasing the admiral. The account they gave of them was, that they were well-shaped people, and whiter than those of the other islands; and that they wear their hair long, like women, bound with small strings, and covered their privities with little clouts.

CHAP. LXX. — *Of the Danger the Ships were in, entering the Mouth of the Channel, they called Boca del Drago, or the Dragon's Mouth; and how Paria was discovered, being the first Discovery on the Continent.*

AS soon as the ships had anchored at Punto del Arenal, the admiral sent the boats ashore for water, and to get some information of the Indians; but they could do neither, that country being very low, and unpeopled. He therefore ordered them the next day to dig trenches on the island, and by good luck they found them ready made, and full of excellent water, and it was thought the fishermen had made them. Having taken what they wanted, the admiral resolved to proceed on to another mouth or channel which appeared towards the north-west, which he afterwards called Boca del Drago, or the Dragon's Mouth, to distinguish it from that where he was, to which he had given the name of Boca de la Sierpe, or the Serpent's Mouth. These two mouths or channels, like the Dardanelles, were made by the two westernmost points of the Trinity island, and two others of the continent, and lay almost north and south of one another. In the midst of that, where the admiral anchored, was another rock, which he called El Gallo, that is the Cock. Through this mouth, he called Boca de Sierpe, the water continually ran so furiously northward, as if it had been the mouth of some great river, which was the reason of giving it that name, because of the fright it put them into. For as they lay very securely at anchor, there came a stronger stream of water than usual, with a hideous noise, running through that mouth northward. And another current running out of the gulph now called Paria, opposite to that before-mentioned, they met with hideous roaring, and caused the sea to swell up like a high mountain, or ridge of hills along that channel, which mountain soon came towards the ships, to the great terror of all men, fearing they should over-set. But it pleased God it passed under, or rather lifted them up without doing any harm, though it drew the anchor

anchor of one of them, carrying the vessel away; but by the help of their sails they escaped the danger, not without mortal fear of being lost. That furious current being passed, the admiral considering the danger he was in there, stood for the Dragon's Mouth, which was between the north point of the Trinity island, and the east point of Paria; yet went not through it at that time, but sailed along the south coast of Paria westward, believing it to be an island, and hoping to find a way out northwards towards Hispaniola. And though there were many ports along that coast of Paria, he would put into none, all the sea being a harbour locked in with the continent.

CHAP. LXXI. — *How there was some Gold and Pearls found in Paria, and a People of good Conversation.*

THE admiral being at an anchor on the fifth of August, and it being his particular devotion never to weigh on a Sunday, he sent the boats ashore, where they found abundance of fruit of the same sort they had seen in the other islands; great numbers of trees, and signs of people that had fled for fear of the Christians. But being unwilling to lose time, he sailed down the coast fifteen leagues farther without going into any harbour, for fear he should miss of wind to bring him out. Being at an anchor on the coast, at the end of these fifteen leagues, there came out a canoo to the caraval called El Borreo, with three men in it; and the pilot knowing how much the admiral coveted to receive some information from those people, he pretended to talk to them, and let himself fall into the canoo, and the Spaniards in the boat took those three men, and carried them to the admiral, who made very much of them, and sent them ashore with many gifts, where there appeared abundance of Indians. These hearing the good account the three gave them, came all in their canoes to barter for such things as they had, which were much the same as had been seen in the islands before discovered, only that here they had no targets, nor poisoned arrows, which these people do not use, but only the cannibals. Their drink was a sort of liquor as white as milk, and another somewhat blackish, tasting like green wine made of grapes not quite ripe, but they could not learn what fruit it was made of. They wore cotton cloths well wove, of several colours, about the bigness of a handkerchief, some bigger and some less; and what they most valued of our things was brass, and especially bells. The people seem to be more civilized and tractable than those of Hispaniola. They cover their nakedness with one of those cloths above-mentioned, and have another wrapped about their head. The women cover nothing, not even their privities: the same they do in the Trinity island. They saw nothing of value here, except some little plates of gold they hung about their necks; for which reason, and because the admiral could not stay to dive into the secrets of the country, he ordered six of those Indians to be taken, and continued his voyage westward, believing that land of Paria, which he called the Holy Island, was no continent. Soon after another island appeared towards the south, and another no less than that towards the west, all high land, sowed and well peopled; and the Indians had more plates of gold about their necks than the others, and abundance of guaninis, which is very low gold. They said that was produced in other western islands, inhabited by people that eat men. The women had strings of beads about their arms, and among them very fine large and small pearls strung, some whereof were got in exchange to send their Catholic Majesties as a sample. Being asked where they found those things, they made signs to show that in the oyster-shells which were taken westward of that land of Paria, and beyond it towards the north. Upon this, the admiral staid there to know more of that good discovery, and sent the

boats ashore, where all the people of the country that had flocked together, appeared so tractable and friendly, that they importuned the Christians to go along with them to a house not far off, where they gave them to eat, and a great deal of that wine of theirs. Then from that house, which it is likely was the King's palace, they carried them to another, which was his son's, and shewed them the same kindness. They were all in general whiter than any they had seen in the Indies, and of better aspects and shapes, with their hair cut short by their ears, after the Spanish fashion. From them they understood that land was called Paria, and that they would be glad to be in amity with the Christians. Thus they departed from them, and returned to the ships.

CHAP. LXXII. — *How the Admiral passed through Boca del Drago, and the Danger he was in there.*

THE admiral holding on his voyage westward, they still found less and less water, inasmuch that being come through four or five fathom, they found but two and a half at ebb, for the tide differed from that at the Trinity island; for at the Trinity, the water swelled three fathom, and here being forty-five leagues to the westward, it rose but one; and there always, whether ebb or flood, the current ran west; and here upon the ebb they ran east, and upon the flood west; there the water was but brackish, here it was like river water. The admiral perceiving this difference, and how little water he found, durst proceed no farther in his ship, which required three fathom water, being of a hundred ton, and therefore came to an anchor on that coast, which was very safe, being a port like a horse-shoe, locked with that land on all sides. However, he sent the little caraval, called El Borreo, or the Post, to discover whether there was any pass westward among those islands. She having gone but a little way, returned the next day, being the eleventh of August, saying, that at the westernmost point of that sea, there was a mouth or opening, two leagues over from north to south, and within it a round bay, with four other little bays, one towards each quarter of heaven; that from each of them flowed a river, whose water made that sea so sweet, which was yet much sweeter farther in; adding, that all that land which seemed to be islands, was one and the same continent; that they had every where four or five fathom water, and such abundance of those weeds they saw in the ocean, that they hindered their sailing. The admiral, therefore, being certain he could not get out westward, that same day stood back to the eastward, designing to pass the straits, which he saw between the land the Indians call Paria, and the Trinity. In this strait there are four little islands east near the point of the Trinity, which he called cape Boca, because it was blunt, well upon the point of the continent, which he called cape Lapa, and in the middle. The reason why he called this the Dragon's Mouth, was, because it is very dangerous, by reason of the abundance of fresh water that struggles to get out there into the sea, and made three boisterous channels, extending from east to west the width of the strait. And because, as he was sailing through, the wind failed him, and he was in danger of being drove on some sand or rock; therefore he with reason gave it a name answerable to that of the other mouth, where he was in no less danger, as was said above. But it pleased God, that what they most dreaded should be their greatest safety, the strength of the current carrying them off. Therefore on Monday the 17th of August, he began to sail westward along the coast of Paria, in order to stand over afterwards for Hispaniola, giving thanks to God, who delivered him from so many troubles and dangers, still shewing him new countries full of peaceable people and great wealth, especially that which he certainly concluded to be the

the continent, because of the great extent of that gulph of pearls, of the rivers that ran from it, of the sea, which was all sweet water; and by the authority of Esdras, in the eighth chapter of the 4th book, where he says, that dividing the globe into seven parts, only one of them is covered with water; for all the Indians of the Caribbee islands had told him, there was a vast land southward.

CHAP. LXXIII.—*How the Admiral stood over from the Continent to Hispaniola.*

THE admiral sailing along westward on the coast of Paria, still fell farther off from it towards the north-west, the currents in being calm driving him that way; so that on Wednesday the 15th of August, he left the cape, he called De las Conchas, or of Shells, south of him, and the island Margarita west, which name he gave this island, perhaps by divine inspiration, because close by it lies that of Cubagua, where an infinite quantity of pearls has been found; and in Hispaniola and Jamaica at his return he called some Mountains of Gold, where afterwards was found the greatest quantity and largest pieces that ever were carried from thence into Spain. But to return to his voyage, he held on his course by six islands, which he called Las Gardes, or The Guards, and three others more to the north, Los Testigos, or The Witnesses. And though they still discovered much land of Paria westward, yet the admiral says, he could not from this time give such an account of it as he could wish, because through overmuch watching, his eyes were inflamed, and therefore was forced to take most of his observations from the sailors and pilots. He also says, that this same night, being Thursday the 16th of August, the compasses which till now had not varied, did at this time, at least a point and a half, and some of them two points, wherein there could be no mistake, because several persons had always watched to observe it. Admiring at this, and grieved that he had not the opportunity of following the course of the continent, he held on north-west, till on Monday the 20th of August he came to anchor between Beaca and Hispaniola; whence he sent a letter by some Indians to his brother the Adelantado, acquainting him with his safe arrival and success. He was surprized to find himself so far westward; for though he knew the force of the currents failed, yet he did not think it had been so much. Therefore to the end his provisions might not fail him in time of need, he stood to the eastward for S. Domingo, into which harbour he sailed on the 30th of August; for here the lieutenant his brother had appointed the city to be built on the east-side of the river, where it stands at present, and was called Santo Domingo in memory of his father, whose name was Dominick.

CHAP. LXXIV.—*The Rebellion and Troubles the Admiral met with in Hispaniola, raised by the wickedness of one Francis Roldan, whom he had left as Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Justice.*

THE admiral being come to S. Domingo, almost blind with over-watching, he hoped there to rest himself after his voyage, and find peace among his people, but found all quite contrary, for all the people in the island were in disorder and rebellion; for abundance of those he had left were dead, and of those that remained, above one hundred and sixty were sick of the French pox, and besides that many were in rebellion with Roldan, he found not the three ships, we said he sent before him from the Canary islands. Of these things it is requisite we speak orderly, beginning from the time the admiral set out for Spain, which as we said, was in March 1496, thirty months

months before his return; the first part of which time the people continued pretty quiet, in hopes of his return, and of being speedily relieved: But the first year, being passed, the Spanish provisions failing, and sickness and sufferings increasing, they began to be dissatisfied with what was, and to despair of any better; so that the complaints of many discontented persons were heard, who never want somebody to stir them up, desiring to be head of a party, as was now done by one Francis Roldan, born at Torre de D. Ximeno, whom the admiral had left in such power among both Christians and Indians, by making him chief justice, that he was as much obeyed as himself. For this reason it is to be supposed there was not that good understanding between him and the admiral's lieutenant, as ought to have been for the publick good, as time and experience made it appear. For the admiral, neither returning himself, nor sending any supplies, this Roldan began to think of possessing himself of the island, designing for this purpose to murder the admiral's brothers, as those that could best oppose his rebellion, and waited an opportunity to put this in execution. It happened that the lieutenant of the island, one of the admiral's brothers, went to a province in the west, called Xaragua, eighty leagues from Isabella, where the said Roldan remained in his employ, but subordinate to D. James, second brother to the admiral. This Roldan was so offended at, that whilst the lieutenant was taking order how the kings of the island should pay tribute to their Catholick Majesties, as the admiral had rated all the Indians, Orlando began underhand to draw some of them over to his party. But that it might not prove fatal to rise on a sudden, and without some pretence; that which Roldan laid hold of was, that there was a caraval ashore at Isabella, built by the lieutenant of the island, to send to Spain in case of necessity, and there being no launching of it for want of tackle and other necessaries, Roldan feigned and gave out there was some other reason for it, and that it behoved the publick, that caraval should be fitted out, that some of them might go to Spain in it, to give an account of their sufferings. Thus, upon pretence of the publick good, he pressed that it might be launched, and D. James Columbus not consenting to it for want of tackle, as has been said, Roldan began more boldly to treat with some about launching the caraval in despite of him; telling those he thought to agree with him, that if the lieutenant and D. James were displeased at it, the reason was because they would secure to themselves the dominion of the country, and keep them in subjection, without any ship that might carry the news of their revolt to their Catholick Majesties. And since they were satisfied and convinced of the cruelty and ill-nature of the lieutenant; and what a restless life he led them, building towns and forts, and that they had no hopes of the admiral's coming with supplies, it was fit they should take that caraval and procure their liberty, and not suffer themselves under pretence of pay, which they never received, to be kept under by a foreigner, whereas it was in their power to live at ease and in plenty; for that whatsoever could be had in the island would be equally divided among them, and they would be served by the Indians to their own content, without being so much in subjection that they could not take to wife any Indian woman they pleased. That the lieutenant made them keep the three vows of religious men; and besides that, they wanted not for fasts and disciplines, as also imprisonment, and other punishments, which they endured for the least fault. Therefore, since he had the rod of justice and regal authority, which secured them against any thing that might befall them on this account, he advised them to do what he directed, wherein they could not do amiss. With these and the like words, proceeding from the hatred he bore the lieutenant, he drew so many over to his own party, that one day when the lieutenant was come back from Xaragua to Isabella,

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some of them resolved to stab him, looking upon it as so easy a matter, that they had provided a halter to hang him up after he was dead. What at present the more incensed them, was the imprisoning of one Barahona, a friend to the conspirators, against whom, if God had not put it into the heart of the lieutenant not to proceed to execution of justice at that time, they had then certainly murdered him.

CHAP. LXXV. — *How Francis Roldan endeavoured to make the Town of Conception mutiny, and plundered Isabella.*

FRANCIS ROLDAN, perceiving he had missed of the murder of the lieutenant, and his conspiracy was discovered, he resolved to possess himself of the town and fort of The Conception, thinking from thence he might easily subdue the island. It fell out conveniently for his design, that he was near the said town; for whilst the lieutenant was aboard, he had been sent with forty men about that province, to reduce the Indians that had revolted, with the same design of making themselves masters of that town, and destroying the Christians. So that Roldan, under pretence of putting a stop to this evil, and punishing the Indians, gathered his men at the residence of one of their caciques, called Marche, designing to put his project in execution upon the first opportunity. But Ballester, the commander of the fort, having some jealousy of him, he stood upon his guard, and acquainted the lieutenant of the island with the danger he was in, who with all speed, and what men he could gather, threw himself into the fort. Thither Roldan came upon a safe conduct, now his conspiracy was discovered, rather to observe by the lieutenant what might do him harm, than through any desire of coming to an accommodation, and with more boldness and impudence than became him, required the lieutenant to cause the caraval to be launched, or give him leave to launch it, which he and his friends would do. The lieutenant incensed at these words, answered, that neither he nor his friends were seamen, or knew what was proper to be done in that case; and that though they had known how to launch it, yet they could not fail in her for want of rigging and other necessaries, and therefore it would be only exposing the men and the caraval. And, forasmuch as the lieutenant understood that affair, as a seaman, and they not being such, knew nothing of it, therefore they varied in their judgments. These, and other displeasing words having passed between them, Roldan went away in a passion, refusing to quit his rod of justice, or stand trial, as the lieutenant ordered, saying, he would do both, when Their Majesties, whose the island was, commanded him; knowing he could expect no justice from him, because of the hatred he bore him, but that right, or wrong, he would find means to put him to death with shame: that in the mean while, not to exceed the bounds of reason, he would go and reside where he should bid him. But he at present appointing him the residence of the cacique James Colon, he refused it, saying, there were not provisions there for his men, and that he would find a more convenient place. He set out towards Isabella, and having gathered sixty five men, perceiving he could not launch the caraval, he plundered the magazines, he and his followers taking away what arms, stuffs, and provisions they thought fit; D. James Colon, who was there, not being able to oppose him, but would have been in danger, had he not retired to the fort with some friends and servants. Yet in the process afterwards drawn up on this subject, there were some that deposed, that Roldan promised to submit to him, provided he would take his part against his own brother: which he refusing, and Roldan not being able to do him any further harm, as also fearing the succours that were coming from the lieutenant,

he went out of town with all the mutineers, and falling on the cattle that grazed thereabouts, they killed such as they liked to eat, and took the beasts of burden to serve them in their journey, resolving to go into the province of Xaragua, whence the lieutenant was lately come designing to settle there, that being the pleafantest and moft plentiful part of the island; the people here being more civilized and wifer than the rest of the natives of Hispaniola; but above all, because the women were the handfonest, and of the moft pleasing conversation of any others; which moft invited them to go thither. But that they might not go without making trial of their strength, before the lieutenant could increase his power, and punish them as they deserved, they resolved to take the town of The Conception in their way, to surprize it, and kill the lieutenant; and in case this did not succeed, to besiege him. The lieutenant having intelligence of their design, stood upon his guard, encouraging his men with good words, and promising them many gifts, and each of them two slaves. And forasmuch as he understood, that moft of those that were with him liked the life Roldan and his men led, so well, that many of them gave ear to his messages; therefore Roldan having conceived hopes that they would all go over to him, had the boldness to undertake that enterprize, which did not succeed as he expected. For the lieutenant having provided, as has been said, being himself a man of great resolution, and having the best men on his side, was resolved to do that by force of arms, which he could not compass by fair means and arguments. Having therefore gathered his men together, he marched out of town to attack the rebels on the road.

CHAP. LXXVI. — *How Francis Roldan incensed the Indians against the Lieutenant, and went away with his Men to Xaragua.*

FRANCIS ROLDAN, perceiving he was so disappointed, and that not one of the lieutenant's men came over to him, as he had expected, resolved to retire in time, and go away to Xaragua, as he designed at first, not daring to meet him, yet presumed to talk contemptibly of him, and to stir up the Indians, wherever he went, to rebel against him, telling them, the cause of his forsaking him was his being a man naturally revengeful and morose, as well towards the Christians as Indians; and abominably covetous, imposing great burdens and tributes on them; which if they bore with, he would increase every year, though against Their Catholic Majesties' will; who required nothing of their subjects but obedience, maintaining them in justice, liberty and peace; which, if they feared they should not be able to maintain, he with his friends and followers, would assist them to assert, and would declare himself their protector and deliverer. After which, they resolved to forbid paying the tribute, we said, had been imposed on them, by which means it could not be gathered of those that dwelt far from the lieutenant, nor durst he exact it of those near about him, for fear of provoking them to join with the rebels. Yet this condescension towards them had not so good an effect, but that as soon as the lieutenant was gone from The Conception, Guarionex, who was the principal cacique of that province, with the assistance of Roldan, resolved to besiege the fort, and destroy the Christians that kept it. The better to effect it, he drew together all the caciques of his party, and agreed with them privately, that every one should kill those that were within his precinct, because the territories in Hispaniola being too small for any of them to maintain a great number of people, the Christians had been obliged to divide themselves into small parcels of eight or nine in each liberty. This gave the Indians hopes, that surprizing them all at the same time, they might have it in their power to suffer none to escape. But they hav-

ing no other way of fixing a time, or ordering any thing else that requires counting, but only by their fingers, they resolved, that every one should be ready to destroy the Christians at the next full moon. Guarionex having thus disposed his caciques to put this in execution, the chiefest of them being desirous to gain honour, and looking upon the matter as very easy, and being no good astronomers, to know when the full moon was, fell on before the time appointed, and were forced to fly, after many blows. He thinking to find assistance in Guarionex, found his own ruin; for he put him to death, as he had deserved, for having caused the conspiracy to be discovered, and the Christians to be upon their guard. The rebels were not a little concerned at this miscarriage; for, as was reported, it had been contrived with their consent, and therefore they waited to see, whether Guarionex brought affairs to such terms, that joining with him they might destroy the lieutenant: but perceiving this did not succeed, they thought not themselves secure in the province where they were, but went away to Xaragua, still proclaiming themselves protectors of the Indians; whereas they were thieves in their actions and inclinations, having no regard for God or the world, but following their inordinate appetites; for every one stole what he could, and Roldan their leader more than all of them, persuading and commanding every cacique to entertain him, that could and would defend the Indians and rebels from paying the tribute the lieutenant demanded of them, though at the same time he under this pretence took much more from them; for from only one cacique, whose name was Manicaotex, he received every three months, a calabash, containing three marks of pure gold, that is, a pound and a half, and to be the more sure of him, kept his son and nephew as hostages. He that reads this, must not wonder that we reduce the marks of gold to the measure of a calabash, which we do to shew, that the Indians in these cases dealt by measure, because they never had any weights.

CHAP. LXXVII. — *How the Ships came from Spain with Provisions and Supplies.*

THE Christians being thus divided, as has been said, and no ships yet coming from Spain with supplies, neither the lieutenant nor his brother D. James, could keep the people quiet that had remained with them; for most of them being mean persons, and desirous to lead that easy life Roldan promised them, they durst not punish the guilty, for fear of being forsaken; which made them so insolent, that it was impossible to keep them in order, and therefore they were forced to bear with the affronts of the rebels. But it being God's will to afford them some comfort, it pleased him to order that the two ships should arrive, which, as was said before, had been sent a year after the admiral's departure from the Indies, not without great application used by him at court for fitting them out; for he, considering the nature of the country, the dispositions of the people he left behind, and the great danger that might accrue from his long absence, pressed for, and obtained of Their Catholic Majesties, that those two ships might be sent before, of eighteen he had been ordered to fit out. The arrival of these, the supplies they brought of men and provisions, and the assurance that the admiral was safe arrived in Spain, encouraged those that were with the lieutenant to serve him more faithfully, and made those that followed Roldan, apprehensive of being punished. These being desirous to hear news, and furnish themselves with what they wanted, resolved to repair to St. Domingo, where the ships had arrived, in, hoping to draw some of the men over to their party. But the lieutenant having intelligence of their march, and being nearer that harbour, he moved towards them to hinder their passage; and having left guards on the passes, went to the port to see the

the ships, and order the affairs of that place. And being desirous the admiral should find the island in a peaceable condition, and all troubles ended, he again made new overtures to Roldan, who was six leagues off with his men, sending to him for this purpose the commander of the two ships lately arrived, whose name was Peter Fernandez Coronel; as well because he was a man of worth and in authority, as because he hoped his words would prove more effectual, since he as an eye-witness, could certify him of the admiral's arrival in Spain, the good reception he had found, and the willingness Their Majesties expressed to make him still greater. But the chief men among them, fearing the impression this messenger might make upon their followers, would not suffer him to speak in publick; so that they received him with their bows and arrows on the road, and he could only speak some few words to those that were appointed to hear him. Thus having done nothing, he returned to the town, and the rebels to their quarters in Xaragua, not without apprehensions, lest Roldan and some of the principal men of his gang, should write to their friends that were with the lieutenant, desiring them when the admiral came, to intercede for them, since all their complaints were against the lieutenant, and not against the admiral himself, for which reason they desired to be restored to his favour.

CHAP. LXXVIII. — *How the three Ships the Admiral sent from the Canary Islands arrived where the Rebels were.*

HAVING spoke of the arrival of the two ships the admiral sent from Spain to Hispaniola, it is fit we give an account of the three that parted from him at the Canary islands, which proceeded on their voyage with fair winds till they came to the Caribbee islands, which are the first that sailors meet with in their way to the port of St. Domingo. The pilots then not being so well acquainted with that voyage, as they have been since, it happened they knew not how to hit that port, and were carried away by the currents so far to westward, that they arrived in the province of Xaragua, where the rebels were, who as soon as they understood that those ships were out of their way, and knew nothing of their revolt, some of them went peaceably aboard, pretending they were there by the lieutenant's orders, the better to be supplied with provisions, and keep that country under. But it being very easy for a secret, that is among many, to be discovered, Alonso Sanchez de Caravajal, who was the skilfullest of the captains of those ships, being aware of the rebellion and discord, began immediately to make overtures of peace to Francis Roldan, thinking to bring him to submit to the lieutenant. But the familiar conversation the rebels had before entertained aboard the ships, was the cause that his persuasions had not the desired effect; for Roldan had privately obtained promises from many of those that came fresh out of Spain, that they would stay with him, and by that accession he hoped to become still greater. Caravajal therefore finding things were not in such a posture that he might hope for a speedy conclusion of what he had in hand, thought it convenient, with the advice of the other two captains, that the people they brought under pay to work in the mines, and other employments, should go by land to St. Domingo, because the winds and currents being set there against that voyage, it was possible they might not perform it in two or three months; so that they would not only consume the provisions, but the men might fall sick, and the time be lost, which ought to have been employed in the service they came for. Having agreed upon this, it fell to John Anthony Colon his lot to march with the men, which were forty, to Arana, to sail about with the ships, and to Caravajal to stay and endeavour to bring the rebels

to an accommodation. John Anthony Colon setting forward the second day after they landed, those labourers and vagabonds sent over to work went away to the rebels, leaving their captain with only six or seven men that stuck to him. He seeing their base infidelity, without apprehending any danger went to Roldan, and told him, that since he pretended to promote the service of Their Catholic Majesties, it was not reasonable he should suffer those men that were come to people and cultivate the country, and to follow their callings with wages in hand, to stay there and lose their time, without doing any thing of that they were obliged to; and that if he had turned them away, it had been a token that his words and his actions agreed; that his staying there caused the division and disorder with the lieutenant, and not any inclination in him to obstruct the King's service. But that which had happened turning to the account of Roldan and his followers, as well for the carrying on their design, as because the crime committed by many is generally soonest connived at; he excused himself as to that point, saying, he could not use violence towards them, and that his was a religious order, which refused no man. John Anthony knowing it was not the part of a discreet man to expose himself to the danger of pressing farther without hopes of success, resolved to go aboard again with those few that followed him; and therefore that they might not be served so by those that were left, they two captains sailed immediately with their two ships towards St. Domingo, with the wind as contrary as they had feared; for they spent many days, spoiled their provisions, and Caravajal's ship was much damaged upon certain sands, where she lost her rudder and sprung a leak, so that they had much to do to bring her in.

CHAP. LXXIX.—*How the Captains of the Ships that came from Xaragua, found the Admiral at St. Domingo.*

THE captains with their ships arriving at St. Domingo, in their return from Xaragua, found the admiral there, after his discovery of the continent. He being fully informed of the condition of the rebels, and having seen the process his lieutenant had made against them, though the crime was plainly made out to deserve severe punishment, yet he thought fit to form a new process, and give Their Majesties an account of it, resolving at the same time to use all the moderation he could in this matter, and endeavouring to reduce them by fair means. For which reason, and that neither they nor any others might have cause to complain of him, or say he kept them there by force, he made proclamation on the 12th of September, giving leave to all that would return to Spain, and promising them free passage and provisions. And being informed on the other hand, that Roldan was coming towards St. Domingo with some of his men, he ordered Michael Ballester, commander of The Conception, to secure his own town and fort; and in case Roldan came that way, he should tell him from the admiral, that he was much concerned at his sufferings and all that was past, and would have no more said of it, granting a general pardon to all, and desiring him to come away immediately to the admiral, without fearing any thing, that by his advice things might be ordered, as was for Their Majesties service; and if he required any safe conduct, he would send it him in such form as he required. Ballester returned answer on the 14th of February, that he had received certain information, that Riquelme was the day before come to the town of Bonao, and that Adrian and Roldan, who were the ring-leaders, would meet there in seven or eight days, at which time he might there apprehend them, as he did. For having discoursed them according to the instructions given him, he found them ob-

stinate

stinate and unmannerly, Roldan telling him, they were not come to treat, nor did they desire, or care for peace, for he had the admiral and his authority at his beck, either to support, or suppress it, as he pleased; and that they must not talk to him of any accommodation, till they had sent him all the Indians taken at the siege of The Conception, since they had met together to serve the King, and upon his promise of security. Other things he added, by which it appeared he would make no agreement, but what was much to his advantage. To this purpose he demanded, that the admiral should send Caravajal to him, because he would treat with no other but him, he being a man that would hear reason, and had discretion, as he had found by experience, when the three ships, as has been said, were at Xaragua. This answer made the admiral suspect Caravajal, and not without much cause.

First, because before Caravajal was at Xaragua, where these rebels then were, they had often writ and sent messages to their friends that were with the lieutenant, telling them, they would come and deliver themselves up to the admiral as soon as he arrived, and therefore they desired them to intercede for them, and appease him.

Secondly, because, since they did this, as soon as they heard there were two ships come to the assistance of the lieutenant, they had much more cause to perform it, knowing the admiral was not come, had not the long conference Caravajal had with them prevented it.

Thirdly, because if he would have done his duty, he might have kept Roldan, and the chief men of his gang prisoners, aboard his caraval, they having been two days aboard without any security given.

Fourthly, because knowing as he did, that they were in rebellion, he ought not to suffer them to buy aboard the ships, as they did, fifty-six swords, and sixty cross-bows.

Fifthly, because there being some proofs that the men who were to land with John Anthony to go to St. Domingo, would join the rebels, he ought not to suffer them to land, or at least when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more industrious to endeavour to recover them.

Sixthly, because he gave out that he came to the Indies as companion to the admiral, that nothing might be done without him, for fear the admiral should commit some offence.

Seventhly, because Roldan had writ to the admiral by Caravajal himself, acquainting him, that he was drawing near to St. Domingo with his men, by the advice of Caravajal, to be the nearer to treat of an accommodation, when the admiral arrived in Hispaniola; and now he was come, his actions not suiting with his letter, it appeared he had rather invited him to come thither, to the end that if the admiral had been long coming, or had not come at all, he, as the admiral's associate, and Roldan as chief justice, might govern the island in despite of the lieutenant.

Eighthly, because at the same time that the other captains came with the three caravals to St. Domingo, he came by land attended by a guard of the rebels, and one of the chief of them called Gamir, who had been two days and two nights with him aboard his ship.

Ninthly, because he writ to the rebels when they came to Bonão, and sent them presents and provisions.

Tenthly and lastly, because, besides that the said rebels would not treat with any body but him, they all unanimously said, if there had been occasion, they would have taken him for their captain.

Yet the admiral, on the other side, considering that Caravajal was a discreet prudent person, and a gentleman, and that every one of those arguments might be answered, and perhaps what he had been told was not true, and looking upon him as one that would not do any thing contrary to his duty, having a great desire to put out that fire, he resolved to consult with all the chief men he had about him, about Roldan's answer, and resolve upon what was to be done on this occasion. All agreeing upon it, he sent Caravajal, with Ballester, to treat, who had no other answer from Roldan, but that since they had not brought the Indians he demanded, they should not without them talk of any accommodation. Caravajal discreetly answering to these words, made so taking a discourse, that he moved Roldan and three or four of the chief men to go wait upon the admiral and agree with him; but the others disliking of it, as Roldan and the others were mounting their horses to go with Caravajal to the admiral, they fell upon them, saying, they would not allow them to go, and that if any agreement was to be made, it should be drawn up in writing, that they might all know what was doing: so that after some days passed, upon this resolution, on the 20th of October, Roldan, by the consent of all his men, writ a letter to the admiral, laying the blame of their separation on the lieutenant; and telling the admiral, that since he had not in writing sent them security to come and give an account of themselves, they had resolved to send him their demands in writing, which were the reward of what they had hitherto done, as shall appear hereafter. Though their proposals were extravagant and insolent, yet the commander Ballester, the next day, writ to the admiral, extolling Caravajal's moving discourse, and saying, that since it was not of force to remove those people from their wicked design, nothing less than granting them what they demanded would prevail; for he found them so resolute, that he looked upon it as most certain, that most of the people that were with his lordship would go over to the rebels. And though he might rely on his servants and men of honour, yet they would not be able to withstand such a number, many daily resorting to them, which the admiral already knew by experience; for when Roldan was near St. Domingo, he mustered all that were fit to bear arms, if it were requisite, and observed that some feigning themselves sick, and some lame, he had not found above seventy men, of which there were not forty that he could confide in. For which reason, the next day being the 17th of October 1498, the aforesaid Roldan, and the chief of his followers, who would have gone to the admiral, sent him a letter subscribed by them, telling him, they had withdrawn from the lieutenant to save their lives, he having a design to destroy them; and that they being his lordship's servants, whose coming they had expected, as of one that would look upon what they had done, complying with their duty, as good service, they had hindered their people from doing harm to any that belonged to his lordship, as they might easily have done. But that since he was come, and was so far from thinking so, that he insisted upon taking revenge, and doing them harm, that they might with honour do what they had undertaken, and be at liberty to do it, they took leave of him and his service. Before this letter was delivered to the admiral, he had sent Roldan an answer. Caravajal, whom he sent to him, telling him what confidence he always reposed in him, and what a good account he had given His Catholic Majesty of them; adding, that he did not write to him, for fear of some inconveniency, if his letter should be seen by the common sort, which might redound to his disadvantage; and therefore, instead of hand and seal, he had sent that person to him, in whom he knew how much he confided, and might regard what he said as if it were under his seal, which was the commander Ballester; and therefore

therefore he might consider what was proper to be done, and he should find him most ready to comply. On the 18th of October he ordered five ships to depart for Spain, sending Their Catholic Majesties by them a most particular account of affairs, and saying, he had kept those ships till then, believing that Roldan and his men would have gone away in them, as they had given out at first; and that the other three he kept with him, were fitting out for his brother to go in them to pursue the discovery of the continent of Paria, and take order about the fishery and trade for pearls, a sample whereof he sent them by Arogial.

CHAP. LXXX. — *How Francis Roldan went to treat with the Admiral, but came to no Agreement with him.*

ROLDAN having received the admiral's letter, answered the third day, seeming to incline to do all he ordered him; but his men not allowing him to go to treat without a safe conduct, he desired him to send one, drawn up according to those heads he sent under his hand, and signed by the chief men about him. This safe conduct was immediately sent him by the admiral on the 26th of October, and Roldan having received it soon came, but rather with a design to draw some body over to him, than to conclude any thing, as appeared by his impudent proposals. Thus he returned without concluding any thing, saying, he would give his company an account of matters, and write word what they resolved on. And that there might be some body from the admiral to treat and sign what was agreed on, the admiral's steward went with him; his name was Salamanca. After much talk, Roldan sent articles of agreement for the admiral to subscribe, telling him, that was all he could obtain of his people, and if his lordship thought fit to grant it, he should send his assent to 'The Conception'; for at Bonao they had no longer provisions to subsist on, and they would expect his answer till the next Monday. The admiral having read their answer and proposals, and considering what dishonourable things they demanded, would not grant them, lest he should bring himself, his brothers, and justice itself, into contempt. But that they might have no cause to complain, or say he was too stiff in this affair, he ordered a general pardon to be proclaimed, and to be thirty days upon the gates of the fort, the purport whereof was as follows:

“That forasmuch as during his absence in Spain, some difference had happened between the lieutenant and the chief justice Roldan, and other persons who had fled with him, notwithstanding any thing that had happened, they might all in general, and every one in particular, safely come to serve Their Catholic Majesties, as if no difference had ever been; and that whosoever would go into Spain should have his passage, and an order to receive his pay, as was usual with others, provided they presented themselves before the admiral within thirty days, to receive the benefit of this pardon: protesting that in case they did not appear within the time limited, they should be proceeded against according to course of law.”

This pardon, subscribed by himself, he sent to Roldan by Caravajal, giving him, in writing, the reasons why he neither could nor ought to grant the articles sent by him, and putting him in mind what they ought to do, if they aimed at 'Their Majesties' service. Caravajal went to the rebels at 'The Conception, where they were very haughty and proud, laughing at the admiral's pardon, and saying, he should soon have occasion to ask one of them. All this happened in the space of three weeks, during which time, under colour of apprehending a man Roldan would execute, they kept the commander

Ballester

Ballester besieged in the fort, and cut off his water, believing the want of it would oblige him to surrender; but upon Caravajal's arrival, they raised the siege, and after many altercations made on both sides, came to the following conclusion.

CHAP. LXXXI. — *The Agreement made between the Admiral and Roldan with his Rebels.*

THE articles signed and agreed to by Francis Roldan and his company, in order to their return to Spain, are as follows:

I. "That the lord admiral give him two good ships, and in good order, according to the judgment of able seamen, to be delivered to him at the port of Xaragua, because most of his followers were there; and because there is no other port more commodious to provide and prepare victualling and other necessities, where the said Roldan and his company shall embark, and sail for Spain, if so God please.

II. "That his lordship shall give an order for the payment of the salaries due to them all till that day, and letters of recommendation to Their Catholic Majesties, that they may cause them to be paid.

III. "That he shall give them slaves for the service they have done in the island, and their sufferings, and certify the said gift: and because some of them have women big with child, or delivered; if they carry them away, they shall pass instead of such slaves they were to have; and the children shall be free, and they may take them along with them.

IV. "His lordship shall put into the aforesaid ships all the provisions requisite for that voyage, as have been given to others before; and because he could not furnish them with bread, the judge and his company have leave to provide in the country, and that they have thirty hundred weight of bisket allowed them, or for want of it thirty sacks of corn; to the end, that if the carabi or Indian bread should spoil, as might easily happen, they may subsist upon the aforesaid bisket or corn.

V. "That his lordship shall give a safe conduct for such persons as shall come to receive the orders for their pay.

VI. "Forasmuch as some goods belonging to several persons, who are with Roldan, have been seized, his lordship shall order restitution to be made.

VII. "That his lordship shall write a letter to Their Catholic Majesties, acquainting them, that the said Roldan's swine remain in the island, for the inhabitants' provision, being one hundred and twenty great ones, and two hundred and thirty small, praying Their Highnesses to allow him the price for them they would have bore in the island; the which swine were taken from him in February 1498.

VIII. "That his lordship shall give the said Roldan full authority to sell some goods he has, which he must part with to go away, or to do with them as he pleases, or to leave them for his own use with whom he thinks fit, to make the best of them.

IX. "That his lordship will order the judges to give speedy judgment concerning the horse.

X. "That if his lordship shall find the demands of Salamanca to be just, he shall write to the said judge to cause him to be paid.

XI. "That his lordship shall be discoursed concerning the captain's slaves.

XII. "That forasmuch as the said Roldan and his company mistrust, that his lordship, or some other person by his order, may offer them some violence, with the other ships that are in the island, he shall therefore grant them a pass or safe conduct, promising in Their Majesties' name, and upon his own faith, and the word of a gentleman,

man, as is used in Spain, that neither his lordship, nor any other person shall offend them, or obstruct their voyage."

"Having examined this agreement made by Alonso Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca with Francis Roldan and his company, this day being Wednesday the 21st of November 1498, I am content it be fully observed, upon condition that the said Francis Roldan, nor any of his followers, in whose name he subscribed and ratified the articles by him delivered to the aforesaid Alonso Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca, shall not receive into their company any other Christian of the island, of any state or condition whatsoever."

"I Francis Roldan, judge, do promise and engage my faith and word for myself and all those with me, that the articles above mentioned shall be observed and fulfilled, without any fraud, but faithfully as is here set down, his lordship performing all that has been agreed on between Alonso Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca and myself, as is in the written articles."

I. "That from the day of the date hereof, till the answer be brought, for which ten days shall be allowed, I will admit no person whatsoever of those that are with the lord admiral.

II. "That within fifty days after the said answer shall be delivered to me here in The Conception, signed and sealed by his lordship, which shall be within the ten days before mentioned, we will embark and set sail for Spain.

III. "That none of the slaves freely granted us, shall be carried away by force.

IV. "That whereas the admiral will not be at the port where we are to embark, the person or persons his lordship shall send thither, be honoured and respected as Their Majesties' and his lordship's officers, to whom shall be given an account of all we put aboard the ships, that they may enter it, and do as his lordship shall think fit; as also to deliver to them such things as we have in our hands belonging to Their Majesties. All the aforesaid articles are to be subscribed and performed by his lordship, as Alonso Sanchez de Caravajal and James de Salamanca have them in writing; the answer whereof I expect here at The Conception for eight days to come; and if it be not then brought, I shall not be obliged to any thing here mentioned."

"In testimony whereof, and that I and my company may observe and perform what I have said, I have subscribed this writing. Given at The Conception, on the 16th of November 1498."

CHAP. LXXXII. — *How after the Agreement concluded, the Rebels went away to Xaragua, saying, they would embark on the two Ships sent them by the Admiral.*

THINGS being adjusted as above, Caravajal and Salamanca returned to St. Domingo to the admiral, and at their request, on the 21st of November, he subscribed the aforesaid articles brought by them, and granted a new safe conduct or leave to all those that would not go to Spain with Roldan, promising them pay, or the liberty of planters, as they liked best, and for others to come freely to manage their affairs. These the Castellán Ballester delivered to Roldan and his company at The Conception, on the 24th of November, and they having received them, went away toward Xaragua, to prepare for their departure, as was afterwards known. And though the admiral was sensible of their villainy, and much concerned that the good service his brother might have done in continuing the discovery of the continent of Paria, and settling the pearl fishery and trade, was obstructed by giving them those ships, yet he would not give the rebels occasion to blame him, saying, he had refused them their passage.

passage. He began therefore presently to fit out the ships as had been agreed, though the equipment was somewhat retarded for want of necessaries. To supply which defect, and that no time might be lost, he ordered Caravajal to go over by land to provide and dispose all things for the departure of the rebels, whilst the ships came about, giving him ample commission for it, resolving himself to go soon to Isabella, to settle affairs there, leaving his brother James at St. Domingo, to look to that place. After his departure, about the end of January, the two caravals, furnished with all necessaries for the voyage, set out to take up the rebels; but a great storm rising by the way, they were forced to put into another port till the end of March; and because the caraval Ninna, one of the two, was in the worst condition, and required most repairs, the admiral sent orders to Peter de Arana and Francis de Garai to repair to Xaragua, with another called Santa Cruz, or the Holy Cross, aboard which Caravajal went, and not by land. He was eleven days by the way, and found the other caraval waiting for him.

CHAP. LXXXIII. — *How the Rebels altered their Resolution of going to Spain, and came to a new Agreement with the Admiral.*

IN the mean while, the caravals not coming, and most of Roldan's men having no mind to embark, they took that delay for a pretence to stay, blaming the admiral, as if he had not dispatched them as soon as he might; whereof he being informed, writ to Roldan and Adrian, persuading them in a friendly manner to perform the agreement, and not fall into disobedience. Besides, Caravajal, who was with them at Xaragua, on the 20th of April entered his protestation before a notary, called Francis de Garai, afterwards governor of Panuco and of Jamaica, requiring them, since the admiral had sent the ships, to accept of them, and embark according to articles. And because they would not, on the 25th of April he ordered the ships to return to St. Domingo, because they were destroyed by the worms, and the men suffered much for want of provisions. The rebels were no way concerned, but rather rejoiced and grew haughty, seeing such account was made of them, and were so far from acknowledging the admiral's civility, that they laid it to his charge in writing, that it was through his fault they staid, saying, he had a mind to be revenged on them, and had therefore delayed the sending of the caravals, which were in such ill case, that it was impossible they should go in them to Spain; and that though they had been never so good, their provisions were spent expecting them, and they could not get more under a long while, for which reason they had resolved to expect redress from Their Majesties. Caravajal returned with this answer by land to St. Domingo, to whom, at the time of his departure, Roldan said, he would willingly go wait on the admiral, to endeavour for such an accommodation as might please all parties, provided he would send him his safe conduct. Caravajal sent the admiral word of it from St. Domingo on the 15th of May, who answered on the 21st, commending him for the pains he took, and sent the safe conduct he required, with a short letter to Roldan, though very pithy, persuading him to peace, submission, and Their Majesties' service; which he afterwards repeated at St. Domingo more at large on the 29th of June; and on the 3d of August, six or seven of the chief men about the admiral sent Roldan another safe conduct, that he might come to treat with his lordship. But the distance being great, and the admiral having occasion to visit the country, he resolved to go with two caravals to the port of Azua in the same island Hispaniola, west of St. Domingo, to be the nearer the province where the rebels were, many of whom came to the said port; and the admiral

arriving there about the end of August with his ships, conferred with the chief of them, exhorting them to desist from their ill course, and promising them all possible favour and kindness, which they promised to do, provided the admiral granted them four things, *viz.*

I. "That he shall send fifteen of them to Spain in the first ships that went.

II. "That to those that remained, he should give land and houses for their pay.

III. "That proclamation should be made, that all that had happened was caused by false suggestions, and through the fault of ill men.

IV. "That the admiral shall anew appoint Roldan perpetual judge."

This being concluded among them, Roldan returned ashore from the admiral's caraval, and sent his companions the articles, which were so much to their mind, and so unreasonable, that they concluded, saying, in case the admiral failed in any part, it should be lawful for them by force, or any other means, to oblige him to performance. The admiral being eager to conclude this difficult matter, which had lasted above two years; and considering his adversaries continued more obstinate than ever, and that many of those, who were with him, had a mind to join companies, and conspire together, to go to other parts of the island, as Roldan had done; he resolved to sign the articles whatsoever they were, *viz.* To grant Roldan a patent for perpetual judge, and the other three above-mentioned particulars, besides all they had sent in writing, a copy whereof was inserted above. On Tuesday following, being the 5th of November, Roldan to exercise his office, and accordingly it being a part of his grant, he constituted Peter Riquelme judge of Bonao, with power to imprison offenders in criminal cases, but that he should send criminals upon life and death, to be tried by him at the fort of The Conception. The substitute being no honester than his master, he presently went about to build a strong house at Bonao, had not Peter de Arana forbid him, because he plainly perceived it was contrary to the respect due to the admiral.

CHAP. LXXXIV. — *How Ojeda, returning from his Discovery, excited new Troubles in Hispaniola.*

TO return to the course of our history, the admiral having adjusted matters with Roldan, appointed a captain with some men to march about the island to pacify it, and reduce the Indians to pay the tribute, and be always in a readiness, that upon the least mutiny among the Christians, and sign of rebellion among the Indians, he might suppress and punish them, which he did with a design to go himself over to Spain, and carry with him his brother the lieutenant, because it would be difficult, if he were left behind, to forget old grudges. As he was preparing for his voyage, Alonso de Ojeda, who had been discovering with four ships, arrived in the island. And forasmuch as this sort of men failed about to make their fortune, on the 5th of September he put into the port the Christians called Brasil, and the Indians Yaquimo, designing to take what he could from the Indians, and load with wood and slaves. Whilst he was thus employed, he did all the harm he could; and to shew he was a limb of the bishop we have mentioned, endeavoured to raise another mutiny, gave out, that Queen Isabel or Elizabeth was ready to die; and as soon as she was dead, there would be nobody left to support the admiral, and that he, as a faithful servant to the said bishop, might do what he pleased against the admiral, because of the enmity there was between them. Upon these grounds he began to write to some that were not very sound, after the late troubles, and to hold correspondence with them. But Roldan
being

being informed of his proceedings and designs, by the admiral's order, went against him with twenty-one men, to prevent him doing the harm he intended. Being come within a league and a half of him, on the 29th of September, he understood he was with fifteen men at a cacique's, whose name was Haniguaaba, making bread and biscuit; and therefore he travelled that night to surprize him. Ojeda understanding that Roldan was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppose him, to make the best of a bad case, went to meet him, saying, want of provisions had brought him thither, to supply himself in the King his master's dominions, without designing any harm. And giving him an account of his voyage, said, he had been discovering six hundred leagues westward along the coast of Paria, where he found people that fought the Christians even hand, and had wounded twenty of his men; for which reason he could make no advantage of the wealth of the country, where he said he had seen deer and rabbits and tygers' skins and paws and gaaninies, all which he shewed Roldan aboard the caravals, saying, he would soon repair to St. Domingo to give the admiral an account of all. He at this time was much troubled, because Peter de Arana had signified to him, that Riquelme, judge of Bonao, for Roldan, under colour of building a house for his herds, had made choice of a strong rock, that he might from thence, with a few men, do all the harm he thought fit; that he had forbid him: whereupon Riquelme had drawn up a process, attested by witnesses against him, and sent it to the admiral, complaining that Arana used violence against him, and praying relief, that no disorder might happen among them. Hereupon, though the admiral knew that man was not of a quiet disposition, yet he thought fit to conceal his jealousy, yet so as to be upon his guard; being of opinion it was enough to provide against Ojeda's open intrusion, without taking notice of that which might tolerably be connived at. Ojeda holding his wicked purpose, and taking leave of Roldan in February 1500, went away with his ships to Xaragua, where a great many of those lived, who had before rebelled with Roldan. And because avarice is the most beneficial and ready way to promote any mischief, he began to give out among those people, that Their Catholic Majesties had appointed him and Caravajal the admiral's counsellors, that they might not suffer him to do any thing, which they did not think was for Their Majesties' service; and that among many other things they had ordered him to do, one was, that he should immediately pay in ready money, all those that were in the island in their service; and since the admiral was not so just as to do it, he was ready to go along with them to St. Domingo, to oblige him to pay them out of hand; and that done, if they thought fit, to turn him out of the island dead or alive; for they ought not to rely on the agreement made, or the word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than necessity obliged him to it. Upon these promises, many resolved to follow him; and therefore, being assisted by them, he one night fell upon others who opposed him, and there were some killed and wounded on both sides. And being satisfied that Roldan, who was returned to the admiral's service, would not join with them, they resolved to surprize and make him prisoner; but he, being informed of their design, went well attended where Ojeda was, to put a stop to his disorders, or punish him, as he should find expedient. Ojeda, for fear of him, retired to his ships, and Roldan continuing ashore, they treated about a conference; each of them fearing to put himself into the power of the other. Roldan perceiving that Ojeda was unwilling to come ashore, he offered to go treat with him aboard: to which purpose he sent to ask his boat, which he sent him well manned, and having taken in Roldan with six or seven of his followers, when they least suspected it, Roldan and his people on a sudden fell upon Ojeda's men, with their naked

swords,

swords, and killing some and wounding others, made themselves masters of the boat, returning with it to land, Ojeda having only a small skiff left him, in which he resolved to come peaceably to treat with Roldan. Having made some excuse for his offences, he agreed to restore some men he had taken by force, that his boat and men might be returned him; alleging, if it were not restored, it would be the ruin of them all and their ships, because he had no other fit to serve them. Roldan readily granted it, that he might have no cause to complain, or say, he was lost through his means; yet making him promise and give security that he would depart the island by a time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good guard Roldan kept ashore. But as it is a hard matter to root out cockle, so that it may not sprout up again; so it is no less difficult for people that have got a habit of doing ill to forbear relapsing into their crimes, as happened to some of the rebels a few days after Ojeda was gone. For one D. Ferdinand de Guevara, being in disgrace with the admiral, as a seditious person, and having taken part with Ojeda, in hatred to Roldan, because he would not permit him to take to wife the daughter of Canua, the principal queen of Xaragua, began to gather many conspirators to secure Roldan, and succeed him in the ill things he had done. Particularly he gained to his party one Adrian de Moxica, a chief man among the late rebels, and other wicked men, who, about the middle of July 1500, had contrived to secure or murder Roldan. He having intelligence of the design, stood upon his guard, and ordered his business so well, that he seized the aforesaid D. Ferdinand, Adrian, and the chief men of their party; and sending the admiral an account of what had happened, asked what his pleasure was he should do with them? The answer was, That since they had endeavoured, without any provocation, to disturb the country, (and if they were not punished, every thing must run to ruin,) he should punish them according to their demerits, and as the law directed. The judge did it accordingly, and proceeding legally against them, hanged Adrian as chief author of the conspiracy, banished others, and kept D. Ferdinand in prison, till on the 13th of June he delivered him, with other prisoners, to Gonzalo Blanco, to carry them to la Vega, that is, the Plain, where the admiral then was. This example quieted the country, and the Indians again submitted themselves to the Christians. Such rich gold mines were discovered, that every man left the King's pay, and went away to live upon his own account, applying himself to dig gold at his own expence, allowing the King the third part of all they found. This prospered so well, that a man has gathered five marks (a mark is eight ounces) of gold in a day, and a grain of pure gold has been taken up worth above 196 ducats; and the Indians were submissive, dreading the admiral, and so desirous to please him, that they readily became Christians only to oblige him. When any of the chief of them was to appear before him, he endeavoured to be clad: and therefore to settle all things the better, the admiral resolved to take a progress through the island; and accordingly he and his brother and lieutenant set out on Wednesday the 20th of February 1499, and came to Isabella on the 29th of March. From Isabella they set out the 5th of April for The Conception, and came thither the Tuesday following. The lieutenant went thence for Xaragua, upon Friday the 7th of June. On Christmas day following, which was in the year 1499, being forsaken by all the world, the Indians and rebel Christians fell upon me, and I was reduced to such distress, that to avoid death, leaving all behind me, I put to sea in a little caraval. But our Lord presently relieved me, saying, Thou man of little faith, fear not, I am with you; and so he dispersed my enemies, and shewed how he could fulfil my promises: unhappy sinner that I am, who placed all my hopes on the world. From The Conception the admiral designed to go to St. Domingo, on the 3d of

3d of February, in order to make ready to return into Spain to give Their Catholic Majesties an account of all things.

CHAP. LXXXV. — *How their Catholic Majesties, upon false Informations, and malicious Complaints of some Persons, sent a Judge to take cognizance of Affairs.*

WHILST these disorders happened, as has been said, many of the rebels by letters sent from Hispaniola, and others that were returned into Spain, did not cease to give in false informations to the King and his council, against the admiral and his brothers, saying, they were cruel and unfit for that government, as well because they were strangers and aliens, as because they had not formerly been in a condition to learn by experience how to govern people of condition; affirming, that if Their Highnesses did not apply some remedy, those countries would be utterly destroyed; and in case they were not quite ruined by their ill government, the admiral would revolt, and join in league with some prince to support him, he pretending that all was his own, as having been discovered by his industry and labour; and that the better to compass his design, he concealed the wealth of the country, and would not have the Indians serve the Christians, nor be converted to the faith, because by making much of them he hoped they would be of his side, to do what he pleased against Their Highnesses. They proceeding in these and such like slanders, importuned Their Catholic Majesties, ever talking ill of the admiral, and complaining there were several years pay due to the men, gave occasion to all that were at court to rail. So that when I was at Granada, at the time the most serene Prince Michael happened to die, above fifty of them, like shameless wretches, brought a load of grapes, and sat down in the court of Alhambra, (a castle and palace) crying out, that Their Highnesses and the admiral made them live so miserably by not paying them, with many other scandalous expressions. And their impudence was so great, that if The Catholic King went abroad, they all got about him, crying, pay, pay. And if it happened that my brother or I, who were pages to Her Majesty, passed by where they were, they cried out in a hideous manner, making the sign of the cross, and saying, there are the admiral of the Mosquito's sons, he that has found out false and deceitful countries, to be the ruin and burial place of the Spanish gentry; adding many more such insolencies, which made us cautious of appearing before them. Their complaints running so high, and their constant importunity with the King's favourites, it was resolved to send a judge to Hispaniola, to inquire into all these affairs, ordering him, in case he found the admiral guilty of what was alledged, to send him to Spain, and stay there himself as governor. The person Their Majesties made choice of for this purpose, was one Francis de Bovadilla, a poor knight of the order of Calatrava, who on the 21st of May 1499 had full and ample commission given him at Madrid, and blank letters, subscribed by Their Majesties, to such persons as he should think fit in Hispaniola, commanding them to be aiding and assisting to him. Thus furnished, he arrived at St. Domingo at the latter end of August 1500, at such time as the admiral was at The Conception, settling the affairs of that province, where his brother had been assaulted by the rebels, and where there were more Indians, and those more understanding people than in the rest of the island. So that Bovadilla at his arrival finding nobody to keep him in awe, the first thing he did was to take up his quarters in the admiral's palace, and seize and make use of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by inheritance; and gathering together all he could find that had been in rebellion, and many others that hated the admiral and his brothers, he presently declared himself governor. And to gain the affections

affections of the people, he caused a general freedom to be proclaimed for twenty years to come; requiring the admiral to repair to him without any delay, because it was convenient for His Majesty's service he should do so. And to back his summons, on the 7th of September, sent him the King's letter by F. John de la Sera, which was to this effect:

To D. Christopher Colon, our Admiral of the Ocean.

WE have ordered the commendary Francis de Bovadilla, the bearer, to acquaint you with some things from us: therefore we desire you to give him entire credit, and to obey him.

" Given at Madrid the 21st of May 1499:

" I the King, I the Queen.

" By command of Their Highnesses,

MICH. PEREZ DE ALMAZAN."

CHAP. LXXXVI. — *How the Admiral was apprehended and sent to Spain in Irons, together with his Brothers.*

THE admiral having seen Their Majesties' letter, came away presently to St. Domingo, where the afore said judge was, who being eager to remain governor there, at the beginning of October 1500, without any delay, or legal information, sent him prisoner aboard a ship, together with his brother James, putting them in irons, and a good guard over them, and ordered upon severe penalties, that none should dare to speak for them. After this, (by Abington law) he began to draw up a process against them, admitting the rebels his enemies as witnesses, and publicly favouring all that came to speak ill of them, who in their depositions gave in such villainies and incoherencies, that he must have been blind that had not plainly perceived they were false and malicious. For which reason, Their Catholic Majesties would not admit of them, and cleared the admiral, repenting that they had sent such a man in that employment, and not without good cause; for this Bovadilla ruined the island, and squandered the King's revenues, that all men might be his friends, saying Their Majesties would have nothing but the honour of the dominion, and that the profit should be for their subjects. Yet he neglected not his own share, but siding with the richest and most powerful men, gave them Indians to serve them, upon condition they should share with him all they got by their means, and sold by auction the possessions and rights the admiral had acquired for Their Majesties, saying, they were no labourers, nor did they desire to make a profit of those lands, but only kept them for the benefit of their subjects. He thus selling all things under this colour, endeavoured on the other side that they should be bought by some of his own companions, for one third of the value. Besides all this, he made no other use of his judicial power but to enrich himself and gain the affections of the people, being still afraid lest the lieutenant, who was not yet come from Xaragua, should put a stop to his proceedings, and endeavour to set the admiral at liberty by force of arms; in which particular the brothers behaved themselves very prudently; for the admiral sent them word immediately, that they should come peaceably to him, the King's service so requiring, that the island might not be put into an uproar; for when they were in Spain, they should more easily obtain the punishment of such a senseless person, and satisfaction for the wrong done them. Yet this did not divert Bovadilla from putting him and his brothers ~~into~~ irons, allowing the baser sort to rail at them publicly, blowing horns
about

about the port where they were shipped, besides many scandalous libels set up at corners of streets against them; so that though he was informed that one James Ortiz, governor of the hospital, had writ a libel, and read it publicly in the market-place, he was so far from punishing of him, that he seemed to be very well pleased, which made every one endeavour to shew himself in this sort. And perhaps for fear the admiral should swim back, he took care when they were to sail, to desire Andrew Martin, the master of the ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in irons as he was, to the bishop D. John de Fonseca, by whose advice and direction it was concluded he did all these things; though when they were at sea, the master being sensible of Bovadilla's unworthiness, would have knocked off the admiral's irons, which he would never permit, saying, that since Their Catholic Majesties, by their letter directed him to perform whatsoever Bovadilla did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commission he had put him into irons, he would have none but Their Highnesses themselves to do their pleasure herein; and he was resolved to keep those fetters as relicks, and a memorial of the reward of his many services; as accordingly he did; for I always saw those irons in his room, which he ordered to be buried with his body; notwithstanding that, he having on the 20th of November 1500, writ to Their Majesties, acquainting them with his arrival at Cadiz; they, understanding the condition he came in, immediately gave orders that he should be released, and sent him very gracious letters, saying, they were very sorry for his sufferings, and the unmannerly behaviour of Bovadilla towards him, ordering him to go to court, where care should be taken about his affairs, and he should be shortly dispatched with full restitution of his honour. Nevertheless, I cannot but blame Their Catholic Majesties, who chose for that employment a base and ignorant man; for had he been a man who knew the duty of his office, the admiral himself would have been glad of his coming; since he by letter had desired, that one might be sent to take true information of the perverseness of those people, and of the crimes they committed, that they might be punished by another hand, he being unwilling to use that severity which an impartial person would have done, because the original of those tumults had been against his brother. And though it may be urged, that though Their Majesties had such bad accounts of the admiral, yet they ought not to send Bovadilla with so many letters, and such power, without limiting the commission they gave him. It may be answered in their behalf, that it was no wonder they did so, because the complaints against the admiral were very many, as has been said above.

CHAP. LXXXVII. — *How the Admiral went to Court to give Their Catholic Majesties an Account of himself.*

AS soon as Their Majesties heard of the admiral's coming, and being in irons, they sent orders on the 12th of December for him to be set at liberty, and writ to him to repair to Granada, where he was received by Their Highnesses with a favourable aspect and kind words, telling him, his imprisonment had not been by their desire or command, and therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take care those that were in fault should be punished, and full satisfaction given him. Having spoke these and such like gracious words, they ordered his business should be immediately gone upon, the result whereof was, that a governor should be sent to Hispaniola, who was to right the admiral and his brothers, and Bovadilla should be obliged to restore all he had taken from them; and that the admiral should be allowed all that belonged to him, according to the articles Their Highnesses had

granted him; and that the rebels should be proceeded against and punished according to their offences. Nicholas de Obando, commendary of laws, was sent with this power; he was a wise and judicious man, but, as afterwards appeared, partial, craftily concealing his passions, giving credit to his own surmises, and malicious persons; and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully, as appears by the death of the eighty kings we have spoken of before. But to return to the admiral; as Their Majesties were pleased to send Obando to Hispaniola, so they thought it proper to send the admiral upon some voyage that might turn to his advantage, and keep him employed till the said Obando could pacify and reduce the island Hispaniola, because they did not like to keep him so long out of his right, without any just occasion; the information sent by Bovadilla plainly appearing to be full of malice, and not containing any thing whereby he might forfeit his right. But there being some delay in the execution of this design, it being now the month of October 1500, and ill men endeavoured to prevail that a new information might be expected, the admiral resolved to speak to Their Majesties, and beg of them that they would defend him against all dangers, which he afterwards repeated by letter. This they promised him by letter, when the admiral was ready to set out upon his voyage: the words of it are to this effect:

“And be assured that your imprisonment was very displeasing to us, which you were sensible of, and all men plainly saw, because as soon as we heard of it, we applied the proper remedies. And you know with how much honour and respect we have always ordered you to be treated, which we now direct should be done, and that you receive all worthy and noble usage, promising that the privileges and prerogatives by us granted you shall be preserved in ample manner, according to the tenor of our letters patents, which you and your children shall enjoy without any contradiction, as is due in reason: And if it be requisite to ratify them anew, we will do it, and will order that your son be put into possession of all, for we desire to honour and favour you in greater matters than these. And be satisfied we will take the due care of your sons and brothers, which shall be done when you are departed; for the employment shall be given to your son, as has been said. We therefore pray you not to delay your departure.

“Given at Valentia de la Torre, on the 14th of March 1502.”

This Their Majesties writ, because the admiral had resolved not to trouble himself any more with the affairs of the Indies, but to ease himself upon my brother, wherein he was in the right; for he said, that if the services he had already done were not sufficient to deserve to have those villainous people punished, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, since he had already performed the main thing he undertook before he discovered the Indies, which was to shew that there was a continent and islands westward; that the way was easy and navigable, the advantage visible, and the people gentle and unarmed. All which since he had verified himself in person, there now remained nothing but for Their Highnesses to pursue what was begun, sending people to discover the secrets of those countries; for now the gate was opened, any one might follow the coast, as some did already, who improperly call themselves discoverers; not considering they have not discovered any new country, but that for the future they pursue the first discovery, the admiral having shewn them the islands and province of Paria, which was the first land of the continent discovered. Yet the admiral having always had a great inclination to serve Their Catholic Majesties, and particularly the Queen, he was content to return to his ships, and undertake the voyage we shall speak of; for he was convinced there would daily be found out great wealth, as he writ to Their Highnesses the year 1499, speaking of the dis-

covery in this manner : It is not to be discontinued ; for, to say the truth, because one time or other something material will be found. As has since appeared by New Spain and Peru, though at that time, as generally happens to most men, no body gave credit to what he said, and yet he said nothing but what proved true, as Their Catholic Majesties testify, in a letter of theirs writ at Barcelona on the 5th of September 1498.

CHAP. LXXXVIII. — *How the Admiral went from Granada to Seville, to fit out a Fleet for another Discovery.*

THE admiral having been well dispatched by Their Catholic Majesties, set out from Granada for Seville in the year 1501, and being there, so earnestly solicited the fitting out his squadron, that in a small time he had rigged and provided four ships, the biggest of seventy, the least of fifty tons burthen, and one hundred and forty men and boys, of which number I was one.

We set sail from Cadiz on the 9th of May 1502, and sailed to St. Catherine's, whence we parted on Wednesday the 11th of the same month, and went to Arzilla to relieve the Portuguese, who were reported to be in great distress ; but when we came thither, the Moors had raised the siege. The admiral therefore sent his brother D. Bartholomew Colon, and me, with the captains of the ships, ashore, to visit the governor of Arzilla, who had been wounded by the Moors in an assault. He returned the admiral thanks for the visit and his offers, and to this purpose sent some gentlemen to him, among whom some were relations to Donna Philippa Moniz, the admiral's wife in Portugal. The same day we set sail, and arriving at Gran Canaria, on the 20th of May, cast anchor among the little islands ; and on the 24th went over to Maspalomas in the same island, there to take in wood and water for our voyage. The next night we set out for the Indies, and it pleased God the wind was so fair, that without handling the sails, on Wednesday the 15th of June we arrived at the island Martinino with a rough sea and wind. There, according to the custom of those that sail from Spain to the Indies, the admiral took in fresh wood and water, and made the men wash their linen, staying till Saturday, when we stood to the westward, and came to Dominica, ten leagues from the other. So running along among the Caribbee islands, we came to Santa Cruz, and on the 24th of the same month ran along the south side of the island of St. John. Thence we took the way for St. Domingo, the admiral having a mind to exchange one of his ships for another, because it was a bad sailer, and besides, could carry no sail, but the side would lie almost under water, which was a hindrance to his voyage, because his design was to have gone directly upon the coast of Paria, and keep along that shore ; till he came upon the streight, which he certainly concluded was about Veragua and Nombre de Dios. But seeing the fault of the ship, he was forced to repair to St. Domingo to change it for a better.

And to the end the commendary Lores sent by Their Majesties to call Bovadilla to an account for his male-administration, might not be surprized at our unexpected arrival, upon Wednesday the 29th of June, being near the port, the admiral sent Peter de Terreros, captain of one of the ships to him, to signify what occasion he had to change that ship ; for which reason, as also because he apprehended a great storm was coming, he desired to secure himself in that port, advising him not to let the fleet sail out of the port for eight days to come ; for if he did it would be in great danger. But the aforesaid governor would not permit the admiral to come into the harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the fleet that was bound for Spain, which

consisted of eighteen sail, and was to carry Bovadilla, who had imprisoned the admiral and his brothers, Francis Roldan, and all the rest who had been in rebellion against them and done them so much harm, all whom it pleased God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the admiral's good advice. And I am satisfied it was the hand of God; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished as their crimes deserved; but rather been favoured and preferred, as being the bishop's friends. This was prevented by their setting out of that port for Spain; for no sooner were they come to the east point of the island Hispaniola, but there arose so terrible a storm, that the admiral of the fleet sunk, in which was Bovadilla, with most of the rebels, and made such havock among the rest, that of eighteen ships, only three or four were saved. This happened upon Thursday the last of June, when the admiral having foreseen the storm, and being refused admittance into the port, for his security, drew up as close to the land as he could, thus sheltering himself, not without much dissatisfaction among his men, who, for being with him, were denied that reception which had been allowed to strangers, much more to them that were of the same nation; for they feared they might be so served, if any misfortune should befall them for the future. And though the admiral was concerned on the same account, yet it more vexed him to behold the baseness and ingratitude used towards him in that country he had given to the honour and benefit of Spain, being refused to shelter his life in it. Yet his prudence and judgment secured his ships, till the next day the tempest increasing, and the night coming on very dark, three ships broke from him, every one its own way; the men aboard each of them, though all of them in great danger, concluded the others were lost; but they that suffered most were those aboard the ship called Santo, who to save their boat, which had been ashore with the captain Terreros, dragged it a-stern, where it over-set, and were at last forced to let it go to save themselves. But the caraval Bermuda was in much more danger, which running out to sea, was almost covered with it, by which it appeared the admiral had reason to endeavour to change it; and all men concluded that, under God, the admiral's brother was the saving of her, by his wisdom and resolution; for as has been said above, there was not at that time a more expert sailor than he. So that after they had all suffered very much, except the admiral, it pleased God they met again upon Sunday following in the port of Azua, on the south side of Hispaniola, where every one giving an account of his misfortunes, it appeared that Bartholomew Colon had weathered so great a storm, by flying from land like an able sailor; and that the admiral was out of danger, by lying close to the shore like a cunning astrologer, who knew whence the danger must come. Well might his enemies blame him therefore, saying, he had raised that storm by art magic, to be revenged on Bovadilla and the rest of his enemies that were with him, seeing that none of his four ships perished; and that of eighteen which set out with Bovadilla, only one called La Aguja, or the The Needle, the worst of them all, held on its course for Spain, where it arrived safe, having on board four thousand pesos in gold, worth eight shillings a peso, belonging to the admiral, the other three that escaped, returning to St. Domingo shattered, and in a distressed condition.

CHAP. LXXXIX. — *How the Admiral departed from Hispaniola, and discovered the Islands of Guanaia.*

THE admiral in the port of Azua gave his men a breathing time after the storm; and it being one of the diversions used at sea, to fish when there is nothing else to do,

do, I will mention two sorts of fish among the rest, which I remember were taken there; the one of them was pleasant, the other wonderful. The first was a fish called Saavina, as big as half an ordinary bell, which lying asleep above water, was struck with a harping iron from the boat of the ship *Bisceina*, and held so fast, that it could not break loose; but being tied with a long rope to the boat, drew it after it as swift as an arrow; so that those aboard the ship seeing the boat scud about, and not knowing the occasion, were astonished it should do so without the help of the oars, till at last the fish sunk, and being drawn to the ship's side, was there hauled up with the tackle. The other fish was taken after another manner, the Indians call it *Manati*, and there are none of the sort in Europe: it is as big as a calf, nothing differing from it in the colour and taste of the flesh, but that perhaps it is better and fatter; wherefore those that affirm there are all sorts of creatures in the sea, will have it, that these fishes are real calves, since within they have nothing like a fish, and feed only on the grass they find along the banks. This brings us to our history; the admiral having a little refreshed his men, and repaired his ships, left port Azua, and went to that of Brasil, which the Indians call *Giaccina*, to shun another storm that was coming. Hence he sailed again on the 14th of July, and was so becalmed, that instead of holding on his course the current carried him away to certain islands near Jamaica, which are very small and sandy, and he called them *Los Pozos*, or *The Wells*, because not finding water in them, they dug many pits in the sand, and took up that water for their use. Then sailing southward for the continent, we came to certain islands, where we went ashore upon the biggest only, called *Guanaja*, whence those that make sea charts, took occasion to call all those islands of *Guanaja*, which are almost twelve leagues from the continent, near the province now called *Honduras*, though then the admiral called it *Cape Casinas*. But these men making such charts without having seen the world, they commit vast mistakes; which since it now comes in my way, I will here set down, though it interrupts the course of our history. These same islands and continent are by them twice set down in their charts, as if they were different countries; and whereas *Cape Gracias a Dios*, and that they call *Cape ———*, are but one and the same, they make two of it. The occasion of this mistake was, that after the admiral had discovered these countries, one *John Diaz de Solis*, (from whom the river *De la Plata*, that is, of Silver or Plate, was called *Rio de Solis*, because he was there killed by the Indians,) and one *Vincent Yanez*, who commanded a ship the first voyage, when the admiral discovered the Indies, set out together to discover in the year 1508, designing to follow along that coast, the admiral had discovered in his voyage from *Veragua* westward; and he following almost the same track, they put into the coast of *Cariac*, and passed by *Cape Gracias a Dios*, as far as *Cape Casinas*, which they called *Honduras*, and the aforesaid islands they called *Guanaja*, giving the name of the biggest to them all. Thence they proceeded on further, without owning the admiral had been in any of those parts, that the discovery might be attributed to them, and to have it believed they had found large countries, notwithstanding that, *Peter de Ledesma*, one of their pilots, who had been before with the admiral in his voyage to *Veragua*, told them, he knew that country, and that he had been there with the admiral discovering it, from whom I afterwards had this. But the nature of the charts plainly demonstrates it; for the same thing is twice set down, and the island is in the same shape, and at the same distance, they having at their return brought a true draft of that country, only saying, it lay beyond that which the admiral had discovered. So that the same country is twice described in one chart; which, if it please God, time will make appear, when that coast is better known; for they will find but one

one country of that fort, as has been said. But to return to our discovery, being come to the island of Guanaia, the admiral ordered his brother Bartholomew Colon to go ashore with two boats, where they found people like those of the other islands, but not of such high foreheads. They also saw abundance of pine-trees and pieces of lapis calaminaris, used to mix with copper, which some seamen taking for gold, kept hid a long time.

The admiral's brother being ashore in that island, very desirous to know something of it, fortune so ordered it, that a canoe as long as a galley, and eight feet wide, all of one tree, and like the others in shape, put in there, being loaded with commodities brought from the westward, and bound towards New Spain. In the midst of it was a covering like an awning made of palm-tree leaves, not unlike those of the Venetian gondolas, which kept all under it so close, that neither rain nor sea water could wet the goods. Under this awning were the children, the women, and all the goods, and though there were twenty-five men aboard this canoe, they had not the courage to defend themselves against the boats that pursued them. The canoe being thus taken without any opposition, was carried aboard, where the admiral blessed God, for that it had pleased him at once to give him samples of the commodities of that country, without exposing his men to any danger. He therefore ordered such things to be taken, as he judged most slightly and valuable; such as some quilts, and shirts of cotton without sleeves, curiously wrought and dyed of several colours, and some small clouts to cover their privities, of the same sort; and large sheets in which the Indian women aboard the canoe wrapped themselves, as the Moorish women at Granada used to do; and long wooden swords with a channel on each side where the edge should be, in which there were sharp edges of flint fixed with thread, and a bituminous sort of matter, which cut naked men as if they were of steel, and hatchets to cut wood like those of stone the other Indians use, but that these were made of good copper; also bells of the same metal, plates and crucibles to melt the metal. For their provision they had such roots and grain as they in Hispaniola eat, and a sort of liquor made of maize, like the English beer; and abundance of cacao-nuts, which in New Spain pass for money, which they seemed to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other goods, I observed that when any of these nuts fell, they all stooped to take it up, as if it had been a thing of great consequence; yet at that time they seemed to be in a manner besides themselves, being brought prisoners out of their canoe aboard the ship, among such strange and fierce people, as we are to them; but so prevalent is avarice in man, that we ought not to wonder that it should prevail upon the Indians above the apprehension of the danger they were in. I must add, that we ought to admire their modesty; for it falling out, that in getting them aboard, some were taken by the clouts they had before their privities, they would immediately clap their hands to cover them; and the women would hide their faces, and wrap themselves up, as we said the Moorish women do at Granada. This moved the admiral to use them well, to restore their canoe, and give them some things in exchange for those that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old man, whose name was Giumbe, that seemed to be the wisest and chief of them, to learn something of him concerning the country, and that he might draw others to converse with the Christians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we sailed where his language was understood. Therefore, as a reward for this his service, when we came where he was not understood, the admiral gave him some things, and sent him home very well pleased, which was before he came to Cape Gracias a Dios, on the coast of Orecchia, whereof mention has been made already.

CHAP. XC. — *How the Admiral would not go to New Spain, but sail to the Eastward to find out the Streight in the Continent.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the admiral had heard so much from those in the canoe concerning the great wealth, politeness, and ingenuity of the people westward towards New Spain; yet thinking that those countries lying to the leeward, he could sail thither when he thought fit from Cuba, he would not go that way at this time, but held on his design of discovering the streight in the continent, to clear a way into the South Sea, which was what he aimed at in order to come at the countries that produce spice, and therefore resolved to sail eastward towards Veragua and Nombre de Dios, where he imagined the said streight to be, as in effect it was; yet was he deceived in the matter; for he did not conceit it to be an isthmus, or narrow neck of land, but a small gulph running from sea to sea. Which mistake might proceed from the likeness of the names; for when they said the streight was at Veragua and Nombre de Dios, it might be understood either of land or water; and he took it in the most usual sense, and for that he most earnestly desired. And yet though that streight is land, yet it was and is the way to the dominion of both seas, and by which such immense riches have been discovered and conveyed: for it was God's will, a matter of such vast concern should not be otherwise found out, that canoe having given the first information concerning New Spain.

There being nothing therefore in those islands of Guanaia worth taking notice of, he, without further delay, sailed in order to seek out the streight towards the continent, to a point he called Casinas, because there were abundance of trees that bear a sort of fruit that is rough, as a spungy bone, and is good to eat, especially boiled; which fruit the Indians of Hispaniola call Casinas. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of all about the country, the admiral would not lose time to go into a great bay the land makes there, but held on his course eastwards along that coast, which runs along the same way to cape Gracias a Dios, and is very low and open. The people nearest to Cape Casinas wear those painted shirts or jerkins before mentioned, and clouts before their privities, which were like coats of mail, made of cotton strong enough to defend them against their weapons, and even to bear off the stroke of some of ours.

But the people higher eastward, towards Cape Gracias a Dios, are almost black, of a fierce aspect, go stark naked, are very savage, and, as the Indian that was taken said, eat man's flesh, and raw fish just as it is taken. They have their ears bored with such large holes, that they may put a hen's egg into them, which made the admiral call that coast de las Orejas, or of the Ears. There on Sunday, the 14th of August 1502, Bartholomew Colon went ashore in the morning with the colours, the captains, and many of the men, to hear mass; and on Wednesday following, when the boats went ashore to take possession of the country for Their Catholic Majesties, above a hundred men ran down to the shore, loaded with provisions; who, as soon as the boats came ashore, came before the lieutenant, and on a sudden retired back without speaking a word. He ordered they should give them horse-bells, beads, and other things; and by means of the aforesaid interpreter, inquired concerning the country; though he having been but a short time with us, did not understand the Christians, by reason of the distance of his country from Hispaniola, where several persons aboard the ships had learnt the Indian language. Nor did he understand those Indians; but they being pleased with what had been given them, came the next day to the same place, above two hundred of them loaded with several sorts of provisions, as
hens

hens of that country, which are better than ours, geese, roasted fish, red and white beans, like kidney beans, and other things like those they have in Hispaniola. The country was green and beautiful, though low, producing abundance of pines, oaks, palm trees of seven sorts, and mirobalans of those of Hispaniola they call hobi; and almost all sorts of provisions that island affords were here to be found. Abundance of leopards, deer, and others, as also all sorts of fish there are in the islands and in Spain. The people of this country are much like those of the islands; but that their foreheads are not so high, nor do they seem to have any religion. There are several languages among them, and for the most part they go naked, but cover their privities; some wear short jumps down to their navel without sleeves; their arms and bodies have figures wrought on them with fire, which make them look oddly; and some have lions, others deer, and other castles with towers, and other things painted on their bodies. Instead of caps, the better sort of them wear red and white cloths of cotton; and some have locks of hair hanging on their foreheads. But when they are to be fine against a festival day, they colour their faces, some black, and some red; others draw streaks of several colours; others paint their nose, and others black their eyes; and thus they adorn themselves to appear beautiful, whereas in truth they look like devils.

CHAP. XCI. — *How the Admiral left the Coast he called de las Orejas, and by Cape Gracias a Dios came to Cariari, and what he did and saw there.*

THE admiral sailed along the said coast de las Orejas eastward to Cape Gracias a Dios, which was so called, because there being but sixty leagues to it from Cape Cofinas, we laboured seventy days by reason of the currents and contrary winds upon the tack to gain it, standing out to sea, and then making the shore, sometimes gaining and sometimes losing ground, as the wind was scant or large when we came about. And had not the coast afforded such good anchoring, we had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two fathom water half a league from the shore, and two more at every league's distance, we had always the conveniency of anchoring at night when there was but little wind; so that the course was navigable by reason of the good anchoring, but with difficulty.

When on the 14th of September we came up to the cape, perceiving the land turned off to the south, and that we could conveniently continue our voyage with those Levant winds that reigned there, and had been so contrary to us, we all in general gave thanks to God, for which reason the admiral called this Cape Gracias a Dios. A little beyond it, we passed by some dangerous sands that ran out to sea, as far as the eye could reach.

It being requisite to take in wood and water, on the 16th of September the admiral sent the boats to a river that seemed to be deep, and to have a good entrance, but the coming out proved not so; for the winds freshing from sea, and the waves running high against the current of the river, so distressed the boats, that one of them was lost with all the men in it; wherefore the admiral called it the river de la Desgracia, that is, of the Disaster.

In this river, and about it, there were canes as thick as a man's leg; and on Sunday the 25th of September, still running southward, we came to an anchor near a little island called Quiriviri, and a town on the continent, the name whereof was Cariari, where were the best people, country, and situation, we had yet seen; as well because it was high, full of rivers, and abounding in trees, as because the island was thick

thick wooded, and full of forests of palm, mirobalan, and other sorts of trees. For this reason, the admiral called it Hucite. It is a small league from the town the Indians call Cariari, which is near a great river, whither resorted a great multitude of people from the adjacent parts; some with bows and arrows; others with staves of palm tree, as black as a coal, and hard as a horn, pointed with the bones of fishes; others with clubs; and they came together as if they meant to defend their country. The men had their hair braided and wound about their heads; the women short like ours. But perceiving we were peaceable people, they were very desirous to barter their commodities for ours; theirs were arms, cotton jerkins, and large pieces like sheets, and guaninis, which is pale gold they wear about their necks, as we do relics. These things they swam with to the boats, for the Christians went not ashore that day nor the next; nor would the admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that we might not be taken for men that value their goods, but gave them some of ours. The less they saw us value the exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of signs from land. At last, perceiving nobody went ashore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reserving any, and tying them together, left them in the same place where the boats first went ashore, and where our men found them on the Wednesday following, when they landed. The Indians about this place believing that the Christians did not confide in them, they sent an ancient man of an awful presence with a flag upon a staff, and two girls, the one about eight, the other about fourteen years of age, who, putting them into the boat, made signs that the Christians might safely land. Upon their request, they went ashore to take in water, the Indians taking great care not to do any thing that might fright the Christians; and when they saw them return to their ships, they made signs to them to take along with them the young girls, with their guaninis about their necks; and at the request of the old man that conducted them, they complied and carried them aboard. Wherein those people shewed more friendly than others had done; and in the girls appeared an undauntedness. For though the Christians were such strangers to them, they expressed no manner of concern, but always looked pleasant and modest; which made the admiral treat them well, clothed, fed, and set them ashore again, where the fifty men were, and the old man that had delivered them, received them again with much satisfaction. The boats going ashore again that same day, found the same people with the girls, who restored all the Christians had given them. The next day, the admiral's brother going ashore to learn something of those people, two of the chief men came to the boat, and taking him by the arms between them, made him sit down upon the grass; and he, asking some questions of them, ordered the secretary to write down what they answered; but they seeing the pen, ink, and paper, were in such a consternation, that most of them ran away, which, as was believed, they did for fear of being bewitched; for to us they seemed to be forcerers, or superstitious people, and that not without reason; because, when they came near the Christians, they scattered some powder about them in the air, and burning some of the same powder, endeavoured to make the smoke go towards the Christians; besides, their refusing to keep any thing that belonged unto us, shewed a jealousy; for, as they say, "A knave thinks every man like himself." Having staid here longer than was convenient, considering the haste we were in, after repairing the ships, and providing all we wanted, upon Sunday the 2d of October the admiral ordered his brother to go ashore with some men to view that Indian town, and learn something of their manners, and the nature of the country. The most remarkable things they saw were, in a great wooden palace covered with canes, several tombs, in one of which there was a dead body dried

up and embalmed; in another, two bodies, wrapped up in cotton sheets without any ill scent; and over each tomb was a board, with the figures of beasts carved on it; and on some of them, the effigies of the person buried there, adorned with guáninis, beads, and other things they most value. These being the most civilized Indians in those parts, the admiral ordered one to be taken, to learn of him the secrets of the country; and of seven that were taken, two of the chiefest were picked out, and the rest sent away with some gifts, and civil entertainment, that the country might not be left in an uproar, telling them, they were to serve as guides upon that coast, and then be set at liberty. But they believing they were taken out of covetousness, that they might ransom themselves with their goods and things of value, the next day abundance of them came down to the shore, and sent four aboard the admiral, as their ambassadors, to treat about the ransom, offering some things, and freely giving two hogs of the country, which, though small, are very wild. The admiral therefore, observing the policy of this people, was more desirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learned something of them, but would not give ear to their offers. He therefore ordered some trifles to be given to the messengers, that they might not go away dissatisfied, and that they should be paid for their hogs, one of which was hunted after this manner. Among other creatures that country produces, there is a kind of cats of a greyish colour, and as big as a small greyhound, but have a longer tail, and so strong, that whatsoever they clap it about is as it were tied with a rope. These run about the trees like the squirrels, leaping from one to another; and when they leap, they do not only hold fast with their claws, but with their tail too, by which they often hang, either to rest them, or sport. It happened that one Ballester brought one of these cats out of a wood, having knocked him off a tree, and not daring to meddle with it when down, because of its fierceness, he cut off one of his fore legs, and carrying it so wounded aboard, it frightened a good dog they had, but put one of the hogs they had brought us into a much greater fear; for as soon as the swine saw the cat, it run away, with signs of much dread, which we were surprized at, because before this happened, the hog ran at every body, and would not let the dog rest upon the deck. The admiral therefore ordered it to be put close to the cat, which presently wound her tail about its snout, and with that fore-leg it had left, fastened on its pole to bite it, the hog for fear grunting most violently. By this we perceived that these cats hunt like the wolves or dogs in Spain.

CHAP. XCII. — *How the Admiral went from Cariari to Caravaro and Uragua, till he came to Portocelo, all along a very fruitful Coast.*

UPON Wednesday the 5th of October the admiral sailed, and came to the bay of Caravaro, which is six leagues in length, and above three in breadth, where there are many small islands, and two or three channels to get in or out at any time. Within these islands the ships sail as it were in streets between islands, the leaves of the trees striking against the shrouds. As soon as we anchored in this bay, the boats went to one of the islands, where there were twenty canoes upon the shore, and the people by, as naked as they were born, and had only a gold plate about their neck, and some an eagle of gold. These, without shewing any tokens of fear, the two Indians of Cariari interpreting, gave a gold plate for three horse-bells; it weighed ten ducats, and they said there was great plenty of that metal up the continent, not far from them.

The next day, being the 7th of October, the boats went ashore upon the continent, where meeting ten canoes full of people, and they refusing to chaffer away their gold plates,

plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the admiral might learn something of them with the assistance of two interpreters. The gold plate one of them wore weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's eagle twenty-two. These said, that a day or two's journey up the country, there was abundance of gold found in some places which they named. In the bay a vast deal of fish was taken, and ashore there were abundance of those creatures above mentioned at Cariari; also great plenty of their food, such as roots, grain, and fruit. The men, who are painted all over, face and body, of several colours, as red, black, and white, go naked, only covering their privities with a narrow cotton cloth.

From this bay of Caravaro, we went to another close by it, called Aburena, which in some measure is like the other.

On the 17th we put out to sea to continue our voyage; and being come to Guaiga, a river twelve leagues from Aburena, the admiral commanded the boats to go ashore, which as they were doing, they saw above a hundred Indians on the strand, who assaulted them furiously, running up to the middle into the water, brandishing their spears, blowing horns, and beating a drum in warlike manner, to defend their country, throwing the salt water towards the Christians, chewing herbs and spurning it towards them. Our men not stirring, endeavoured to appease them, as they did; for at last they drew near to exchange the gold plates they had about their necks, some for two, and some for three horse-bells, by which means we got sixteen gold plates, worth a hundred and fifty ducats. The next day, being Friday the 19th of October, the boats went to land again to barter; yet before any Christian went ashore, they called to some Indians, who were under some bowers they had made that night to defend their country, fearing the Christians would land to do them some wrong. Though they called never so much, yet none of them would come, nor would the Christians land without knowing first what mind they were in; for, as afterwards appeared, they waited in order to fall on them as soon as they landed. But perceiving they came not out of the boats, they blew their horns, beat the drum, and making a great noise, ran into the water, as they had done the day before, till they came almost to the boats, making signs as if they would cast their javelins if they did not return to their ships. The Christians, offended at this their proceeding, that they might not be so bold, and despise them, wounded one with an arrow in the arm, and fired a cannon, at which they were so frightened, that all ran away to land. Then four Christians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their arms behind them, and exchanged three gold plates, saying, they had no more, because they came not provided for to trade, but to fight.

All the admiral looked for in this journey was to get samples of what those parts afforded; and therefore, without farther delay, he proceeded to Catiba, and cast anchor in the mouth of a great river. The people of the country were seen to gather, calling one another with horns and drums; and afterwards sent a canoe with two men in it to the ships, who having talked with the Indians that were taken at Cariari, presently came aboard the admiral, without any apprehension of fear; and by the advice of those Indians, gave the admiral two plates of gold they had about their necks, and he in return gave them some baubles of ours. When these were gone ashore, there came another canoe with three men wearing plates hanging at their necks, who did as the first had done. Amity thus settled, our men went ashore, where they found abundance of people, with their king, who differed in nothing from the rest, but that he was covered with one leaf of a tree, because at that time it rained hard; and to give his subjects a good example, he exchanged a plate, and bid them barter for theirs;

which in all were nineteen of pure gold. This was the first place in the Indies where they saw any sign of a structure, which was a great mass of wall, or imagery, that to them seemed to be of lime and stone: the admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a memorial of that antiquity.

He went away eastward, and came to Cobravo, the people of which place lie near the rivers of that coast; and because none came down to the strand, and the wind blew fresh, he held on his course, and went on to five towns of great trade, among which was Veragua, where the Indians said the gold was gathered, and the plates made.

The next day he came to a town, called Cubiga, where the Indians of Cariari said the trading country ended, which began at Carabora, and ran as far as Cubiga, for fifty leagues along the coast.

The admiral, without making any stay, went on till he put into Porto Bello, giving it that name, because it is large, beautiful, well peopled, and encompassed by a well cultivated country. He entered this place on the 2d of November, passing between two small islands, within which the ships may lie close to the shore, and turn it out if they have occasion. The country about that harbour, higher up, is not very rough, but tilled, and full of houses, a stone's throw or a bow shot one from the other; and it looks like the finest landscape a man can imagine. During seven days we continued there, on account of the rain and ill weather, there came continually canoes from all the country about to trade for provisions and bottoms of fine spun cotton, which they gave for some trifles, such as points and pins.

CHAP. XCIII. — *How the Admiral came to Port Bastimentos, or Nombre de Dios, and continued his Voyage till he put into Retrete.*

ON Wednesday the 9th of November, we sailed out of Porto Bello, eight leagues to the eastward; but the next day were forced back four leagues by stress of weather, and put in among the islands near the continent, where is now the town of Nombre de Dios; and because all those small islands were full of grain, he called it Puerto de Bastimentos, that is, the Port of Provisions.

There a boat well manned, pursuing a canoe, the Indians imagining our men would do them some harm, and perceiving the boat was within less than a stone's throw of them, they all threw themselves into the water to swim away, as in effect they did; for though the boat rowed hard, it could not, in half a league the pursuit lasted, overtake any of them; or if it did happen to overtake one, he would dive like a duck, and come up again a bow shot or two from the place. This chase was very pleasant, seeing the boat labour in vain, which at last returned empty.

Here we continued till the 23d of November, refitting the ships, and mending our casks; and that day we sailed eastward to a place called Guiga, there being another of the same name between Veragua and Cerago. The boats going ashore, found above three hundred persons on it, ready to trade for such provisions as they have, and some small things of gold they wore hanging at their ears and noses.

But without making any stay here, on Saturday the 24th of November we put into a small port, which was called Retrete, that is, Retired Place, because it could not contain above five or six ships together, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces over, and on both sides of it rocks appearing above water as sharp as diamonds; and the channel between them was so deep that they found no bottom, though, if the ships inclined never so little to either side, the men might leap ashore, which was it that saved the ships in that narrow place; which was the fault of those
who

who went in boats to view it, they being covetous to deal with the Indians, and perceiving the ships would lie there conveniently for it, close to the shore. In this place we continued nine days with bad weather; and at first the Indians came very familiarly to trade for such as they had; but when they saw the Christians steal privately out of their ships, they retired to their houses, because the seamen, like covetous dissolute men, committed a thousand insolencies; insomuch that they provoked the Indians to break the peace, and some skirmishes happened between them. They increasing daily, took courage to come up to the ships, which, as we said, lay with their sides close to the shore, thinking to do some harm, which design of theirs had turned to their own detriments, had not the admiral always endeavoured to gain them by patience and civility: but at last, perceiving their insolence, to strike a terror into them, he caused some pieces of cannon to be fired, which they answered with shouts, threshing the trees with staves, and threatening by signs, shewing they did not fear the noise, for they thought it had been only a thundering to terrify them. Therefore to abate their pride, and make them not condemn the Christians, the admiral caused a shot to be made at a company of them that was got together upon a hillock, and the ball falling in the midst of them, made them sensible there was a thunderbolt as well as thunder; so that for the future they durst not appear even behind the mountains. The people of this country were the properest they had yet seen among the Indians, for they were tall and spare, without any great bellies, and well countenanced.

The country was all plain, bearing little grass, and a few trees; and in the harbour there were vast great crocodiles or alligators, which go out to stay and sleep ashore, and scatter a scent as if all the musk in the world were together; but they are so ravenous and cruel that if they find a man sleeping, they drag him to the water to devour him, though they are fearful and cowardly when attacked. These alligators are found in many other parts of the continent, and some do affirm they are the same as the crocodiles of the Nile.

CHAP. XCIV. — *How the Admiral being drove by Storms of Weather, stood again to Westward to get Intelligence concerning the Mines, and enquire concerning Veragua.*

ON Monday the 5th of December, the admiral perceiving the violent east and north-east winds did not cease, and that there was no trading with those people, he resolved to go back to be satisfied concerning what the Indians said of the mines of Veragua, and therefore that day he returned to Porto Bello, ten leagues westward; and continuing his course the next day, was assaulted by a west wind which was opposite to his new design, but favourable to that he had for three months past. But he, believing this wind would not last long, did not alter his course, but bore up against the wind for some days, because the weather was unsettled; and when the weather seemed a little favourable to go to Veragua, another wind would start up and drive him towards Porto Bello, and when we were most in hopes to get into port we were quite beat off again, and sometimes with such thunder and lightning that the men durst not open their eyes, the ships seemed to be just sinking, and the sky to come down. Sometimes the thunder was so continued, that it was concluded some ship fired its cannon to desire assistance. Another time there would fall such storms of rain that it would last violently fortwo or three days, insomuch that it looked like another universal deluge. This perplexed all the men and made them almost despair, seeing they could not get half an hour's rest, being continually wet, turning sometimes one way, and sometimes
another,

another, struggling against all the elements and dreading them all; for in such dreadful storms, they dread the fire in flashes of lightning, the air for its fury, the water for the terrible waves, and the earth for the hidden rocks and sands which sometimes a man meets with near the port where he hoped for safety, and not knowing them, chuses rather to contend with the other elements in whom he has less share.

Besides all these terrors there occurred another no less dangerous and wonderful, which was a spout rising from the sea, on Tuesday the 13th of December, which if they had not dissolved by saying the gospel of St. John, it had certainly sunk whatsoever it fell upon; for as has been said, it draws the water up to the clouds like a pillar and thicker than a butt, twisting it about like a whirlwind. That same night we lost sight of the ship called *Caino*, and had the good fortune to see it again after three dreadful dark days, though it had lost its boat and been in great danger, being so near land as to cast anchor, which it lost at long run, being forced to cut the cable. Now it appeared that the currents on that coast follow the wind, running westward with the east wind, and the contrary, the water still going after the prevailing wind. The ships being now almost shattered to pieces with the tempest, and the men quite spent with labour, a day or two's calm gave them some respite, and brought such multitudes of sharks about the ships, that they were dreadful to behold, especially for such as are superstitious; because, as it is reported, that ravens at a great distance smell out dead bodies; so some think these sharks do, which, if they lay hold of a man's arm or leg, cut it off like a razor, for they have two rows of teeth in the nature of a saw. Such a multitude of these was killed with the hook and chain, that being able to destroy no more, they lay swimming upon the water, and they are so greedy that they do not only bite at carrion, but may be taken with a red rag upon the hook. I have seen a tortoise taken out of the belly of one of these sharks, and it afterwards lived aboard the ship; but out of another was taken the whole head of one of his own kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the water, as not good to eat, no more than they are themselves, and that shark had swallowed it; and to us it seemed contrary to reason, that one creature should swallow the head of another of its own bigness, which is not to be admired, because their mouth reaches almost to their belly, and the head is shaped like an olive. Though some looked upon them to forbode mischief, and others thought them bad fish, yet we all made much of them, by reason of the want we were in, having been now above eight months at sea, so that we had consumed all the fish and flesh brought from Spain; and what with the heat and moisture of the sea, the biscuit was so full of maggots, that, as God shall help me, I saw many that staid till night to eat the pottage or brevice made of it, that they might not see the maggots; and others were so used to eat them, that they did not mind to throw them away when they saw them, because they might lose their supper if they were so very curious.

Upon Saturday the 17th, the admiral put into a port three leagues east of Pennon, which the Indians called *Huiva*. It was like a great bay, where we rested three days, and going ashore, saw the inhabitants dwell upon the tops of trees, like birds, laying sticks across from bough to bough, and building huts upon them rather than houses. Though we knew not the reason of this strange custom, yet we guessed it was done for fear of the griffins there are in that country, or of enemies; for all along that coast, the people at every league distance are great enemies to one another.

We sailed from this port on the 20th with fair weather, but not settled; for as soon as we were got out to sea, the tempest began to rage again, and drove us into another port, whence we departed again the third day, the weather seeming somewhat mended,
but

but like an enemy that lies in wait for a man, rushed out again and forced us to Pennon, where when we hoped to put in, the wind started up so contrary that we were drove again towards Veragua. Being at anchor in the river, the weather became again so stormy that all the favour we had from it was that it allowed us to get into that port, where we had been before on Thursday the 12th of the same month. Here we continued from the second day in Christmas till the 3d of January the following year 1503, when having repaired the ship called Gallega and taken aboard abundance of Indian wheat, water, and wood, we turned back towards Veragua with bad weather, and contrary winds, which changed crossly just as the admiral altered his course. And this was so strange and unheard-of a thing, that I would not have repeated so many changes, if, besides by being then present, I had not seen the same written by James Mendez, who sailed with the canoes of Jamaica, whereof I shall speak hereafter, and writ an account of this voyage; and the letter the admiral sent by him to Their Catholic Majesties, which is printed, will inform the reader how great our sufferings were, and how much fortune persecuted him the ought most to favour. But to return to the changes of weather and of our course, which put us to so much trouble between Veragua and Porto Bello, for which reason that coast was called *Costa de Contrastes*, that is, coast of thwartings.

Upon Thursday, being the feast of the Epiphany, we call anchor near a river which the Indians call Yebra, and the admiral named Belem or Bethlem, because we came to that place upon the feast of the three kings. He caused the mouth of that river, and of another westward to be founded; the latter the Indians call Veragua where he found but shoal water, and in that of Belem, four fathom at high water. The boats went up this river to the town, where they were informed the gold mines of Veragua were. At first the Indians were so far from conversing, that they assembled with their weapons to hinder the Christians landing. The next day, our boats going to the river of Veragua, the Indians there did as the others had done, and that not only ashore, but stood upon their guard with their canoes in the water. But an Indian of that coast who understood them a little, going ashore with the Christians and telling them we were good people and desired nothing but what we paid for, they were somewhat pacified, and trucked twenty gold plates, some hollow pieces like joints of reeds, and some grains never melted; which to make their value the more, they said were gathered a great way off upon uncouth mountains; and that when they gathered it they did not eat, nor carry women along with them, which same thing the people of Hispaniola said when it was first discovered.

CHAP. XCV. — *How the Admiral went into the River of Belem, and resolved to build a Town there, and leave his Brother the Lieutenant in it.*

ON Monday the 9th of January, the admiral's ship, and that called Biscania went up the river, and the Indians came presently to truck for such things as they had, particularly fish, which at certain times of the year comes out of the sea up these rivers in such quantities as seems incredible to such as do not see it; and they exchanged some little gold for pins, and those things they most valued they gave for beads or hawks-bells. Next day the other two ships came in, which they had not done at first, because there being but little water at the mouth of the river, they were forced to stay for the flood; though there the sea never rises or falls above half a fathom.

Veragua

Veragua being famed for mines and extraordinary wealth, the third day after our arrival, the admiral's brother went up the river with the boats to the town of Quibio, so the Indians call their king; who hearing of the lieutenant's coming, came down the river in his canoes to meet him. They met in very friendly manner, giving one another interchangeably such things as they valued most; and having discoursed a long time together every one went away peaceably. Next day the said Quibio came aboard to visit the admiral, and having discoursed together about an hour, the admiral gave him some things, and his men trucked bells for some gold, and so he returned without any ceremony the same way he came.

We being thus very easy and secure, on Wednesday the 24th of January the river of Belem suddenly swelled so high, that before we could provide against it, or carry a cable ashore, the fury of the water came so impetuously against the admiral's ship that it broke one of its two anchors, and drove her with such force against the ship Gallega, which lay astern of it, that it brought the foremast by the board, and were both carried away foul of one another in utmost danger of perishing. Some judged the mighty rains to have been the cause of this mighty flood, they having never ceased all the winter in that country; but had that been it the river would have swelled by degrees, and not all on a sudden, which made it to be believed some great shower had fallen on the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral called St. Christopher's, because the highest of them was above the region of the air where meteors are bred; for no cloud was ever seen above, but all below it. To look to it is like an hermitage, and lies at least twenty leagues up the country, in the midst of woody mountains, whence we believed that flood came which was so dangerous, that though it brought water enough to carry the ships out to sea, the wind was then so boisterous, that they must have been shattered to pieces at the mouth of the river, distant half a mile from whence they broke loose. This tempest lasted so long that we had time enough to refit and caulk the ships. The waves broke so furiously upon the mouth of the river, that the boats could not go out to discover along the coast, to learn where the mines lay, and chuse a place to build a town; the admiral having resolved to leave his brother there with most of the men, that they might settle and subdue that country, whilst he went Spain to send supplies of men and provisions: upon this prospect, the weather growing calmer, on Monday the 6th of February he sent his brother with sixty-eight men by sea to the mouth of Veragua river, a league distant from Belem westward, and he went a league and a half up the river, to the cacique's town, where he staid a day enquiring out the way to the mines.

On Wednesday they travelled four leagues and a half, and came to lie near a river, which they passed forty-four times, and the next day advanced a league and a half towards the mines shewed them by Indians sent by Quibio to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither, every man gathered some gold about the roots of the trees which were there very thick and of a prodigious height. This sample was much valued, because none of those that went had any tools to dig, or had ever gathered any. Therefore the design of their journey being only to get information of the mines, they returned very well pleased that same day to Veragua and the next to the ships. True it is that, as was afterwards known, these mines were not those of Veragua, which lay much nearer, but of Urira, a town whose people are enemies to those of Veragua, to do whom a displeasure, Quibio ordered the Christians to be conducted thither, and that they might go away to those, and leave his.

CHAP. XCVI. — *How the Admiral's Brother went to see some Towns of that Province ; with an Account of the Gountry, and Customs of those People.*

ON Thursday the 14th of February 1503, the admiral's brother went into the country with forty men, a boat following with fourteen. The next day they came to the river of Urira, seven leagues from Belem westward. The cacique came out a league from his town to meet him, with twenty men, and presented him with such things as they feed on, and some gold plates were exchanged here. Whilst they were here the cacique and chief men never ceased putting a dry herb into their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they took a sort of powder they carried with that herb, which looks very odd. Having rested here a while, the Christians and Indians went together to the town, where abundance of people came out to them, and assigned them a great house to lie in, giving them much to eat. Soon after came the cacique of Dururi, which is a neighbouring town, with a great many Indians, who brought some gold plates to truck ; all these Indians said there were caciques up the country who had plenty of gold and abundance of men armed like ours. Next day, the lieutenant ordered the rest of his men to return by land to the ships, and he, with thirty he kept with him, held on his journey towards Zobraba, where the fields for above six leagues were all full of maize, like corn fields. Thence he went to Cateba, another town ; at both places he was well entertained, abundance of provisions given him, and some gold plates trucked, which, as has been said, are like the paten of a chalice, some bigger and some less, weighing twelve ducats, more or less ; they wear them about their necks, hanging by a string as we do relics. The lieutenant being now very far from the ships without finding any port along that coast, or any river bigger than that of Belem to settle his colony, he came back the same way on the 24th of February, bringing above ——— ducats in gold he had exchanged for. As soon as he returned, presently order was taken for his stay, and eighty men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by ten and ten, or more or less in a gang, and began to build houses upon the bank of the aforesaid river of Belem, about a cannon shot from the mouth of it, within a trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the river, at a mouth of which there is a little hill. Besides these houses, which were all of timber and covered with palm tree leaves which grew along the shore, another large house was built, to serve as a storehouse and magazine, into which several pieces of cannon, powder, and provisions were put, and other necessaries for the support of the planters. But for wine, biscuit, oil, vinegar, cheese and much grain, which was all they had to eat, these things were left in the safest place, aboard the ship called Gallega that was to be left with the lieutenant, that he might make use of it either at sea or ashore, having all its cordage, nets, hooks, and other fishing tackle ; for as we have said, there is vast plenty of fish in that country in every river, several sorts at certain times running along the coast in shoals, on which the people of the country feed more than upon flesh ; for though there be some sorts of beasts they are not enough to maintain them. The customs of the Indians are for the most part much like those of Hispaniola and the neighbouring islands ; but these people of Veragua and the country about it, when they talk to one another and eat turn their backs, and are always chewing an herb, which we look upon to be the occasion that their teeth are decayed and rotten. Their food is fish, which they take with nets and hooks made of tortoise-shell, which they cut with a thread as if they were sawing ; the same they use in the islands. They have another way of catching some very small fishes, which in Hispaniola they call Titi. These at certain times being drove to the shore

by the rains, are so persecuted by the bigger fish, that they are forced up to the surface of the water, where the Indians take as many as they will of them in little mats, or small nets, and wrap them up in leaves of trees as apothecaries do their drugs, and having dried them in an oven, they keep a long time. They also catch pilchards almost in the same manner; for at certain times these fishes fly from the great ones so violently and in such fear, that they leap out two or three paces upon the dry land, so that there is no more to do but to take them as they do the others. These pilchards are taken after another manner; for in the middle of their canoes, from stem to stern, they raise a partition of palm-tree leaves two yards high, and plying about the river they make a noise, and beat the shore with their oars, and then the pilchards, to fly from the other fish, leap into the canoe, and hitting against those leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they please. Several sorts of fish pass along the coast in shoals, whereof wonderful quantities are taken, which they keep roasted a long time. They have also abundance of maize, which is a sort of grain growing in an ear, or hard head like millet, whereof they make white and red wine, as beer is made in England, and mix of their spice with it as pleases their palate; it has a pleasant taste like a sharp brisk wine: they also make another sort of wine of certain trees like palms; and I believe they are of that kind, but that they are smooth, and have such prickles on the trunk as the thorn. From the pith of this palm, which is like palmitoes squeezed, they draw a juice, whereof they make wine, boiling it with water and spice; and this they make great account of. They make another wine of the fruit we said is found in the island Guadaloupe, which is like a great pine-apple: it is planted in great fields, and the plant is a sprout growing out at the top of the fruit itself, like that which grows out of a cabbage or lettuce. One plant lasts three or four years, and bears. They make wine of other sorts of fruit, particularly of one that grows upon very high trees, and is as big as a large lemon; and every one has two, three, and some nine stones like nuts, but they are not round, but long, or like a chestnut. The rind of this fruit is like a pomegranate, and when first taken from the tree it resembles it exactly, save only that it wants the prickly circle at the top. The taste of it is like a peach: of these some are better, some worse, as is usual among other fruit. There are of them in the islands, and the Indians call them Mamei.

CHAP. XCVII. — *How, for the greater Security of the Christian Colony, Quibio, and several of the principal Men, were made Prisoners; and how, through the Carelessness of his Keepers, he made his Escape.*

ALL things were now settled for the Christian colony, and ten or twelve houses built and thatched, and the admiral ready to sail for Spain, when he fell into greater danger for want of water, than he had been before by the inundation. For the great rains of January being over, the mouth of the river was so choaked up with sand, that whereas when they came in there was about ten feet water, which was scant enough, when we would have gone out there were not two feet, so that we were shut up without any help, it being impossible to get the ships over the sand; and though there had been such an engine, the sea was so boisterous, that the least wave which beats upon the shore was enough to beat the ships in pieces, especially ours, which were at this time like a honey-comb, being all worm-eaten through and through. We had nothing left but to have recourse to God, and beg rain of him, as before we prayed for fair weather; for the rain we knew would swell the river, and clear the sand from

the mouth of it, as is usual in those rivers. It being in the mean while discovered by means of the interpreter, that Quibio, the cacique of Veragua, intended to set fire to the houses, and destroy the Christians, because all the Indians were against their planting upon that river; it was therefore thought fit, as a punishment to him, and a terror and example to others, to make him a prisoner, with all his chief men, and send them into Spain, and that his town should remain at the disposal of the Christians.

To this purpose the lieutenant, on the 30th of March, went with seventy-six men to the town or village of Veragua; and because I call it a town or village, it is to be observed, that in those parts their houses are not close together, but they live as in Biscay, at some distance from one another. When Quibio understood that the lieutenant was come near, he sent him word not to come up to his house, which stood upon a hill above the river of Veragua; and the lieutenant, that he might not fly for fear of him, resolved to go with only five men, ordering those he left behind to come after him, two and two, at some distance from one another; and when they heard a musquet fired, they should beset the house, that none might escape. Being come up to the house, Quibio sent another messenger, bidding him not go in, for he would come out to talk to him, though he was wounded with an arrow, which they do that their women may not be seen, being wonderful jealous of them. Accordingly he came and sat at the door, bidding only the lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on, as soon as he laid hold of his arm. He asked the cacique some questions concerning his indisposition and the affairs of the country, by the assistance of an Indian he had, whom we had taken not far off, above three months since, and he willingly went along with us. This man was then much afraid, for knowing that Quibio designed to destroy all the Christians, and not knowing our strength, he thought that might easily be done by the great multitude of people there was in that province. But the lieutenant minded not his fear, and pretending to look where the cacique was wounded, he took him by the arm, and though they were both very strong, yet the lieutenant took such good hold, that he lost it not till the other four came up, which done, one of them fired a musquet, and on a sudden all the Christians running out of their ambush beset the house, in which there were thirty people, great and small, most of which were taken, and never a one wounded, for they seeing their king taken, would make no resistance. Among these there were some wives and children of Quibio, and other men of note, who offered great wealth, saying, there was a great treasure in the adjoining wood, and they would give it all for their ransom. But the lieutenant not regarding their promises, ordered Quibio, with his wives and children, and the principal men, to be carried aboard, before the country took the alarm, staying himself there with most of the men, to go after his kindred and subjects who were fled. Then having consulted with the captains and chief men, whom they should intrust to conduct the prisoners to the mouth of the river; he at last delivered them to John Sanchez de Cadiz, a pilot, and a man in good reputation, he offering to carry them, the cacique being bound hands and feet; and this pilot being charged to take special care that the cacique should not escape, he answered, he would give them leave to pull off his beard if he got from him. So he took him into his custody, and went down the river of Veragua. Being come within half a league of the mouth of it, and Quibio complaining that his hands were too hard bound, John Sanchez out of compassion, loosed him from the seat of the boat to which he was tied, and held the rope in his hand. A little after, Quibio observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the water; and John Sanchez not being able to hold fast the rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the water. Night coming on, and those in the boat

being all in a confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a stone had fallen into the water. That the like might not happen with the rest of the prisoners, they held on their way to the ships with much shame for their carelessness and oversight. The next day the lieutenant perceiving the country was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular towns, but one house here, and another at a great distance, and that it would be very difficult to pursue the Indians from place to place, he resolved to return to the ships with his men, not one of them being either killed or wounded. He presented the admiral with the plunder of Quibio's house, worth about three hundred ducats in gold plates, little eagles, and small quills, which they string and wear about their arms and legs, and in gold twists which they put about their head in the nature of a coronet. All which things, deducting only the fifth part for Their Catholic Majesties, he divided among those that went upon the expedition: And to the lieutenant, in token of victory, was given one of those crowns or coronets abovementioned.

CHAP. XCVIII.—*How after the Admiral was gone from Belem to return to Spain, Quibio assaulted the Christian Colony, in which Engagement there were many killed and wounded.*

ALL things being provided for the maintenance of the colony, and the rules and methods for them to be governed by, settled by the admiral, it pleased God to send so much rain, as swelled the river and opened the mouth of it; wherefore the admiral resolved to depart with all speed for Hispaniola, to send speedy supplies to this place. Having waited for a calm that the sea might not beat upon the mouth of the river, we went out with three ships, the boats going a-head and towing us. Yet never a one went out so cleverly, but his keel raced upon the sand, and had been in danger notwithstanding the calm, but that those are loose moving sands. Then we presently took in all we had unladed to lighten the ships that they might get out. As we lay waiting for a fair wind upon the open coast, a league from the mouth of the river, it pleased God miraculously to give us an occasion of sending the admiral's boat ashore, as well for water as for other necessary affairs, that by the loss of these both those ashore, and those in the ships might be saved, which happened thus. When Quibio and the Indians saw that the ships were without, and could not relieve them that were left behind, they assaulted the Christian colony at the same time that the boat came to the shore. They having not been discovered by reason of the thickness of the wood, when they came within ten paces of our men's houses, fell on with great shouts, casting javelins at those they spied, and at the very houses, which being covered with palm-tree leaves, were easily struck through and through, and so sometimes they wounded those within. Having thus surprized our men, thinking of no such thing, they wounded four or five before they could put themselves into a posture of defence. But the lieutenant being a man of great resolution, he went out against the enemy with a spear, encouraging his men, and falling furiously on the Indians with seven or eight that followed him, so that he made them retire to the wood, which (as we said) was close to the houses. Thence they returned and skirmished, casting their javelins and then retiring, as the Spaniards use to do in the sport they call *Juego de Canas*, many of them flying from the Christians after they had felt the edge of their swords, and the teeth of a dog, who furiously fell in among them; so that at length they fled, having killed one Christian and wounded seven, one of which was the lieutenant, who was hurt with a javelin in the breast; from which danger two Christians took care to preserve themselves;

themselves; which story I will relate to shew the comicalness of the one, who was an Italian of Lombardy, and the gravity of the other who was a Spaniard. The Lombard running hastily to hide himself in a house, James Mendez, of whom mention will be made hereafter, said to him, turn, turn back Sebastian, whither are you going? He answered, let me go you devil, for I am going to secure my person. The Spaniard was captain James Trifan, whom the admiral sent ashore in the boat, who never went out of it with his men, though the fray was just by the river; and being blamed by some for not assisting the Christians, he answered, he said he did it that those ashore might not run to the boat and so all perish, because if the boat were lost, the admiral would be in danger at sea, and therefore he would do no more than he had been commanded, which was to take in water, and to see whether there was any need of his assistance. Resolving therefore to take in the water immediately, that he might carry the admiral an account of what had happened, he went up the river for it, where the sweet did not mix with the salt, though some advised him not to go, for the danger there was of the Indians and their canoes; to which he answered, he did not fear that danger, since he was sent for that purpose by the admiral. Accordingly he went up the river, which is very deep within, and sheltered on both sides with abundance of trees, which come to the edge of the water and so thick that there is scarce any going ashore, except in some places which are the fishermen's paths, and where they hide their canoes. As soon as the Indians perceived he was got about a league from the colony up the river, they rushed out from the thickest on both sides the river in their canoes, and making a hideous noise, blowing their horns, assaulted him boldly on all sides with great odds on their side, because their canoes being swift, and one man being enough to command and turn them which way they please, especially those that are little and belong to the fishermen, three or four men came in each of them, one of whom rowed, and the rest cast their javelins at those in the boat; I call them javelins because of their bigness, though they have no iron heads, but only points of fish bones. There being but seven or eight men in our boat who rowed, and the captain with three or four men for fight, they could not cover themselves against the many javelins they threw at them, and therefore they were forced to quit their oars to take up their targets. But there was such a multitude of Indians, who poured in on all sides, coming up and retiring in good order, as they thought fit, that they wounded most of the Christians, especially the captain, who was hurt in many places; and though he stood unmoved encouraging his men, it availed him nothing; for he was beset on all sides, and could not stir, nor make use of his musquets, till at last they struck a javelin into his eye, and he fell down dead; and all the rest came to the like fate, except one John de Noia of Seville, who by good luck in the height of the fray fell into the water, and diving got to the shore, and made his way through the thickest of the wood to the colony, to carry the news of what had happened. This so terrified our men, that seeing they were but a few, some of their companions being killed and others wounded, and that the admiral was at sea without a boat, and in danger not to return to a place whence he might send them relief, they resolved not to stay there; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without any orders, had not the mouth of the river hindered, the bad weather having shut it up again; for neither could the ship they had left them get out, nor durst any boat attempt it, because the sea beat so violently, so that there was no sending the admiral advice of what had happened. He was in no less danger himself, riding in an open road, having no boat and but few men, so many having been killed: so that we were all in the same trouble and confusion, as they were within, who considering what had

had happened and seeing those that had been killed in the boat drive down the river covered with wounds, and followed by the country crows, looked upon these things as ill omens, and dreaded coming to the same end; and the more because they perceived the Indians were puffed up with their success, inasmuch that they gave them not a minute's respite by reason of the ill situation of the colony; and there is no doubt but that they must have all suffered, had they not advised to remove to an open strand eastward, where they made a work round them with the casks and other things, and planting the cannon in convenient places defending themselves, the Indians not daring to come out of the wood, because of the mischief the bullets did among them.

CHAP. XCIX. — *How the Indians that were kept Prisoners aboard made their Escape, and the Admiral was informed of the ill Success of his Men.*

WHILE these things happened, the admiral waited ten days with much trouble, and suspecting what might fall out, till the sea would settle, that he might send another boat to know what it was that detained the first; but fortune thwarting him in all things, would not allow us to hear of one another; and to add to our affliction, it happened that the sons and kindred of Quibio, whom we kept prisoners aboard the ship Bermuda, to carry them to Spain, found means to escape thus. At night they were kept under hatches, and the scuttle being so high that they could not reach it, the watch forgot to fasten it with a chain as they used to do, especially because some seamen lay upon it. The prisoners, therefore, one night gathering the stones that were in the hold under the scuttle, and raising themselves on them, set their shoulders against it, and forced it open, tumbling those that lay on it over and over; and some of the principal men leaping out, cast themselves into the sea. The seamen taking the alarm, many of them could not get out; and the scuttle being fastened with the chain, better care was taken; but those that remained in despair, because they could not get off with their companions, hanged themselves with the ropes they could come at, and so were found the next morning, their feet and knees dragging upon the bottom of the hold, the place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, so that all the prisoners aboard that ship escaped or died. Though this loss was not material to the ships, yet besides that it increased the number of misfortunes, it was feared it might be hurtful to those ashore; because Quibio would willingly have made peace with them to get his children, and now there being no hostage left, there was cause to suspect he would make war with the greater fury. Being thus afflicted amidst so many troubles and disasters, having nothing to trust to but our anchors and cables, without knowing any thing from shore, there wanted not those, who said, that since those Indians only to obtain their liberty, had ventured to leap into the sea above a league from shore, they to save themselves, and so many more, would be content to swim ashore, provided that boat which remained would carry them as far as where the waves did not break. I say one boat remained, which was that of the ship Bermuda, for that of the Biscaina we said before was lost in the fray, so that they had only that one boat at present among the three ships. The admiral hearing these seamen's honest proposal, allowed of it, and so the boat carried them within a musquet shot of land, not being able to go nearer without great danger because of the great waves that broke on it. There one Peter de Ledesma, a pilot of Seville, threw himself into the water, and with a good heart got ashore, where he learnt the condition our men were in, and how they all unanimoufly

mbusly said, they would not upon any account remain there in that forlorn condition, and therefore desired the admiral not to fail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was sacrificing of them, and the more because there were already divisions among them, and they obeyed neither the admiral's brother nor the captains, and all their care was upon the first fair weather, to secure a canoe and go aboard, because this could not be conveniently done with only one boat that was left them; and if the admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to save their lives aboard that ship which was left them, and rather trust fortune than be at the mercy of the Indians, who would inhumanly butcher them. With this answer Peter de Ledefina returned to the boat which waited for him, and thence to the ships, where he gave the admiral an account how matters stood.

CHAP. C. — *How the Admiral brought off the Men he had left at Belem, and struck over to Jamaica.*

THE admiral understanding the rout, the confusion and despair those ashore were in, he resolved to stay and bring them off, though not without great danger, because his ships lay in an open road, out of all shelter, and without hopes of escaping, had the weather grown more boisterous. But it pleased God in eight days he continued there, the weather mended so much, that those ashore with their boat and large canoes fast bound together, that they might not overset, began to gather their goods, and every one striving to be none of the last, they used such diligence, that in two days nothing was left ashore but the hulk of the ship, which by reason of the worms was unfit for service. Thus rejoicing we were all together again, we sailed up that coast eastward; for though all the pilots were of opinion that we might return to St. Domingo standing away to the north, yet only the admiral and his brother knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that coast, before they struck across that gulph that is between the continent and Hispaniola, which our men were much displeased at, thinking the admiral designed directly for Spain, whereas he neither had provisions, nor were his ships fit for that voyage. But he knowing best what was fit to be done, we held on our course till we came to Porto Bello, where we were forced to leave the ship Biscaina, it was so leaky, being all worm-eaten through and through. And holding along up the coast, we passed by the port we called Retrete, and a country near which there were abundance of small islands, which the admiral called Las Barbas, but the Indians and pilots call that the territory of the cacique Pocorosa: hence we held on ten leagues to the last land we saw of the continent, called Marmora, and on Monday the 1st of May 1503, we stood to the northward, the wind and currents east, which made us lie as near the wind as we could. And though all the pilots said, we should be east of the Caribbee islands, yet the admiral feared he should not make Hispaniola, which proved so; for upon Wednesday the 10th of the same month of May, we were in sight of two very small and low islands, full of tortoises, as was all the sea about, insomuch that they looked like little rocks, for which reason those islands were called Tortugas or Tortoises. Sailing on northwards, on Friday following about evening, thirty leagues from those islands, we came to those called Jardin de la Reina, or The Queen's Garden, which is a great number of islands on the south side of Cuba. Being here at an anchor, ten leagues from Cuba, with men and trouble enough, because they had nothing to eat but biscuit, with some little oil and vinegar, labouring day and night at the pump, because the ships were so worm-eaten they were ready to sink, a great storm arose in the night, and the ship Bermuda not being

being able to ride it out, ran foul of us, and broke our stem and its own stern, and though with much difficulty, because of the roughness of the sea and high wind, it pleased God they got loose from one another; and though we cast all our anchors, none would hold but the sheet-anchor, whose cable, when day appeared, we found held but by a thread, which if the night had lasted an hour longer, must have given way, and all that place being full of rocks, we could not miss splitting upon some of those that were astern us. But it pleased God to deliver us here, as he had done from many other dangers. And so sailing hence with much toil, we came to an Indian town on the coast of Cuba, called Mataia, where having got some refreshment, we failed for Jamaica; for the east winds and great currents setting westward, would not permit us to stand for Hispaniola, especially the ships being so worm-eaten, that as has been said, we never ceased day and night working at three pumps in each of them, and if any one broke, whilst it was mending, we were forced to supply the want of it with kettles. For all this, the night before Midsummer-eve the water was so high in our ship, that there was no draining of it, for it came almost up to the deck; and with much labour we held out in that manner till day appearing, we put into a harbour in Jamaica called Puerto Bueno, or Good Harbour, which, though good to take shelter against a storm, had no fresh water, nor any town near it. Having made the best shift we could, on the day after the feast of St. John, we set out for another harbour eastward, called Santa Gloria, or Holy Glory, which is inclosed with rocks. Being got in, and no longer able to keep the ships above water, we run them ashore as far in as we could, stranding them close together board and board, and thoring them up on both sides, fixed them so that they could not budge; and in this posture the water came up almost to the deck, upon which, and the poop and fore-castle, were sheds made for the men to lie in, to secure ourselves, that the Indians might not hurt us, because the island was not then inhabited or subdued by Christians.

CHAP. CI. — *How the Admiral sent Canoes from Jamaica to Hispaniola, to give Advice that he was cast ashore there with his Men.*

BEING thus fortified in our ships about a bow shot from land, the Indians who, were a peaceable good natured people, came in their canoes to sell provisions, and such things as they had, for our commodities. Therefore, that there might not be some disorder committed among the Christians, and that they might not take more in exchange than was fitting, and the others might have their due, the admiral appointed two persons to oversee the buying of such things as they brought, and to divide daily among the men what was exchanged, because there was nothing left aboard to subsist on, as well because most of the provisions were spent, as for that the rest were spoiled, and some lost when the men came away from Belem, where the haste and confusion hindered things being brought off as they should. That we might be supplied with sustenance, it pleased God to direct us to that island, which abounds in provisions, and is inhabited by Indians, who are willing enough to trade, and therefore they resorted from all parts to barter such commodities as they had. For this reason, and that the Christians might not disperse about the island, the admiral chose to fortify himself upon the sea, and not settle a dwelling ashore; because we being naturally disobedient, no command or punishment would have kept the men from running about the country, and into the houses of the Indians, to take from them what they found, and thus they would have angered their wives and children, which would have caused quarrels

* quarrels and made them our enemies, and the taking their provisions by force would have reduced us to great want and distress. This could not happen now, because the men were aboard, and there was no going ashore without leave, which pleased the Indians, who sold two hutties, which are little creatures like rabbits, for a bit of tin, and cakes of bread they call Zabi, for two or three red or yellow glass beads; and when they brought a quantity of any thing, they had a hawk's-bell, and sometimes we gave a cacique or great man a little looking glass or red cap, or a pair of scissors to please them. This good order kept the men plentifully supplied with provisions, and the Indians were well pleased with our company. But it being requisite to find some means to return to Spain the admiral sometimes consulted with the captains and principal men about the means of getting out of that confinement, and at least returning to Hispaniola; for to stay there in hopes some ships might arrive was a mere folly, and to think to build a vessel was impossible, having neither tools nor workmen fit to do any thing to the purpose, but what would take up a long time, and not produce such a vessel as was fit to sail against the winds and currents that prevail among those islands; and therefore it had been only time lost, and would rather have proved our ruin than relief. Therefore after many consultations, the admiral resolved to send to Hispaniola to give an account that he was cast ashore on that island, and desired a ship might be sent him with provisions and ammunition. To this purpose he made choice of two persons that might perform it faithfully and courageously, I say courageously, because it seemed impossible to go over from one island to the other in canoes, and there was no other way for it: these being boats, as has been said above made of one single tree hollowed, and so contrived, that when they are loaded, they are not a span above water. Besides, they must be indifferently large for that passage, because little ones would be more dangerous, and the biggest by reason of their own weight were not fit for a long voyage, or to perform what was designed. Two canoes fit for the purpose being chose, the admiral in July 1503, ordered James Mendez de Segura, his chief secretary, to go in one of them with six Christians and ten Indians to row, and in the other he sent Bartholomew Fiesco, a Genoese gentleman, with a like number of men; that as soon as James Mendez got over to Hispaniola, he might continue his journey to St. Domingo which was two hundred and fifty leagues from the place where we were, and Fiesco might return to bring the news that the other was safely arrived, and we might not be left in fear lest some disaster had befallen him, which there was much cause to fear; considering, as has been said, how unfit a canoe is to lie upon a rough sea, especially when there were Christians in it, if there were not but Indians the danger had not been so great, because they are so dextrous, that though a canoe oversets, when they are half way over, they turn it upon swimming, and get into it. But honour and necessity putting men upon bolder attempts than this, the persons above-mentioned took their way along the coast of Jamaica to the easternmost point of it, which the Indians call Aoamaquique, from a cacique of that province so called, thirty three leagues from Maima, where we were. There being thirty leagues distance between the two islands, and nothing in the way but one little island or rock eight leagues from Hispaniola, it was requisite to expect a calm, in order to cross over so great a sea in such poor vessels, which it pleased God they soon had. Every Indian having put aboard his calabash of water and carrabi, or such provisions as they use, and the Christians with swords and targets, and the necessary sustenance, they put out to sea; and the admiral's brother, who went to that point of Jamaica to see that the Indians of the island should no way hinder them, staid there, till night coming on, he lost sight

of them, and then returned easily towards the ships, in his way perceiving the people of the country to converse and be friendly with us.

CHAP. CII. — *How the Brothers called Porras, with many of the Men, mutinied against the Admiral, saying they would go to Spain.*

WHEN the canoes were gone for Hispaniola, the men left aboard the ships began to fall sick, as well by reason of the hardships endured during the voyage, as the change of diet; for at present they had no Spanish provisions, nor wine, nor flesh, except some of those hutties we have spoke of, they happened to get in exchange. So that those who were found, thinking it very hard to be so long confined, did not forbear to mutter among themselves in private; saying, the admiral would return into Spain no more, because Their Catholic Majesties had turned him off, nor much less into Hispaniola, where he had been refused admittance at his coming from Spain, and that he had sent those in the canoes into Spain to solicit his own affairs, and not to bring ships or other succours, and that he designed whilst they were soliciting Their Catholic Majesties, to stay there to fulfil his banishment; for otherwise Bartholomew Fiesco had been come back by this time, as was given out he was to do. Besides they knew not, whether he and James Mendez were drowned by the way; which, if it had happened, they should never be relieved, if they did not take care for it themselves, since the admiral did not seem to look to it for the reason aforesaid, and because of the gout, which had so seized all his limbs, that he could scarce stir in his bed, much less undergo the fatigue and danger of going over to Hispaniola in canoes. For which reasons, they ought with a good heart to fix their resolution, since they were well, before they fell sick with the rest; that it would not be in the admiral's power to hinder them; and being once in Hispaniola, they would be so much the better received by how much the danger they left him in was greater, because of the hatred and enmity borne him by the commendary Lares, then governor of that island; and that when they went into Spain they might go to the bishop D. John de Fonseca, who would favour them, as would the treasurer Morales, who kept for his mistress the sister of those Porrases, the ring-leaders of the mutineers, and chief fomenters of the sedition, who did not doubt but they should be well received by Their Catholic Majesties, before whom all the fault would be laid upon the admiral, as had been in the affairs of Hispaniola with Roldan; and Their Majesties would rather seize him and take all he had, than be obliged to perform all that was agreed upon between them and him. These and the like arguments they used among themselves, and the persuasions and suggestions of the aforesaid brothers, one of whom was captain of the ship Bermuda, and the other comptroller to the Squadron, prevailed with forty eight men to join in this conspiracy, taking Porras for their captain; and every one provided what he could against the day and hour appointed; and being all ready with their arms, on the 2d of January in the morning, the aforesaid captain Francis de Porras came upon the quarter-deck of the admiral's ship, and said to him, My lord what is the meaning, that you will not go into Spain, and will keep us all here perishing? The admiral hearing these unusual insolent words, and suspecting what the matter might be, very calmly answered, he did not see which way they could go, till those that were gone in the canoes sent a ship. That no man was more desirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private interest, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing else to propose, he would again call together the captains and principal men to consult,

as had been done several times before. Porras replied it was no time to talk, but that he should embark quickly or stay there by himself; and so turning his back, added in a loud voice, I am going to Spain with those that will follow me; at which time all his followers, who were present began to cry out, We will go with you, we will go with you, and running about, possessed themselves of the fore-castle, poop, and round-tops, all in confusion; and crying, Let them die; others, for Spain, for Spain; and others What shall we do, captain? Though the admiral was then in bed so lame of the gout that he could not stand; yet he could not forbear rising and stumbling out at this noise. But two or three worthy persons, his servants, laid hold of, and with labour laid him in his bed, that the mutineers might not murder him. Then they ran to his brother, who was courageously come out with a half pike in his hand; and wresting it out of his hands, put him in to his brother, desiring captain Porras to go about his business, and not do some mischief they might all suffer for; that he might be satisfied they did not oppose his going; but if he should kill the admiral, he could not expect but to be severely punished, without hopes of any benefit. The tumult being somewhat appeased, the conspirators took ten canoes, that were by the ship's side, and which the admiral had bought all about the island, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in some port of Spain; upon this many more, who had no hand in the plot, in despair to see themselves as they thought forsaken, taking what they could along with them, went aboard the canoes with them, to the great sorrow and affliction of those few faithful servants, who remained with the admiral, and of all the sick, who thought themselves lost for ever, and without hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain, that had the people been well, not twenty men had remained with the admiral, who went out to comfort his men with the best words the posture of his affairs would suggest; and the mutineers, with their captain Francis de Porras, in their canoes, went away for the east point of the island, whence James Mendez and Fiesco went over for Hispaniola; and wheresoever they came, they insulted the Indians, taking away their provisions and what else they pleased by force; and telling them, they might go to the admiral and he would pay them, but in case he did not, they might kill him, which was the best thing they could do; because he was not only hated by the Christians, but had been the cause of all the mischief had befallen the Indians of the other island, and would do the same by them, if they did not prevent it by his death, for that was his design in staying there. Thus travelling to the easternmost point of Jamaica, the first calm they set out for Hispaniola, carrying some Indians in every canoe to row. But the weather not being well settled, and their canoes overloaded, they resolved to return to Jamaica before they were four leagues at sea, the wind turning against them, and they being able to make but little way. Besides, they not being skilful at managing the canoes, it happened a little water flashed in over the sides; to remedy which, they lightened, throwing all they carried over-board; so that nothing remained but their arms, and as much provision as would serve them back. The wind still freshing, and they thinking themselves in some danger, it was resolved to murder the Indians, and throw them into the sea; this they accordingly executed upon some of them; and others, who for fear of death, trusting in their skill in swimming, leaped over into the water, and being very weary would hang by the canoes to breathe a little, had their hands cut off, and were wounded in other parts; so that they butchered eighteen, leaving only a few alive to steer the canoes, because they knew not how to do it. And had not the need they had of them prevented it, they had completed the greatest act of cruelty imaginable, leaving not one of them alive, after they had by in-

treaties and deceitfully, drawn them to their assistance in that dangerous voyage. Being come to shore, they differed in opinions; for some said it was better to go to Cuba, and that from that place where they were, they might take the east winds and currents upon their quarter, and so run over without any trouble in a short time, and so cross over from thence to Hispaniola, not knowing they were seventeen leagues asunder: others said it was better to return to the ships, and make their peace with the admiral, or take from him by force what commodities and arms he had left; others were for staying till another calm, to attempt the same passage again. This being thought the best advice, they staid in that town of Aoamaquique above a month, waiting for fair weather, and destroying the country. When the fair weather came, they embarked again twice, but made nothing of it, the wind being contrary. Being thus disappointed of that passage, they set out towards the west from one town to another, with an ill-will, without canoes or any comfort, sometimes eating what they found, and taking it where they could by force, according to their strength, and that of the caciques, through whose territories they passed.

CHAP. CIII. — *What the Admiral did after the Mutineers were gone from him, and the Advantage he made of an Eclipse.*

TO return to what the admiral did: after the rebels were gone he took great care that the sick should be furnished with such things as were proper for their recovery, and that the Indians should be so civilly treated that they might not forbear bringing provisions to exchange for our commodities; which things were so well managed, and with such application by him, that the Christians soon recovered, and the Indians continued some days providing all things plentifully. But they being a people that take little pains in sowing, and we eating more in one day than they did in twenty, besides having no longer any inclination to our commodities, and making little account of them, they began in some measure to take the advice of the mutineers, since they saw so great a part of our men against us, and therefore brought not such plenty of provisions as we stood in need of. This brought us to great distress; for if we would have taken it by force, the greatest part of us must have gone ashore in warlike manner, and have left the admiral aboard in great danger, he being very ill of the gout; and if we expected they should bring it of their own accord, we must live in misery, and give ten times as much for it as we did at first, they knowing how to make their bargains, as being sensible of the advantage they had over us. But God, who never forsakes those that have recourse to him, as the admiral had, put him in the way how he should be furnished with all he wanted, which was thus. He bethought himself that within three days there would be an eclipse of the moon in the first part of the night; and then sends an Indian of Hispaniola who was with us, to call the principal Indians of that province, saying he would talk with them about a matter of concern. Being come that day before the eclipse was, he ordered the interpreter to tell them, that we were Christians and believed in God, who dwelt in heaven and took care of the good and punished the wicked: that he seeing the rebellion of the Spaniards, had not permitted them to go over to Hispaniola as James Mendez and Pielco had done, but had made them run through all those sufferings and dangers all the island had heard of: that as for the Indians, seeing how negligent they were in bringing provisions for our commodities, he was angry with them, and had decreed to punish them with plague and famine; which because perhaps they would not believe, God had appointed to give them a
manifest

manifest token of it in the heaven, that they might plainly know the punishment was to come from him. Therefore, he bid them that night observe when the moon appeared, and they should see her rise angry and of a bloody hue, to denote the mischief God intended should fall on them. Having said this to them, the Indians went away, some afraid and others looking upon it as an idle story; but the eclipse beginning as the moon was rising, and increasing the higher she was, the Indians took notice of it, and were so frightened that they came running from all parts loaded with provisions, crying and lamenting, and prayed the admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the effects of his wrath, and promising for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted. The admiral said he would speak with God, and shut himself up whilst the eclipse lasted, they still crying out to him to assist them; and when the admiral saw the eclipse began to go off, and the moon would soon shine, he came out of his cabin, saying he had prayed to his God for them, and promised him in their names they would be good for the future, and use the Christians well, bringing them provisions and other necessaries; and that therefore God forgave them, and as a token of it they should see the angeriness and bloody colour of the moon would go off. This proving so, just as he spoke it, they gave the admiral many thanks, and praised God, continuing so till the eclipse was quite passed. From that time forwards they always took care to provide all that was necessary, ever praising the God of the Christians; for they believed the eclipses they had seen at other times, had denoted mischiefs to befall them; and being ignorant of the cause of them, and that they happened at certain times, not believing it possible to know on earth, what was to happen in the heavens, they certainly concluded the God of the Christians had revealed it to the admiral.

CHAP. CIV. — *Of another Mutiny among those that remained with the Admiral, which was quelled by the coming of a Vessel from Hispaniola.*

EIGHT months being passed after James Mendez and Bartholomew Fiesco went away, and there being no news of them, the admiral's men were very much cast down, suspecting the worst; some saying they were lost at sea; others that they were killed by the Indians in Hispaniola; and others, that they had died with sickness and hardships; for from the point of that island, which lay next Jamaica, there was above one hundred leagues to St. Domingo whither they were to go for relief, the way by land being over uncouth mountains, and by sea against the prevailing winds and currents. To confirm their suspicion, some Indians assured them they had seen a canoe overfet and carried on the coast of Jamaica by the current, which it is likely had been spread abroad by the mutineers to make those that were with the admiral despair of getting off. They therefore concluding for certain that no relief would come to them, one Bernard, an apothecary of Valencia, with two companions, whose names were Zamora and Villatoro, and most of those that had remained sick, secretly conspired together to do the same the others had done before. But almighty God, who knew how dangerous this second sedition must be to the admiral, was pleased to put a stop to it by the coming of a vessel sent by the governor of Hispaniola. It came to an anchor one evening near the ships that were a-ground; and the captain of it, whose name was James de Escobar, came in his boat to visit the admiral, saying, the commendary and governor of Hispaniola sent him his commendations; and not being able so soon to send a ship fit to carry off all those men, had sent him in his name to visit him, and presenting him a cask of wine, and two stiches of bacon, returned

returned to his caraval, and without taking any letter, failed away that very evening. The men, somewhat comforted with his coming, took no notice of what they had conspired to do; though at the same time they much wondered that the caraval had stole away so privately, and in such haste; and they suspected, that perhaps the governor of Hispaniola would not have the admiral go thither. He being aware of it, told them he had so ordered it, because he would not go away without carrying them all off, which that caraval was not big enough to perform; he being willing to prevent any disorders his stay might occasion, from the mutineers. But the governor of Hispaniola was afraid that if the admiral returned to Spain, Their Catholic Majesties would restore him to his government, and so he should be forced to quit it; for which reason he would not provide, as he might have done, for the admiral's voyage to Hispaniola; and therefore had sent that little caraval to spy and observe the condition the admiral was in, and to know whether he could contrive with safety to have him destroyed, which he knew by what had happened to James Mendez, who sent an account of his voyage in writing, by the caraval, which was as follows.

CHAP. CV.—*An Account of what happened to James Mendez and Fiesco, in their Voyage.*

JAMES MENDEZ and Fiesco, setting out from Jamaica, that day they found the weather settled calm, and so held on till night, encouraging and persuading the Indians to row with those paddles they use instead of oars; and the weather being violently hot, they would sometimes leap into the water and swim, and then come fresh again to row. Thus holding on their way, at sunset they lost sight of land, and half the Christians and Indians taking their watch together at night to row, and take care the Indians should not prove treacherous, they advanced all that night without staying, so that when day appeared they were all weary enough. But the commanders encouraging their men, and sometimes rowing to give a good example; after eating to recover their strength, and the fatigue of the night, they fell to their labour again, seeing nothing but sky and water. And though this was enough to afflict them sufficiently, yet we may say of them that they were in Tantalus his condition, who having water within a span of his mouth, could not quench his thirst; so they were in distress; for through the ill-management of the Indians, and the great heat of the foregoing day and night, all the water was drank up without any regard to the future: and all heat and labour being intolerable without drink, the higher the sun ascended the second day after they set out, the more the heat and thirst increased, so that by noon they had no strength left. And, as upon such occasions, the head is bound to supply the defect of the hands and feet; so by good fortune, the captains found two casks of water, wherewith now and then relieving the Indians, they kept them up till the cool of the evening, encouraging them, and affirming they should be soon near a small island called Nabazza, which lay in their way eight leagues distant from Hispaniola. This with their extraordinary thirst, and the labour of rowing two days and a night quite cast them down, believing they had lost their way; for according to their reckoning they had run twenty leagues, and ought now to be in sight of the island. But it was weariness that deceived them, as well because a canoe that rows well cannot in a day and night row above ten leagues, as by reason the currents are against them that go from Jamaica to Hispaniola, which they always judge to be more that suffer most by it. Night being come, having thrown one into the sea who died with thirst, and others lying stretched out on the bottom of the canoe, they were so afflicted

afflicted in mind, and so weak and spent, that they hardly made any way. Yet taking sometimes sea water to refresh their mouths, which we may say was the comfort given our Saviour when he said, I thirst; they gently held on their way till the second night came on without sight of land: but they being of those God intended to save, it pleased him, that in that time of need, when the moon began to rise, James Mendez perceived she got up over-land, for a little island covered her in the nature of an eclipse. Nor could they have seen it otherwise, because it was small, and at that time of night. Comforting them cheerfully, and shewing them the land, he so encouraged them, supplying them in their great thirst with a little water out of the barrels, that the next morning they found themselves near the small island, we said was eight leagues from Hispaniola, and called Nabazza. They found it to be all round a hard rock, and about half a league in circumference. Landing there the best they could, they all gave God thanks for that mercy; and there being no spring nor tree, they went about taking up rain-water with their calabashes, which lay in holes among the rocks; which it pleased God to give them such plenty of, that they filled their bellies and vessels; and though the wiser sort advised the others to use moderation in drinking, yet thirst made some of the Indians exceed all measure, whereof some died there, and others got desperate distempers. Having rested that day till evening, diverting themselves, and eating such things as they found along the shore; for James Mendez had all utensils to strike fire, rejoicing to be in sight of Hispaniola; and fearing some bad weather might start up, they made ready to put an end to their voyage, and accordingly about sun-setting, in the cool of the evening, they set out towards Cape St. Michael, the nearest land of Hispaniola, where they arrived the next morning, being the fourth day after they set out. When they had rested here two days, Bartholomew Fiesco, who was a gentleman that stood upon his honour, would have returned as the admiral had commanded him; but the men who were sailors, and Indians, being spent and indisposed with their past labour, and drinking sea-water, and thought they had been delivered out of the whale's belly, their three days and nights answering to those Jonas lay there, he could not get a man to go with him. James Mendez, as being most in haste, was gone up the coast of Hispaniola in his canoe, notwithstanding he suffered under a quartan ague, caused by his great sufferings at sea and at land; in that condition, travelling over mountains and bad roads, he came to Xaragua, which is a province in the west of Hispaniola, where the governor then was, who seemed to rejoice at his coming, though afterwards he was tedious in dispatching him, for the causes above mentioned, till after much importunity, it was obtained of him, that he should give James Mendez leave to go to St. Domingo, there to buy and fit out a vessel with the admiral's money; which ship being by him got ready, was sent to Jamaica at the latter end of May 1504, and sailed for Spain, according to the admiral's direction, to give Their Catholic Majesties an account of the success of his voyage.

CHAP. CVI. — *How the Mutineers set themselves against the Admiral, and would bear of no Agreement.*

NOW to return to the admiral, who with all his company had now received some comfort and certain hopes of being delivered, by the account of James Mendez his arrival, and the coming of the caraval; he therefore thought fit to make it known to the mutineers, that their jealousy ceasing, they might return to their duty. He therefore sent two men of note, who had friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or at least not seem to believe the coming of the caraval, he sent them part of

the bacon, the captain of it had presented him. These two being come where captain Porras was, with those he confided most in, he came out to meet them, that they might not move or persuade the men to repent them of the crime they had committed, imagining, as the truth was, that the admiral sent them a general pardon. Yet it was not in the power of the brothers so to curb their men, but that they heard the news of the coming of the caraval, the health of those that were with the admiral, and the offers he made them. After several consultations among themselves, and the principal men, the result was, that they would not trust to the pardon the admiral sent them, but would go peaceably away to Hispaniola, if he would promise to give them a ship to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, he should assign them half of it; and in the mean while, because they had lost their clothes and commodities they had to trade upon the sea, he should share what he had with them. To which the messengers answering, that those were no reasonable proposals, they interrupted them, saying, that since it was not granted them by fair means, they would have it by force. Thus they dismissed the admiral's messengers, misinterpreting his offers, and telling their followers, that he was a cruel revengeful man; and though they feared nothing for themselves, because the admiral durst not presume to wrong them, because of the favour they had at court, yet they had reason to fear he would be revenged on the rest, under colour of just punishment, and that for this reason: Roldan and his friends in Hispaniola had not trusted him, nor his offers, and it succeeded well with them, they finding so much favour, that they had him sent into Spain in irons. And that the coming of the caraval, with the news of James Mendez, might make no impression on them, they intimated to them, that it was no true caraval, but a phantom made by art magic, the admiral being very skilful in that art, alleging, it was not at all likely, that if it had really been a caraval, the men aboard it would not have had some further discourse with those about the admiral, but would have vanished so soon. Nay, it was more probable, that had it been a caraval, the admiral himself would have gone aboard it, with his son and brother. With these, and other words to this purpose, they again confirmed them in their rebellion; and then brought them to resolve to repair to the ships to take what they found by force, and secure the admiral.

CHAP. CVII. — *How the Mutineers being come to the Ships, the Admiral's Brother went out to fight them, overcame them, and took Porras their Captain.*

THE mutineers continuing obstinate in their wicked resolution, came to a town of the Indians within a quarter of a league of the ships, then called Maima, where afterwards the Christians built the town they called Seville; which the admiral understanding, and being informed of their design, he resolved to send his brother against them, to endeavour to reduce them by good words; but so attended, that if they offered him any wrong, he might be able to oppose them. To this purpose, the lieutenant drew out fifty men, well armed, and ready for any service. These being come to a small hill, a bow-shot from the town where the rebels were, sent those two before, who had gone on the first message, to require them to be peaceable, and that their captain should come peaceably to a conference. But they being nothing inferior in strength or number, and almost all seamen, persuaded themselves, that those who came with the lieutenant were weak men, and would not fight them; therefore they would not permit the messengers to talk to them, but with their naked swords, and the spears they had, all in a body, crying, Kill, kill, fell upon the lieutenant's party; six of the rebels, who were accounted the boldest, having taken an oath not to part, but

but go directly against the lieutenant, for if he were killed, they made no account of the rest; wherein it pleased God they were disappointed; for they were so well received, that five or six of them dropped at the first charge, most of them being of those that aimed at the lieutenant, who fell upon his enemies in such manner, that in a very short time, John Sanchez de Cadiz, from whom Quibio made his escape, was killed, as was John Barba, the first I saw draw his sword when they ran into rebellion; and some others fell very much wounded, and Francis de Porras their captain was taken. Seeing themselves so roughly handled, like base rebellious people, they turned their backs and fled as fast as they could. The lieutenant would have pursued, had not some of the chief men about him been against it, saying, it was good to punish, but not so severely, lest when he had killed many of them, the Indians should think fit to fall upon the victors, since he saw they were all in arms, waiting the event of the fray, without taking either side. The lieutenant approving of the advice, returned to the ships, carrying along with him the captain of the rebels and some other prisoners, where he was well received by the admiral, his brother, and those that had remained with him, all of them giving thanks to God for that victory, which they attributed to him, and wherein the guilty had received their just punishment, and their pride been humbled, none being wounded on our side but the lieutenant in his hand, and one of the admiral's gentlemen of the chamber, who died of a small wound he received with a spear in his hip. But to return to the rebels, Peter de Ledesma, that pilot we mentioned above, who went with Vincent Yanez to Honduras, and swam ashore at Belem, fell down certain rocks, and lay hid that day and the next, till the evening, no body assisting him, or knowing where he was, except the Indians, who with amazement, not knowing how our swords would cut, with little sticks opened his wounds, one of which was in his head, and his brains were seen through it; another on his shoulder, so large that his arm hung, as it were, loose; and the calf of one leg almost cut off, so that it hung down to his ankle; and one foot, as if it had a slipper on it, being sliced from the heel to the toes. Notwithstanding all which desperate hurts, when the Indians disturbed him, he would say, Let me alone, for if I get up, &c.; and they at these words would fly in a great consternation. This being known aboard the ships, he was carried into a thatched house hard by, where the dampness and gnats were enough to have killed him. Here instead of turpentine, they dressed his wounds with oil, and he had so many, besides those already mentioned, that the surgeon who dressed him swore, that for the first eight days he still found out new ones, and yet at last he recovered, the gentleman of the chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no danger. The next day, being the 20th of May, all those that had escaped sent a petition to the admiral, humbly begging he would be merciful to them; for they repented them of what was past, and were ready to submit themselves to him. The admiral granted their request, and passed a general pardon, upon condition the captain should continue a prisoner as he was, that he might not raise another mutiny. And because they could not be so easy and conveniently aboard the ships, and there might arise some provoking words among the common sort, which would cause disturbance, and rub up old sores, which might be the cause of fresh tumults; and because it would be a hard matter to quarter and maintain so many men conveniently, those few there were beginning to suffer want, he resolved to send them a commander with commodities to exchange, that he might go with them about the island, and contain them within the bounds of justice, till such time as the ships came, which he daily expected.

CHAP. CVIII. — *How the Admiral went over to Hispaniola, and thence into Spain, where at Valladolid it pleased God to take him to himself.*

THE Christians being all again returned to their duty, and the Indians for that same reason being more careful to supply them for their commodities, some days passed which made up a year since we arrived at Jamaica, after which there arrived a ship, which James Mendez had bought and fitted out at St. Domingo with the admiral's money, aboard which all the men, as well enemies as friends, were shipped, and setting sail on the 28th of June, we proceeded on our voyage with much difficulty, the winds and currents, as we have said before, being very contrary to go from Jamaica to St. Domingo, where we arrived in great need of rest, on the 13th of August 1504, and the governor made a great reception for the admiral, lodging him in his own house; though this was a treacherous kindness; for on the other side, he set Porras, who had headed the mutineers, at liberty, and attempted to punish those who had a hand in apprehending of him, and to try other causes and offences that belonged only to Their Catholic Majesties, who had appointed the admiral captain-general of their fleet; and yet he fawned upon the admiral, using all demonstrations of kindness in his presence. This lasted till our ship was refitted, and another hired, on which the admiral, his kindred and servants embarked, most of the rest remaining in Hispaniola. We sailed on the 2d of September, and being but two leagues at sea, the mast of the ship came by the board; for which reason the admiral caused it to return into the harbour, and we in the other held on our course for Spain. Having run about the third part of the way, there arose such a terrible storm, that the ship was in great danger. The next day, which was the 19th of October, the weather being fair, and we very still, the mast flew into four pieces; but the courage of the lieutenant, and the admiral's ingenuity, though he could not rise out of his bed for the gout, found a remedy for this misfortune, making a jury-mast of a yard, and strengthening the middle of it with ropes, and some planks they took from the poop and stern. In another storm we spent our foremast, and yet it pleased God we sailed seven hundred leagues in that condition, and arrived at the port of St. Lucar de Barremeda, and thence to Seville, where the admiral took some rest after the fatigues he had gone through; and in May 1505, set out for The Catholic King's court; for the glorious Queen Isabel had the year before exchanged this life for a better, which was no small trouble to the admiral, she having always favoured and supported him, whereas The Catholic King had proved unkind and averse to his affairs, which plainly appeared by the reception he gave him; for though to appearance he shewed him a favourable aspect, and pretended to restore him to his full power, yet he would have quite stript him of all, had not shame hindered him; which, as has been said, has great power over noble spirits; and the King himself and Queen had both engaged their faith to him, when he went upon his last voyage. But the Indies daily more and more discovering what they were like to be, and the King perceiving how great a share fell to the admiral, by virtue of the articles granted him, he strove to have the absolute dominion in himself, and to dispose of all those employments which belonged to the admiral, according to his own will and pleasure. Hereupon he began to propose new terms to him, by way of equivalent, which God would not permit to take effect; because just then King Philip I. came to reign in Spain; and at the time His Catholic Majesty went from Valladolid to meet him, the admiral, much oppressed with the gout, and troubled to see himself put by his right, other distempers coming on him, gave up his soul to God upon Ascension-Day, being the 20th of May

1506, at the aforefaid city of Valladolid, having devoutly received all the sacraments of the church, and faid thefe words laft, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my fpirit;" which, through his infinite mercy, we do not queftion but he received into his glory: to which may he admit us with him!

His body was afterwards conveyed to Seville, and there by the Catholic King's order magnificently buried in the cathedral, and an epitaph in Spanifh cut on his tomb, in memory of his renowned actions, and difcovery of the Indies. The words are thefe:

"A CASTILIA, YA LEON, NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON."

That is,

"Colón gave Caftille and Leon a new World."

Words well worth obferving, becaufe the like cannot be found either among the ancients or moderns.

It will therefore be ever remembered, that he was the difcoverer of the Weft Indies, though fince then, Ferdinand Cortez and Francis Pizarro have found out many other provinces and vaft kingdoms on the continent; for Cortez difcovered the province of Yucatan, and the city of Mexico, called New Spain, then poffeffed by the great Montezuma, emperor of thofe parts; and Francis Pizarro found out the kingdom of Peru, which is of a vaft extent, and full of endlefs wealth, which was under the dominion of the great King Atabaliba. From which countries and kingdoms there came every year into Spain many fhips laden with gold, filver, brazil, cochineal, fugar, and many other commodities of great value, befides pearls and other jewels, which are the caufe that at this time Spain and its princes flourish and abound in wealth.

THE DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS

MADE BY THE ENGLISH

IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF AMERICA, FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.
TO THE CLOSE OF THAT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH;

INTERSPERSED WITH

Various Remarks on the Progress of our Trade and naval Power, and the Difficulties which the Nation had to struggle with in their first Attempts*.

CHAP. I. —1. *The History of Madoc, one of the Princes of Wales, and his supposed Discovery of America set in a true Light, and vindicated from some groundless Reflections made thereon by foreign Writers.*—2. *The generous Disposition of King Henry VII. with respect to encouraging Discoveries; and the Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, in his Service, who first visited the Continent of America.*—3. *The Voyage of Sebastian Cabot, for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, in which he sailed along the Coast of that Part of North America, to which the Spaniards afterwards gave the Name of Florida.*—4. *The Voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, Vice Admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, to Brazil, and other Parts of the West Indies.*—5. *The first Attempt of Mr. Hore, Merchant of London, to establish a Colony in Newfoundland; the strange Misfortunes he met with, and a memorable Instance of the Justice and Generosity of King Henry VIII.*—6. *The several Voyages of Captain William Hawkins to Brazil, and a singular Proof of his Abilities and Integrity.*—7. *A succinct Account of the Discoveries and maritime Expeditions to America, under the Reign of King Edward VI.*—8. *That History continued during the Reign of Queen Mary, and her Consort, King Philip.*—9. *The Methods taken for extending our Trade, and making Settlements in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*—10. *An Account of Sir Francis Drake's giving the Name of New Albion, to a Country lying in the northern Part of California, and the Importance of that Discovery.*—11. *The first Settlement of Newfoundland, with a short Account of the Nature thereof, and the Advantages which have accrued from the Fishery upon its Coasts to this Nation.*—12. *The first Attempt to settle Virginia, under the Direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, with an Account of that Colony.*—13. *The several Voyages of Captain John Davis, and the great Discoveries made by him in North America.*—14. *Sir Walter Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana; the Consequences of that Expedition, and Remarks thereupon.*—15. *Other remarkable naval Transactions, within the Compass of that Reign, relating to this Subject.*—16. *A succinct View of the State of our Trade to America, at the Time of the Death of Queen Elizabeth.*—17. *Remarks and Observations on the principal Events mentioned in the foregoing Section.*

1. **T**HE glory of having first discovered far distant countries,* and adding thereby to the knowledge and commerce of mankind, has always had charms sufficient to invite different nations to put in their claims, even though they have not been extremely well founded. When America was first made known, it occasioned abundance of enquiries; and, as it was natural, recalled to many

people's remembrances and considerations, stories which had before been deemed scarce worthy of notice : amongst the rest our nation put in ; and the tale told in favour of us, as it is the earliest in point of time, seems to merit relation as well or better than any other. In short, this story asserts that Madoc Prince of Wales, was the first discoverer of America, and the detail of his expedition runs thus : He flourished in the twelfth century, and was son of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North Wales ; his brethren raising a civil war about the division of his father's dominions, he chose rather to go to sea with a few of his friends, and seek out new habitations, than run the hazard of what might happen in this dispute. Accordingly, about the year 1170, steering due west, and leaving Ireland on the north, he came to an unknown country, where he settled a colony ; and returning thence into Wales, carried a second supply of people, but was never heard of more.

That the country he went to was really America, is more, I think, than can be thoroughly proved ; but that this tale was invented after the discovery of that country, on purpose to set up a prior title, is most certainly false. Meredith ap Rees, who died in 1477, and was a famous Welch poet, composed an ode in honour of this Madoc, wherein was contained an account of his discoveries. Now as this was several years before Colon made his first voyage, we may be sure that this was really a British tradition, and no tale of late contrivance. Some foreign writers indeed, have suggested that this was a pure invention, designed to prejudice the reputation of the great discovery made by Colon ; but in this they rather shew their malice to us than discover ours ; for beyond all doubt the Welch had, and have still, such a tradition, and therefore some wiser and better informed critics have endeavoured to prove that it was not America, but Greenland, to which our Welch Prince failed. In proof of which they have observed that this country was well known in the ninth and tenth centuries, though it was afterwards lost.

But with submission to these great men, this story does not at all answer their purpose ; for it is evident, the course does by no means agree ; since if he had failed to that country he could not have left Ireland to the north. I have seen a very ingenious discourse upon this subject, in which is suggested, that Prince Madoc landed in some part of Florida ; that in process of time, the colony he planted there proceeded round by land, and reached the northern parts of Mexico, which country they conquered, and were those foreign ancestors of the Mexicans, of whom we have heard so much from the Spanish writers that have recorded the adventures of Cortes, and with which the reader is so well acquainted, that there is no need of our saying any thing more of them here, except it be this, that several British words have been discovered in the old Mexican tongue, and that no other European nation can shew a better founded tradition than this ; for the truth of which, however, I am very far from contending.

2. If there had been really any desire in the English nation to contest the title of the crown of Spain to the country of America, it might have been undoubtedly fixed upon a much better foundation ; for, in the life of Don Christopher Colon, written by his son in the reign of our King Henry the VIIIth, it is expressly said, that this great man sent his brother Bartholomew into England, to offer his discovery to King Henry VII. and he did accordingly present a map, dated the 13th of February 1488, to that monarch ; and having explained to him his brother's design, and what he proposed thereby, it was readily accepted ; and Don Bartholomew was sent to invite his brother into England, with an assurance that the King would grant him all he desired. This agreement was four years before the voyage of Colon in the service of Their

Catholic Majesties, and therefore had we been so much inclined to hunt for titles to this new-found country, here had been a fair pretence. But King Henry the VIIth. was of another disposition; and though he was a prince much addicted to encourage such kind of useful undertakings, he scorned to aim at reaping the fruits of other princes' adventures; and therefore he contented himself, after missing by mere accident, Colon's discovery, with inviting other seamen of known reputation, to enter into his service for like purposes.

Amongst these was John Cabot citizen of Venice, who had been long settled at Bristol, and who thought himself capable of performing as a seaman things, little, if at all short of what Colon had done. He accordingly applied himself to the King, who, by patent inrolled, dated the 5th of March, in the eleventh year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1495, granted to the said John Cabot, and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancias, authority to sail with five ships of what burthen and strength they thought fit, upon discoveries to the east, west and north; giving them the full property of such country or countries as they should discover, with this reservation only, that they should return to Bristol, and that they should pay him the fifth part of the neat profits of their voyage; in consideration of which they were to have the exclusive right to the countries so discovered, to which no other English subjects were to trade, but by their leave and licence. But the year before that patent was granted, that is in 1494, John Cabot, with his son Sebastian, had sailed from Bristol upon discovery, and had actually seen the continent of Newfoundland, to which they gave the name of Prima Vista, or First Seen. And on the 24th of June in the same year he went ashore on an island, which, because it was discovered on that day, he called St. John's; and of this island he reported very truly, that the soil was barren, that it yielded little, and that the people wore bear-skin cloaths, and were armed with bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings; but that the coast abounded with fish; and upon this report of his, the beforementioned patent was granted.

3. The next voyage made for discovery was by Sebastian Cabot, the son of John, concerning which all our writers have fallen into great mistakes, for want of comparing the several accounts we have of this voyage, and making proper allowances for the manner in which they were written; since I cannot find there was ever any distinct and clear account of this voyage published, though it was of so great consequence. On the contrary, I believe that Cabot himself kept no journal of it by him; since in a letter he wrote on this subject, he speaks doubtfully of the very year in which it was undertaken, though from the circumstances he relates, that may be very certainly fixed. On the 3d of February, in the thirteenth year of the reign of King Henry VII, a new grant was made to John Cabot, by which he had leave given him to take ships out of any of the ports of England, of the burthen of two hundred ton, to sail upon discoveries; but before this could be effected, John Cabot died; and Sebastian, his son, applied himself to the King, proposing to discover a north-west passage, as he himself tells us; and for this purpose he had a ship manned and victualled at the King's expence at Bristol, and three or four other ships were fitted out at the expence of some merchants of that city, particularly Mr. Thorne and Mr. Hugh Elliot. But whereas Sebastian Cabot himself says, that he made this voyage in the summer of 1496, he must be mistaken, and he very well might, speaking from his memory only; and to prove this I need only observe, that this date will not at all agree even with his own account of the voyage; for he says expressly it was undertaken after his father's death; who, as we have shewn, was alive in the February following;

so that it was the summer of the year 1497, in which he made this voyage; and what he afterwards relates of his return, proves this likewise.

But we have a direct and clear authority as to this fact, which is, that of Robert Fabian, who fixes this voyage of Sebastian Cabot's to the month of May 1497. And on the 11th of June, the same year, he sailed as high as sixty seven degrees thirty minutes, finding the sea still open, and he thought that he might this way have passed through into the South Seas, but his crew mutinied, which forced him to return into the latitude of fifty six degrees, and from thence he ran down to thirty eight degrees, along the coast of the continent of America, which, as he expressly says, was afterwards called Florida, where provisions growing short, he returned into England, touching by the way at Newfoundland. On his return, he says, he found the nation in much confusion, and great preparations making for a war in Scotland, which agrees exactly with Grafton's Chronicle, who places these preparations under the mayoralty of William Purchase, that is, to the year before-mentioned; and Robert Fabian says farther, that in the 14th year of King Henry VII. there were three men brought to the king, taken in the new-found island, which he before mentioned, who were cloathed in beast-skins, eat raw flesh, spoke a strange uncouth tongue, and were very brutish in their behaviour; but he farther adds, that he saw these people himself two years afterwards, and that they were then cloathed like Englishmen, and he could not have known them to be otherwise, if he had not been informed that these were the men brought over by Sebastian Cabot.

Thus, with the utmost exactness I could use, I have set this matter in its true light, and have thereby shewn, that he was not only the first person who attempted a north-west passage; and shewed thereby that he understood Colon's principles, but was likewise the first discoverer of the continent of America, which Colon did not see till a year after, as well as the first discoverer of Florida, which country was not so called till the year 1512; when, as we have before shewn, it was visited by John Ponce de Leon, who took possession of it for the King of Spain, and usually passes for the first discoverer. It may not be amiss to observe, that Sebastian Cabot clearly affirms, that his voyage was made to discover a north-west passage; which notion of his gave light, as is acknowledged even by foreign authors, to Ferdinand Magellan; and induced him confidently to affirm, that such a passage might be found by the South, which he happily effected twenty-two years after this attempt made to the north by Sebastian Cabot.

I cannot say that any great use can be made of this kind of knowledge, but there seems to be no reason why we should not pique ourselves upon knowing these matters with as much exactness as strangers; who, by dipping into our accounts, pretend to great knowledge in these matters, and very often impose upon such as will not rake into their own old musty antiquities, but pay an implicit regard to the bold assertions of modern authors; by taking the contrary method, and resolving to be satisfied, even in trifles, we come to judge accurately and truly of the deserts both of our own and of foreign nations; so as to yield the preference to some, and maintain our just rights against others. As for instance, though we cannot dispute with the Spaniards the actual discovery of America; yet, we may fairly deny, what the present geographer of His Catholic Majesty asserts, that we rejected Colon's proposal; and we may likewise call him to a severe account, for placing the voyages of Sebastian Cabot to Florida, twenty-six years later than he should have placed them, from the accounts given by Ramusio, Gomara, Peter Martyr, and other authors, whom he either had not read, or ought to have read, before he took upon him

to write on this subject; of which, though he writes sensibly, yet this will not excuse his writing untruths.

Sebastian Cabot is by many of our writers positively affirmed to be an Englishman, born at Bristol; but the Italians as positively claim him for their countryman, and say he was born at Venice; which, to speak impartially, I believe is the truth; for he says himself, that when his father was invited over to England, he brought him with him, though he was then very young. His voyage for the discovery of the north-west passage, gained him so great a reputation, that he was invited into Spain, and employed by Their Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, in a voyage for the discovery of the coasts of Brazil, in which he had much better success than Americus Vesputius, who missed the river of Plate, whereas Cabot found it, and sailed up it three hundred and sixty miles, which gained him such a character at the court of Their Catholic Majesties, that, on his return, he was declared *piloto maggiore*, or grand pilot of Spain; and resided several years at Seville with that character, and had the examination and approbation of all the pilots intrusted by that government.

4. Yet, after some years, he thought fit to return into England, and was employed by King Henry VIII, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Pert, who was vice-admiral of England; and built a fine house near Blackwall, called Poplar; which name still remains, though the house is long ago decayed. This voyage of his was in 1516, on board a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, with another of the like size, in which he proceeded to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards visited the Spanish islands of St. Domingo, and St. John de Porto Rico; in the latter of which they traded, and paid for what they had by the exchange of vessels, made of pewter, as we learn from Oviedo; who, notwithstanding, asserts that this vessel was a privateer, whereas, in fact, she was a frigate fitted out at King Henry the Eighth's expence for discovery.

It is a very great misfortune that we have not a clearer and more distinct account of this expedition; since it very plainly appears from the writers of those times, that great expectations were raised by it, and that the miscarriage occasioned a good deal of noise and some reflections; but they did not fall upon Cabot, as appears from the following note, taken from a book, published by Mr. Richard Eden, whose collections led the way to those of Mr. Hackluit, and which book was published in 1553. "If manly courage," saith he, (like unto that which hath been seen in your Grace as well in foreign realms, as also in this our country,) "had not been wanting in others, in these our days, at such time our Sovereign Lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII., about the same year of his reign, furnished, and sent out certain ships, under the governance of Sebastian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage took none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof we have spoken, had not at that time been wanting, it might happily have come to pass, that that rich treasury called *Perularia*, which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new-found land of Peru, might long since have been in the Tower of London, to the King's great honour and wealth of this realm." I do not find that this worthy gentleman left England after this; but, on the contrary, remained here, and promoted, to the utmost of his power, whatever designs were set on foot for the encouragement and extension of our commerce; so that, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter, he may be truly reputed—The great master of English seamen, and the father of our colonies and commerce.

It was this great man that still kept up an opinion, which, he had himself first entertained, that some passage there was into the South Seas, by the north-west; and upon this

this subject he wrote with so much good sense and strength of reason, that if the ships, which, while I am writing this paragraph, have failed in search of this passage, should succeed, the honour of the discovery will redound to him; and therefore it is but just to take this opportunity of reviving his reputation. His discourses had such an effect on King Henry VIII., a Prince of vast natural parts, great learning, and strongly inclined to heroic undertakings, that he resolved to send another ship, or more, on the discovery, which he did in the nineteenth year of his reign. Both Hall and Grafton, in their Chronicles, speak of this; and tell us, that on mature deliberation, the King fitted out two fair ships, which sailed from the port of London, on the 20th of May 1527; but not a word of the captain's name, or of the strength of these ships; the only particular we have is, that the King sent several cunning men on board them. We are to understand, by cunning men, persons skilled in the mathematics; who, with the common sort of people, passed now, and long after, for cunning men and conjurers.

The worthy Mr. Hackluit has taken abundance of pains to supply us with some circumstances of this expedition, but to very little purpose; and, notwithstanding all his inquiries from persons who lived in and near those times, could obtain no other satisfaction than this, that a canon of St. Paul's who was reputed a great mathematician, was one of the principal persons concerned, and actually had took a share in the voyage; but to this reverend person's name, both Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir Richard Allien, who were Mr. Hackluit's authors, were strangers; one of them, however, remembered the name of the biggest ship, which was Dominus Vobiscum, or The Lord with them, which agrees very well with the other part of the story, that the chief promoter of this voyage was a priest. These ships sailing very far to the north-west, the largest of them was cast away in the mouth of a very large gulph, very probably in the entrance to Hudson's Bay, and there perished; the other, having coasted along the island of Cape Britton (so they wrote it then) returned in October following, and brought a large account of the places they had seen, and of the hardships they had undergone.

It appears from thence, that these early attempts to discover new countries, and extend our commerce, were attended with great difficulties, much beyond those that were met with by the Spaniards and Portuguese, which may be attributed to several different causes, and amongst other these: Our shipping was then but mean, though both the kings whom Cabot served appeared to be very desirous of having a naval force, since Henry VII. had spent fourteen thousand pounds in building one large ship, and his son Henry VIII. added several others to the navy; yet I think our ships were, generally speaking, larger than those of most of our neighbours; but very probably they were built abroad, and neither in form nor in materials were fit for those seas to which they were navigated. The skill of our seamen could not be very great at this time; for as in all other practical cases, so in this, nothing advances people so fast as experience, and therefore I reckon that the want of this was a great deficiency in these times; we may add, that we pursued, with incredible diligence, those discoveries that carried us into dangerous and disagreeable climates, which was directly contrary to the practice of the Spaniards and Portuguese; besides those voyages produced little or no advantage, so there was nothing to provoke the common, or even the trading, sort of people, to engage in them: and lastly, King Henry VIII. was bent upon finding a north-west passage, that he might have a way of his own to the East Indies, and not be obliged to follow the rout either of the Spaniards or of the Portuguese.

5. It was this inclination of the King's that produced a spirit in the nation of discovering and settling in these northern parts, let the dangers be what they would, or the difficulties to be overcome ever so many or apparent; a very strong instance of

which occurred in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and is the most remarkable passage in it to our purpose: one Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, a man of good family, considerable fortune, great courage, and very well versed in most of the branches of the mathematics, was resolved to undertake a voyage, and attempt a settlement on Newfoundland, and to go thither himself. He no sooner made this intention of his known, than he received all the countenance and encouragement from the crown that he could expect; and as this gave much credit to the expedition, so, in a short time, abundance of young gentlemen, of good fortunes and distinguished families, offered to share both the expence and danger of the undertaking.

Among these were Mr. Wickes, a west-country gentleman of five hundred marks a year; Mr. Tuck, a Kentish gentleman of fortune; Mr. Tuckfield, Mr. Thomas Butts, son of Sir William Butts, the King's first physician; Mr. Hardy, Mr. Biron, Mr. Carter, Mr. Rastal, (brother to Serjeant Rastal,) and several others; who went with Mr. Hore in the largest of his two ships, the Trinity, of the burden of one hundred and forty tons: in the lesser ship went Mr. Armigall Wade, a young gentleman of great hopes, and much learning; Mr. Oliver Dawebney, of London, merchant; and other persons of character, to the number of thirty, in both vessels. About the end of April 1536, all things were ready; the Trinity and Minion fit to sail, and the whole of both ships' company, to the number of one hundred and twenty, mustered at Gravelend; after which they went with much ceremony on board.

They soon after sailed, and arrived in the space of two months at Cape Breton; from whence they sailed round a great part of Newfoundland to Penguin island, in the latitude of about fifty degrees, as they computed; but which lies, truly, in fifty degrees forty minutes; where they found great plenty of those fowls, from whence the island takes its name: they afterwards went on shore upon the east-side of Newfoundland, and had an accidental view of a boat full of the savages that inhabited that country, whom they pursued both by sea and land, but were not able to overtake them. They staid here till their victuals began to grow very short, and being then afraid to trust themselves at sea in such a condition, they delayed going on board till they were in such distress that they actually eat one another; that is to say, some killed their companions privately in the woods, hid them, and then roasted and eat their flesh secretly, till this horrid practice coming to the knowledge of their captain, he, by a most judicious and pathetic speech, brought them to resolve rather to live upon grass and herbs than subsist by this detestable method any longer.

But it fell out soon after, that a French ship put in there well manned and well victualled, of which our countrymen resolved to take advantage, being weary of a country in which they had endured such miseries; and therefore, watching a fair opportunity, they possessed themselves of the French ship, and, leaving their own, sailed directly for the coast of England. They returned safely, and arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall about the end of October; and then the gentlemen, dispersing themselves, returned to London; but so much altered by their fatigues, that Sir William Butts, and his wife could not know their son, but by a particular mark upon his knee. We had never known a word of this strange adventure, if it had not been for Mr. Richard Hacklitt, who rode two hundred miles to gain these particulars from the mouth of Mr. Thomas Butts, the only person then living, who had a share in that expedition; and no wonder, since it was fifty-three years afterwards that he obtained this communication. There is another circumstance relating to this unfortunate enterprize, which must by no means be omitted.

Some months after, the Frenchmen came to England, with a dreadful complaint, that

that the English had ran away with their ship, and had left them to starve, if they had not supported themselves by fishing. King Henry examined very closely into the affair, and finding that extreme want was the sole cause of an action, otherwise inexcusable, he satisfied the French, to the full extent of their demands, out of his own coffers, and pardoned in his own subjects, that wrong which necessity forced them to commit. These were very hard beginnings; and yet to these we owe our Newfoundland trade; and, I think, it is much to the honour of the English nation, that without having any of those encouragements which the Spaniards met with from the very beginning, they continued to pursue those expeditions for discovery; till in the end they met with those rewards which they so well deserved.

6. Within this dark period of time, for the accounts of our rising navigation have been most imperfectly transmitted to posterity, there were numbers of Englishmen, who, with very little prospect of private advantages, spread themselves, by the help of foreign shipping into all parts of the world; that, by their inquiries and observations, they might be able to understand how trade was managed, and maritime affairs conducted, in other countries; that, in time, by their informations, the like advantages might accrue to their own; of which voyages and travels, there are many short notes collected in Hacklitt, which do great honour to these times, and ought to perpetuate the memory of the worthy persons, who, with so much labour and hazard, laid the foundation of our naval strength and glory.

These notices soon roused active and industrious persons to try what use could be made of such helps, and perhaps the reader will not think his time mispent in reading an instance of this kind. Mr. William Hawkins, the father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, and the grandfather of Sir Richard Hawkins, both eminent seamen, was himself an officer in the navy of King Henry the Eighth, and for his merit much esteemed by that Prince, made about the middle of his reign three prosperous voyages to Guinea and Brazil; in the last of these, having some dealings with a prince or chief of the Brazilians, he expressed a desire of seeing England; but, at the same time, shewed a suspicion of his not obtaining leave to come home again; to cure which, Captain Hawkins very readily offered to leave Mr. Martin Cockram, of Plymouth, who stood next to himself in esteem with the Indians, as a hostage, which offer was readily accepted.

This Brazilian chief he brought over, and presented to his master King Henry, who received him kindly, entertained him courteously, and dismissed him generously, after a year's stay in England. But it so fell out, in his passage home, that, either through change of air, shortness of provisions, or some other misfortune, the Indian chief died; which threw the English into great concern, from an apprehension that Mr. Cockram would be either punished with death, or detained during life, upon account of this accident: but the thing fell out better; for upon hearing what the English had to allege, the savages readily observing, that it was far from being likely that they would return to their country if they had treated their king amiss, and that it was not in their power to preserve his life, if attacked by sickness, they freely set their hostage at liberty, kindly entertained the men, and furnished the ship with a sufficient cargo for England, which encouraged other merchants to trade to the unsettled ports of Brazil, (by which I mean the ports not yet in the possession of the Portuguese,) and this from several places, viz. Bristol, Southampton, and London, during all the latter part of this monarch's reign, who must be allowed to have had a very public spirit with regard to maritime concerns, for the improvement of which he spared neither pains nor treasure.

7. In the time of King Edward the Sixth the court was split into factions, which

necessarily occasioned disputes and divisions among the people; so that the times were by no means favourable for new and great undertakings, or even for the improvement of those branches of commerce, which were but newly opened; on the contrary, it seems that several persons who were entrusted with offices by the lord high admiral, and such as had the care and direction of the customs, laid heavy burdens upon those that engaged in the Iceland and Newfoundland fisheries; and took such large sums for licences, and under other pretences, as had like to have ruined the former, which was an old trade, and greatly discouraged the latter, which was a new one.

Upon complaint of this to parliament, the matter fell under a close examination, as appears from some papers of Sir William Cecil, which are yet in being; for there are no Journals of the Proceedings of the House of Commons so early as this time preserved: but from the papers before mentioned, we are informed, that this complaint was made by the west-country members, and by a burghers from Yarmouth in Norfolk; and thereupon a law was made in the year 1548, and the second of that Prince's reign, by which it was enacted, that every officer who should, for the time to come, extort, procure, or receive any sum of money from a merchant, master of a ship, factor, or fisherman, for, or under colour of, granting him leave or licence to fish in the North Seas, on the coasts of Iceland, or on the banks of Newfoundland, should, for the first offence, forfeit treble the sum so extorted; and for the second, should suffer fine and ransom at the King's pleasure.

The same year the King was pleased to grant to Sebastian Cabot, his old servant, by the advice and counsel of his uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, the office of grand pilot of England, with a fee of one hundred sixty-six pounds thirteen and four pence, to be paid him quarterly at the exchequer; which shews, that these kind of services were still regarded; and that in such intervals of peace, as the ministry then had, they were mindful of the interest of their country, and inclined to do what lay in their power to promote navigation and commerce. But they were still hurt by a too earnest desire to grasp at the whole trade of the Indies, which induced them to listen to all the proposals made for discovering either a north-east or a north-west passage; and by bending all their strength that way, neglected those undertakings that were easier, and which might have been carried into execution at a much lighter expence. This was owing to Mr. Sebastian Cabot, who first started the notion of a passage into the South Seas by the north-west, and who fell very readily into the other project of finding a passage into the Indian Ocean by the north-east.

He was at that time master of the great company erected for the benefit of commerce, under the title of Merchant-Adventurers, for the Discovery of New Lands, and the great oracle, as he deserved to be, of all the seafaring people; and this gave him an opportunity of pushing that point which he had most at heart, the importance of which he understood better than any man, and in the execution of which nobody had gone farther, or managed an expedition with greater discretion. But this turn diverted the whole attention of the state to this point, and this alone, as if nothing had been worth discovering but a passage to the Spice Islands; while in the mean time the Spaniards attacked and subdued a very great part of both the continents of America. If, instead of this, the endeavours of the seamen in that reign had been applied to the prosecuting what Cabot had so well begun, I mean the entire discovery of Florida, and the countries adjacent, it must have ended in a settlement on the Gulph of Mexico, which might probably have been attended with very great advantages.

It can however be denied, that the schemes which were prosecuted had a very fair appearance of success, and I think it may be allowed also, by such as take the pains

to peruse Mr. Cabot's Instructions to Sir Hugh Willoughby, that no man ever conceived with greater strength of judgment, or expressed himself in clearer terms, than he did. I might, to prove this, give an extract of these Instructions; but it would be beside my present purpose, and giving the reader no more than what he may already find in Hackluit; whereas I aim at affording him new lights, without transcribing other people's labours, except where I am under a necessity of doing it. It must be admitted, that though the prosecution of these projects, for finding a north-east and a north-west passage, were not either of them attended with success, and though they consumed a great treasure, and, which is much more to be regretted, were attended with the loss of several excellent captains and many able seamen, the profits which the nation reaped might be truly said to countervail, in some measure, even the vast expences these voyages occasioned.

As for instance: we opened, by our attempts to find a north-east passage, the trade to Archangel; and, for some time, engrossed the valuable commerce of the Russian empire: and even to the north-west our discoveries were of great consequence, and led us to a more distinct knowledge of that part of the world than any other nation has attained, insomuch that I think it may be truly said, it is of all our labours that which has shewn our excellency in point of seamanship most; and, if our present attempt for discovering a passage through Hudson's Bay should prove successful, as I sincerely believe it will, we shall have no reason to blame those who from time to time have pushed this design with so much vigour; because I am thoroughly persuaded, that whenever it is attended with success, it will, in a very few years, repay this nation all that she has expended for ages upon this account.

We may from hence see how much these expeditions for discovery are preferable to much more expensive expeditions in pursuit of projects dictated by political views; for in these last we waste ships, men, treasure, and all to little or no purpose; whereas, with respect to the former, whether we succeed or not in our main point, we are sure of making such incidental advantages as, sooner or later, make us ample amends for the pains we take; so that a maritime power cannot follow a wiser course than to encourage all such projects, or employ her naval force better than in attempting such of them as have a probable appearance; because this nourishes and keeps alive that active, penetrating, enterprising spirit, which is so necessary to a state like ours, and which will always be attended with advantages upon the whole, though in many particular instances it may not be attended with success. But it is now time to proceed from these reflections which naturally flow from the consideration of what was done by our statesmen in the reign of King Edward, to those of the like kind that occupied the thoughts both of our politicians and people, in the reign of his sister and successor; in speaking of which, though a beaten topic, I hope to strike out several things that are new.

8. As there were several of King Edward's ministers employed by Queen Mary, so we find that in the reign of this Princess the same measures were pursued, and the same attention shewn for new discoveries, and for giving all the assistance that was in the power of the Crown, to such as engaged in these undertakings. But after the marriage between the Queen and King Philip of Spain took place, we began to grow much better acquainted with all circumstances relating to the West Indies than in former times, and it became fashionable at Court to read and understand whatever had been published, in any language, relating to the conquests and discoveries of the Spaniards; but because the number was not great of such as could peruse and understand those works in the original languages, several persons took pains to translate them into Eng-

lish, and to epitomise them, that they might be read with the greater facility; amongst these were Mr. Richard Eden, who composed one of the first Collections of Travels that was ever published in our language, and which was afterwards revised, corrected, and augmented, by Mr. Edward Wiles. Several other pieces of the same kind came abroad; and several of the Spanish officers that attended their King hither took a great deal of pains to set forth the exploits of their nation in the West Indies; and our sea officers, with whom they conversed, did not fail to make their advantage of these discourses, and to gain such knowledge of the situation things were in throughout all their dominions in America, as afterwards cost the Spaniards very dear.

This intercourse with that nation also furnished many Englishmen with opportunities of going to their settlements, and of obtaining such lights with respect to their navigation and commerce, as proved afterwards of the highest use. But notwithstanding all this, our trade and naval power suffered deeply by this connection between the two nations, which not only hindered, during that reign, those voyages we had formerly made to America from being pursued, but involved us likewise in a tedious, dangerous, and unnecessary war with France; by which we not only lost the important fortress of Calais, but also suffered deeply in our shipping; so that it appears by some fragments which still remain of speeches made in the House of Commons, that loud complaints were made on this subject in parliament by the citizens of London especially, whose losses were greater than those of the rest of the kingdom by those mistaken measures.

Yet such branches of our commerce as did not immediately interfere with that of Spain were greatly favoured in this reign, in which the Russian merchants were incorporated, and Sebastian Cabot appointed their governor for life; and a Russian ambassador, who came over hither, was treated with great distinction both by the King and Queen; which procured us suitable returns, by the granting extraordinary privileges to such merchants and subjects of England as traded in any part of that extensive empire. The trade to Guinea, likewise, met with some countenance from the Court, by which means the shipping engaged therein was increased, and many more traders drawn to be concerned therein; so that as great a spirit in this respect appeared as could well be expected; while the trading corporations throughout the kingdom were exposed to great inconveniences, by taking their ships for the public service; for so, at that time, assisting King Philip was called, though it was evidently against the interest of the nation; and it was our want of success in that war which saved the balance of Europe, which must have been totally lost, if he had compassed his design, and ruined the power of France; so that in fact, our naval force was employed against itself, of which the Queen's ministers were sensible; but as for the Queen herself, she was governed by an odd principle, which was that of making the best wife in the world to one of the worst of husbands: but, very luckily for the nation, she was so sensible of the misfortunes that attended this injudicious war, and particularly of the loss of Calais, that it broke her heart, and thereby made way for that great and glorious reign which restored the face of our affairs, revived our languishing commerce, re-established our naval power, and, by the happy issue of a long and bloody, but necessary and prosperous, war against Spain, secured our own liberties and preserved those of Europe.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the crown by the death of her sister, in the month of November 1558; and, from the very beginning of her reign, made the naval power of this nation her peculiar care. She began with putting the small remains of the navy into the best condition possible; provided a safe harbour in the river Medway for their reception, and erected a new castle for their protection. She likewise took

care to have a small squadron at sea as soon as possible; and knowing that by a hasty breach with Spain she might, and indeed must, expose her naval strength to the danger of being crushed by a superior force, she very wisely chose to dissemble her resentments against that Crown, and to provide for the increase of the seamen and shipping of her kingdom, before she discovered those resolutions which she carried afterwards into execution with so much honour to herself, and so much advantage to her people. I the rather take notice of this, because it is the only stroke of the Queen's policy which has escaped our historians, who either overlooked or misunderstood it; and therefore, as it very nearly concerns my subject, I shall set it in a full and clear light.

At the beginning of her reign the Queen had several enemies to deal with; some who declared openly against her, and others who secretly sought her ruin. Among the former were the French, to whom at that time Scotland, in virtue of a marriage between Queen Mary and the French King, in some measure belonged. At the head of the latter was King Philip of Spain, one of the greatest politicians that ever sat upon a throne, who knew the value of England, had in some measure possessed it, and, which was not at all wonderful, had no mind to lose it. His first project for keeping it was, by marrying Elizabeth, as he had done her sister, in which finding himself deceived, his next project was to conquer it, from which he never departed. The Queen, when she rejected the first, foresaw the last, and resolved to provide against it, which she knew could no other way be done but by obtaining a great naval force.

To arrive at this, she first of all contrived to amuse Spain by carrying on the war with France, in which she did the same thing her sister did; and yet the one was the worst, the other, the wisest measure that ever was taken. Queen Mary really meant to ruin and distress the French, and was above all things desirous of recovering Calais; and this from a mistaken zeal for the interest of the nation. Queen Elizabeth made an artificial war against France to increase her own naval strength, by encouraging her subjects to take prizes, and that she might have an opportunity of securing Scotland; but, though excessively provoked, she never thought of hurting France, and when offered Calais, she refused it; and all this, because she knew the true interest of the nation. She knew that while she continued to act against the French, she should have the Spaniards for seeming friends; that this war was not against the humour of her people, or against justice; that it would raise a vast number of seamen, because every port in England fitted out privateers; and that it would raise the reputation of her naval power, by reducing Scotland: for all which ends, as she wisely provided, so she met in them all the success she could desire. She knew, however, that France was not her natural enemy; that from the disputes about religion, which ran high in that kingdom, she was in no danger from its power; and that whenever she came to declare against Spain, she should stand in need of its assistance: for which reason she made a very harmless war, and gave such broad intimations of her being willing to compose all differences, as in due time produced a peace. She likewise knew that the possession of Calais was a mere popular advantage; that, in reality, it was attended with an expence which could not well be afforded; that if she was possessed of it, it would be a continual bone of contention with France; and that, how much soever it might be afterwards her interest to part with it, it would be an unpopular, and therefore an improper, and an imprudent thing to give it up. This that great Princess knew, and therefore she wisely refused it; but upon making a peace, she reserved her rights to it, and procured such concessions from the French, as proved a continual check upon them, and were oftentimes of more use than the fortress itself.

In the mean time she continued her care of the navy, and neglected nothing that might keep up and promote a maritime spirit among her people; she sought out and distinguished the sea-officers that had served under her father; she was continually fitting out, on one pretence or other, little squadrons, at a small expence; she gave the command of them to different officers, that she might excite a spirit of emulation, but what principally conduced to aggrandize her power was the pleasure she shewed, whenever any occasion offered, of rewarding her subjects, who undertook, at their own expence, such expeditions as contributed to extend their commerce, and open new branches of trade. We have a strong instance of this, in the countenance she shewed to Captain John Hawkins, who between the years 1562 and 1568 made three voyages into the West Indies, and in all but the last had very great success, though he carried on his trade partly by force. She promoted the trade to Russia, and through that empire to Persia and the Indies, to the utmost of her power, and managed it with such prudence and dexterity, that the reputation of her government was very high, in that and in other countries, in which the rest of the kingdoms and the states of Europe were hardly known. The trade to Guinea was likewise so much her care, that, finding the Portuguese gave her subjects much disturbance, she enquired into the causes of those disputes, and took care to remedy them by a treaty with that crown.

All this time her differences with Spain subsisted, and though there was no open war between the two crowns, yet there could scarce be said to be either friendship or peace between their subjects; and the Queen, perhaps, was not very solicitous that there should; for having now attained what she aimed at, a very considerable naval force, and being willing to let the Spaniards see, that though she declined a war, she had no reason to be afraid of it, she took advantage of the King of Spain's marriage with Anne of Austria, his niece, to give such an instance of her generosity and power, as did great honour to her administration; for she caused that prince to be conducted to Spain by an English navy; this was a plain demonstration that her sparingness, upon other occasions, was not the effects of any meanness of temper; but that, by a constant frugality, she might have it always in her power to be royally magnificent upon proper occasions.

But this extraordinary mark of civility was far enough from meeting a proper return, and the Spaniards went on in disturbing the trade, and distressing the navigation of her subjects; which induced the Queen to suffer her subjects to use the best measures they could for redressing themselves; in which they were not wanting. In the year 1572, Captain Francis Drake made his famous expedition into the West Indies, with two ships, one called the Dragon, of seventy-five tons, the other the Swan, of twenty-five tons, and on board them both he had no more than seventy-three men; and yet, with this force, he ventured to declare war against the King of Spain, for the injuries he had received in his voyage with Captain Hawkins to the West Indies. In this voyage he performed wonderful things; for, besides taking several large ships, he fairly took the town of Nombre de Dios by storm, gained an immense treasure, and had a fight of the South Seas; after which he returned safely to Plymouth, and made a fair distribution of the profits of his voyage among his owners.

This glorious event encouraged others to follow his example; so that, in a very short time, the English privateers made various voyages into all parts of America, and every little port in England swarmed with seamen, who were perfect masters of their profession; and pilots capable of navigating ships to any part of the known world became so numerous, that there were daily new projects set on foot, which in the former age would have been thought impracticable; but in this were carried into execution at
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the charge of private persons, without any expence to, or assistance from, the crown, though they had all the countenance and encouragement they could desire: but amongst all these, there was none so considerable in itself, so clear a proof of maritime skill, and so honourable, in every respect, to the nation, as the next expedition of Captain Francis Drake in 1577, in which he sailed round the globe, as we have shewn at large in the first part of this work, and therefore need not repeat here. But one part, however, of that voyage so immediately concerns the subject of this chapter, and relates to so considerable a discovery, that, as we then promised, we shall, as in its proper place, speak of and explain it more particularly here.

10. Captain Drake sailed from Plymouth, with five small ships, the biggest but of one hundred tons, on the 13th of December 1577, and it was the 5th of September following before he entered the South Seas, where having performed several glorious actions, and gained prodigious riches, he proceeded to the most northern of the Spanish settlements, with a view to discover, if possible, that passage which had been so much talked of from our Northern into the South Seas, by a strait like that of Magellan's to the north-west. This was certainly a very wise and great undertaking, and a prodigious improvement upon the design of his voyage; for, as yet, no Englishman had had the opportunity, and perhaps it never entered into any man's head, to search for such a passage on this side; though it is most likely, that by this method it may be found. Our author's endeavours, however, were strangely crossed by the unexpected severity of the weather, of which the reverend Mr. Francis Fletcher, who was chaplain in this voyage, gives us a large account; and, as it relates to a subject of great importance, and contains a multitude of curious circumstances, though not delivered in the most polished style, we shall give it the reader, for the sake of exactness, in his own words:

“ From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz. April the 16th, setting our course directly into the sea, whereupon we sailed five hundred leagues in longitude to get a wind, and between that and June the 3d, one thousand four hundred leagues in all, till we came in forty-two degrees of north latitude, wherein the night following we found such an alteration of heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men, in general, did grievously complain thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration of us all; for besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural and frozen substance; so that we seemed rather to be in the frozen zone, than any way so near unto the sun, or these hotter climates.

“ Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seemed, indeed, to proceed from some ordinary cause, against the which the heat of the sun prevails not; for it came to that extremity in sailing but two degrees farther to the northward in our course, that though the seamen lacked not good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us, whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within coverts, from the pinching cold that did benumb them? Neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our bodies, though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold, inasmuch that the dead and senseless creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves. Our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently, in a manner, become frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in a few days, were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able with them

to perform, now six men, with their best strength and utmost endeavours, were hardly able to accomplish; whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great dislike, and doubting of any good to be done that way; yet would not our general be discouraged, but as well by comfortable speeches of the divine providence, and of God's loving care over his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by giving other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own chearful example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to acquit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity; to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory; that every man was thoroughly armed with willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

"The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware, and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger, by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us; which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them. In this place was no abiding for us, and to go further north the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged all our men) would not permit us, and the winds being directly against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward, whether we would or no; from the height of forty-eight degrees, in which now we were, to thirty-eight degrees, we found the land by coasting it to be but low, and reasonably plain; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high) though it were in June, and the sun in the nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow.

"In thirty-eight degrees thirty minutes, we fell in with a convenient and fit harbour, and June the 17th came to an anchor therein, where we continued to the 23d of July following; during all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so near the sun, yet we were continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; inasmuch, that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busy employment about our necessary labours, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us, still, our winter clothes; yea, (had our necessity suffered us) to have kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in the whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of sun or star.

"And here, having so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seem to be besides the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage) we will a little more diligently inquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreme cold in these parts; as also into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) the tenderness of our bodies coming so lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us so sensible of the colds we here felt. In this respect, as in many others, we found our God a provident father and careful physician to us; we lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to restore and fortify nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting unto us the great experience of our general, who had often himself proved the force

force of the burning zone, whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that even after our departure from the heat, we always found our bodies not as sponges, but strong and hard, more able to bear out cold, though we came out of excess of heat, than a number of chamber-companions could have been, who lie on their feather-beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate air do beat in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire.

“ And that it was not our tenderness, but the very extremity of the cold itself, that caused this sensibleness in us, may the rather appear in that the natural inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related) who had never been acquainted with such heat, to whom the country air and climate was proper, and in whom custom of cold was as it were a second nature, yet used to come shivering to us in their warm furs, crouding close together, body to body, to receive heat, one of another, and sheltering themselves under a lee bank if it were possible; and as often as they could, labouring to shroud themselves under our garments to keep them warm: besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itself, shewing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness in those months of June and July? the poor birds and fowls not daring (as we had great experience to observe it) so much as once to rise from their nests after the first egg laid, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature able to help itself. Only this recompence has nature afforded them, that the heat of their own bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with great expedition, and in shorter time than is to be found in any other places. As for the causes of this extremity, they seem not to be so deeply hidden, but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at; the chiefest of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continents, which (somewhat northward of these parts) if they be not fully joined, yet seem they to come very near one to the other; from whose high and snow-covered mountains the north and north-west winds (the constant visitants of these coasts) send abroad their frozen nymphs to the infecting of the whole air with this insufferable sharpness; not permitting the sun, no not in the pride of his heat, to dissolve that congealed matter and snow which they have breathed out so nigh the sun, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the north and north-west winds are here constant in June and July, as the north wind is alone in August and September, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof by continual observations of the Spaniards.

“ Hence comes the squalidness and barrenness of the country; hence comes it, that in the midst of their summer the snow hardly departeth even from their doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thick mists and most stinking fogs, which increase so much the more by how much higher the pole is raised, wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course; for the sun striving to perform his natural office in elevating the vapours out of these inferior bodies, draws necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold (from the former causes) meeting and opposing the sun's endeavours, force him to give over his work imperfect, and, instead of higher elevation, to leave, in the lowest regions wandering upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea, through which its own beams cannot possibly pierce, unless sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth help to scatter and break through it, which thing happeneth very seldom, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly been at Wardhouse, in seventy-two degrees of north

north latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of summer, when they departed thence, as they did now in these hottest months of June and July. And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through those northern coasts (which is most likely) or, if there be, yet it is unnavigable. Add hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the forty-eighth degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point, in any place, towards the east, but rather running on continually north-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and even in that height, when we had a frank wind to have carried us through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calm sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been, had there been an opening, of which we rather infallibly concluded than conjectured that there was none."

This shews us clearly Mr. Fletcher's opinion, and he gives us likewise a very large and full, to say the truth, a very tedious and trifling, account of their landing and stay here; of their being taken for gods by the natives, and of their attempting to offer sacrifices to them, with which I suppose, the reader will easily dispense; but after this he comes to the point, and tells us that these people behaved extremely well during their stay; and that their king, in testimony of his respect for, and submission to Captain Drake, presented him with the ensigns of his regal dignity; which he received as a resignation of his kingdom to the Queen his mistress, in whose name, and on whose behalf, he took possession of it, and set up a wooden cross, with a brass plate and a proper inscription in testimony thereof. This country he called New Albion, and this for two reasons; the first was, because of its white cliffs; the other, that it might have some affinity, as Mr. Fletcher expresses it, in name with our own country, which was some time so called.

He afterwards acknowledges, that upon taking a view of the inland parts, they found them very rich and fertile, contrary to their expectations; but as to the people, he allows, that both on the coast and within land, their behaviour was perfectly uniform, and they had no reason to complain of them, but rather to commend and applaud them. It is very true that Mr. Fletcher's account of Sir Francis Drake's voyage is by much the largest, but I am far from esteeming it the best: I inserted so long a passage from it, that the reader might be able to judge of his performance as well as my sentiments. He has given us a very extraordinary description of the excessive cold they met with both at sea and on shore, and discourses on it more largely, to shew his capacity and judgment; yet I do not find that experience has at all confirmed this, as the reader will perceive by turning to the other voyages of Candish, and those who followed him, and who went to California as well as Sir Francis Drake.

I mention this the rather, because Candish was there so soon after Sir Francis Drake; for I find by the original account of his expedition, that he was there in November 1587, but do not find that he said one word of its being cold; and though it may be objected, that he was in the southern part of California only, yet the difference is so inconsiderable, that it is impossible to reconcile the two accounts, supposing them both to be exact. Again, in Sir Francis Drake's voyage, printed by Hackluyt, it is only said, that in the latitude of forty-two degrees, the men were extremely pinched with cold; and finding it increase as they sailed farther north, it was resolved to alter their course, and stand in for the land more to the south; where they found a good bay, and a very gentle, friendly, and honest people; yet the truth of the matter is, that the Spaniards had, thirty seven years before, sailed along this coast to the height of forty-four degrees, as far as Cape Mendocino; and they afterwards discovered

discovered Cape Blanco beyond that, which is a plain proof that the cold is not so intolerable as Mr. Fletcher would make it. But the real design of all his remarks is, to discourage all hopes of finding a passage this way into the North Seas, which however was not Sir Francis Drake's opinion, if we may credit what other writers have told us; and indeed so many absurdities have been discovered in Mr. Fletcher's description of New Albion, that Father Charlevoix makes no scruple of calling it a fabulous country, and from hence takes occasion to make some reflections upon Sir Francis Drake, which that gentleman did not at all deserve.

But to shew the reader the true design of dwelling so long upon this subject I must observe that his account discredits Drake's discovery extremely, which not only turns to the prejudice of that great man's character, but may likewise prove disadvantageous to this nation, by giving them a very mean opinion of what ought to be considered as a very noble acquisition. The discovery, as I conceive, consisted chiefly in his marching up into the country, which before that time it is probable, the Spaniards had never done; and with respect to our title to this country, I conceive it to arise from the good-will and voluntary submission of the people, facts as well proved as in the nature of things we can expect, and which certainly give us as good (if not a better) claim to New Albion, as the Spaniards can shew for any part of their possessions.

The country too, if we might depend upon what Sir Francis Drake or his chaplain says, may appear worth the seeking and the keeping, since they assert that the land is so rich in gold and silver, that upon the slightest turning it up with a spade or pick-ax, those rich metals plainly appear mixed with the mould. It may be objected that this looks a little fabulous; but to this two satisfactory answers may be given; the first is, that later discoveries on the same coast confirm the truth of it, which, for any thing I can see, ought to put the fact out of question; but if any doubts should remain, my second answer will overturn these. For I say next, that the country of New Mexico lies directly behind New Albion, on the other side of a narrow bay, and in that country are the mines of Santo Fe, which are allowed to be the richest silver mines in North America: here then is a very valuable country, to which we have a very fair title.

But perhaps it may be asked, how shall we come at it, since, as things stand at present, it seems to be the country in the world most out of our reach? But if it had been so, I would not have given myself or the reader so much trouble about it; and therefore I am next to tell him, that if Mr. Arthur Dobbs's expedition for discovering a north-west passage succeeds, New Albion will be a country very much within our reach, and I dare say, prove to the full as habitable as the coast of Hudson's Bay; and therefore I hope that this example will fully shew the use and value of good collections of voyages, because it is impossible to foresee all the advantages that may arise from any discovery or settlement at once, nor is it easy to pronounce, that any discovery, how unpromising soever in its first appearance, is absolutely useless, and not worth minding.

This is a caution of a very serious nature, since there is nothing easier than for men of quick wits and tolerable learning in other respects, to ridicule voyages to cold, barren, desert countries, and to represent that as folly and madness, which is in truth a most noble kind of public spirit, which if pushed still farther than it has ever been would be attended with consequences of still greater advantage to mankind, than those that have flowed from it already; and yet these have been very beneficial to this and other nations, as any judicious man will very easily and clearly discern,

cern, by comparing the state of those nations; before they addicted themselves to commerce, and since they have reaped the profits of it.

11. We have already shewn the right this nation has to Newfoundland; which is an island of a triangular figure, about the size of Ireland; and according to the best computation that can be made, about eight or nine hundred leagues in circumference: on the north it is separated from the continent by the narrow straits of Bellisle; on the west it has the Bay of St. Laurence; on the south Cape Breton and the banks; and on the east it has the ocean. It lies about six hundred leagues from the Land's-end in England, and the great bank is generally looked upon as half way to Virginia. There is no country in the world better furnished with harbours, and it is abundantly supplied with fresh water. The climate is very hot in summer, and very cold in winter, so that the snow lies upon the ground for four or five months at least. This is the best account that we are able to give with certainty about it; for if we read the different relations written of this country, by persons who ought to have been best acquainted with it, we shall find them so opposite and contradictory, that it will be very hard to judge from them, whether it be one of the best or worst countries in the world.

But by considering the views with which these several accounts were written, and adverting to the situation of this country, between forty-seven and fifty-two degrees of northern latitude, we may be easily persuaded that it is no paradise; and yet it is more to the south than our own island; but lying off a continent very little better than frozen, the winds which blow over must bring along with them weather very different from ours. It is however, very certain, that filberds, strawberries, some kinds of cherries, and other such-like fruits grow here; and though corn and hay succeed but indifferently, yet there is great plenty of venison, wild-fowl and fish; so that with dry food in plenty from Europe, people may live here very comfortably even in winter, since the country produces fuel of several kinds in abundance.

The great advantage, however resulting from our possession of the place never depended much upon its produce; so far from it that one of the best writers upon the trade of this nation gave his opinion clearly, that it was more for our interest there should be no settlements upon it at all; which, in my judgment, he has by unanswerable arguments made good; but the value of Newfoundland to this crown and country results from the fishery upon its coasts, and upon the banks near it, which has been and still is, of inestimable benefit, for reasons that shall be presently given. It is very certain, that we did not prosecute our discoveries in and about this island, or attend to the advantages that might be made from the fishery, in many years after Cabot had taken possession of it; but I do not however believe, that we ever left or deserted it, as some writers would have us believe, and that we did not claim it again till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I am, on the contrary, persuaded, that some of our fishing vessels resorted yearly to this coast, though perhaps not many; and this for two reasons; first, because the unsettled state of our affairs kept the best part of our seamen one way or other in the public service; and next, because we had a great fishery, at that time, on the coast of Iceland.

But that we really kept possession of the Newfoundland fishery all that time, may, I think, be undeniably proved by two arguments likewise: the one taken from the act of parliament before-mentioned, in the second year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, which would have been needless, if this fishery had not subsisted; and the other from the account given us of the state of this fishery in 1578, by Mr. Parkhurst, which

is very curious, and yet little taken notice of. He tells us, that in this year there were about fifty sail of English ships employed upon that coast; but he tells us likewise, that there were one hundred sail of Spaniards, besides twenty or thirty sail of Biscayneers, fifty of Portuguese, and one hundred and fifty French. He adds another circumstance, which is still more to our purpose; and it is this, that wherever the English fished, they were reputed lords of the harbour, and exercised an authority over other nations, by making use of their boats when they had occasion for them; which makes it plain to me, that we constantly kept up our title, for otherwise it is impossible to give any reason why we should have exercised this dominion where we were so far from being the most powerful. An immemorial custom was foundation enough for such a practice, and nothing but this could be esteemed so.

He tells us also, that our own ships were the strongest, largest, and best equipped; and that by this means, we protected our own trade and the trade of other nations, which is a confirmation of what I have observed; he says, that next to ours the Spaniards were the best equipped, and he computes the tonnage of these vessels at about six thousand, and the French at about seven thousand ton; but the Portuguese, he says, were the worst equipped of all. As for the Biscayneers they were chiefly employed in whale-fishing, and in making train-oil. The great consequence of this trade to our nation arose from hence; that in the first place, it raised a vast number of seamen, and those the best and ablest that were any where bred, so that, even at this time, there could not be fewer than two thousand employed therein. Next, it gave bread to a vast number of manufacturers and mechanics, such as ship and boat builders, &c. Thirdly, it produced a great deal of money from the sale of the fish. Fourthly, almost all the provisions consumed in Newfoundland, such as bread, beef, pork, butter, cheese, linen, and woollen cloths, nets, hooks, and lines, were all furnished from England; to which we may add, that these vessels being fitted out in March and returning in September, they not only brought home a number of people full of money, which they spent in England, but they also left us a certain proportion of stout able seamen, fresh men going out in their room, and becoming in a voyage or two as good mariners as themselves.

Thus it clearly appears, how this bleak, barren, and inhospitable country came to be of such consequence; which was very soon discerned by the wise ministry of Queen Elizabeth, towards the close of whose reign it grew to such a height that we employed yearly two hundred sail and upwards of fishing vessels, and on board them upwards of eight thousand seamen, a clear proof of the improvements that were then made in the space of twenty years; and which confirms, beyond question, what I remarked at the close of the preceding paragraph, that all discoveries are of use, and every branch of navigation worth looking after, and keeping. If the reader consults other accounts of Newfoundland, within this period of time, he will see that I have not been much assisted by them, but that I have set the subject in a new light, from facts of which they have taken little or no notice.

But I come now to speak of those that are more generally known, and of the famous patent of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which is one of the first of them. This gentleman was a native of Devonshire, had a good fortune, was well allied, had a competent knowledge both of military and maritime affairs, and a generous desire to raise his private fortune by the pursuit of the public service. It was with this view that he represented to Queen Elizabeth the expediency of settling all those countries upon the continent of America, which had been formerly discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot, because, otherwise, it was not at all unlikely that the French, who had often reviewed these places,

places, would be desirous of supplanting the English, and because it was very far from being improbable that those countries abounded with very rich minerals. Upon these suggestions very full letters patent were granted by the Queen to Sir H. Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, with free leave, not only to discover, but to plant and settle, and even to fortify and build castles, in any of these northern countries, not then in the possession of any Christian Prince, with authority to govern such colonies, according to the known laws of the land, with several other clauses equally well contrived for securing this grant from becoming any way injurious to the public.

After obtaining this favour from the Queen, our worthy knight applied himself to his relations and friends, in order to frame a society capable of carrying this design into execution; and he met with such success therein, that he thought himself very soon in a condition to undertake a voyage for this purpose; yet when it came to the point, things fell out very crossly; for some of his associates began to form particular projects inconsistent with his general scheme, and others absolutely failed in performing their engagements; which however did not hinder this gallant gentleman from putting to sea, with such of his friends as had stuck close to their promises; but the voyage proved very unfortunate, and was attended with the loss of one of his best ships, in which was Mr. Miles Morgan, whom he much esteemed, and several other persons of worth and figure. This was a severe blow, which he was the less able to sustain, as having already suffered extremely in his fortune, by the money he had been obliged to advance to supply other men's deficiencies; and therefore he was constrained to assign part of his patent to other persons, who were to make settlements in the northern parts of America about the river of Canada; but these people proving likewise very dilatory, he found himself obliged to think of another expedition, in person; because his patent was to expire, if within the space of six years he had not actually gained possessions under it.

In the spring of the year 1583 he had again brought this design into some order, and to furnish the necessary expences thereof he was obliged to sell his estate, though he had great assistance from his friends; and several gentlemen of rank and fortune agreed to go with him in person; with this view a small squadron was fitted out, consisting of the following vessels, viz. the *Delight* (or *George*), of one hundred and twenty tons, admiral, in which went Sir Humphrey himself as general, William Winter captain and part owner, and Ricard Clark, master; the bark *Raleigh*, fitted out by Mr. Walter Raleigh, of two hundred tons, vice-admiral, Mr. Butler captain, and Robert Davis of Bristol, master; the *Golden Hind*, of forty tons, rear-admiral, capt. Edward Hayes, commander and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse, master; the *Swallow* of forty tons, Maurice Brown, captain; the *Squirrel* of ten tons, William Andrews, captain, and one *Cade*, master. In all these vessels were shipped about two hundred and sixty men, among whom were many shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, miners, and refiners. The resolution of the proprietors was, that the fleet should begin its course northerly, and follow as directly as they could the trade-way to Newfoundland, from whence, after having refreshed and supplied themselves with all necessaries, their intent was to proceed into the south, and not to pass by any river or bay, which, in all that large tract of land, should appear worthy their looking into; they likewise agreed upon the manner of their course, and the orders to be observed in their voyage, which were delivered to the captains and masters of every ship in writing.

The 11th of June they set sail from Causet Bay, near Plymouth; but, on the 13th, their large ship the *Raleigh*, under pretence that her captain and a great number of her

her men were suddenly taken ill of a contagious disease, left the fleet and returned to Plymouth; some say in great distress, but others, that it was done with a design to break the voyage. After her departure the *Golden Hind* succeeded her in place as vice-admiral. The 30th of July they had the first sight of land, as they computed it about fifty-one degrees, but with such foggy weather, that they could not possibly perceive the land, nor take the sun's height: from thence they followed the coast to the south, with clear weather, till they came to the island called *Baccalaos*; here they met with the *Swallow*, which had been separated from them in the fog, but were surprized to see her men in a different garb from what they had on when they left them; upon inquiry they found they had met a Newlander fishing bark returning homewards, which they had rifled of tackle, sails, cables and provisions, and the men of their apparel. Continuing the same course southward, they came the same day, being the 3d of August, to the harbour of *St. John*, where they found the *Squirrel*, which had likewise been separated from them, riding at anchor at the mouth of the harbour, having been refused entrance by the vessels which were fishing within, to the number of thirty-six sail of all nations. Sir Humphrey was preparing to make good his passage by force of arms; but having first sent in his boat to inform the masters of the fishing barks, that he had a commission from the Queen to take possession of these lands for the crown of England, they were satisfied, and submitted to the levying a tax of provisions from each ship, for supplying the wants of Sir Humphrey's small squadron. Going into the harbour, the admiral's ship was by the carelessness of the men run upon a rock, which lay visible above water: but, by the assistance of the fishermen's boats, she was got off again, with little or no damage.

On the 4th Sir Humphrey, whom they called the general, and his company were conducted on shore by the masters of the English fishing vessels, and their owners or merchants who were with them. On the 5th the general, having caused a tent to be set up view of all the ships in the harbour, to the number of between thirty and forty sail, and being accompanied by all his captains, masters, gentlemen, and soldiers, summoned all the merchants and masters, both English and Foreigners, to be present at his taking a formal and solemn possession of these territories. Being assembled, he caused his commission, under the great seal of England, to be openly read before them, and to be interpreted to those who were strangers to the English tongue.

By virtue of this commission, he declared that he took possession of the harbour of *St. John*, and two hundred leagues every way, invested Her Majesty with the title and dignity thereof; and having had (according to custom) a rod, and turf of soil delivered to him, entered possession also for himself, his heirs and assigns, for ever. He signified to those who were present, and through them to all men, that from thenceforward they should look upon those territories as appertaining to the Queen of England, and himself, authorized under Her Majesty to possess and enjoy them, with power to ordain laws for the government thereof, agreeable (as near as conveniently could be) to the laws of England; under which, all people coming thither for the future, either to inhabit, or by way of traffic, should submit and be governed. Some writers have attributed all this solemnity, which, however, was attended with many other ceremonies, to a high degree of vanity in our West-country knight, and have ridiculed severely his pretences to improve the trade of this kingdom and enlarge the Queen's dominions, by cutting a turf; in which, however, they injure this poor Gentleman's memory extremely, and shew how little they are qualified to give their readers a true account of things of this nature.

The plain reason of Sir Humphrey's conduct throughout this affair was his concern

for his grant, which was perpetual to him and his heirs, in case he took possession of any countries within six years, and otherwise it was void: there were now but a few months to come. He had sold his estate in England, and it concerned him very nearly to secure an estate somewhere else; and therefore it was not from any principle of vanity, but rather of prudence and good œconomy that he did this; as appears by his granting several parcels of land to persons, who covenanted to pay a certain rent to him and his heirs, and to maintain possession by themselves and their assigns.

There now remained only to gather in the tax of provisions granted by every ship which fished upon the coast adjoining; and while some of the men were doing this, others were set to repair and trim the ships; and the remainder the general sent to inquire into the commodities and singularities of the country, which were to be found by sea or land. They found no inhabitants in the south parts, which probably the natives had abandoned, upon their being so much frequented by Europeans. In the north there were savages of a very harmless disposition; among other inquiries, the general had, in a particular manner, recommended a search after metals. They had in their company a Saxon miner, who at first brought a sort of ore to the general, which had more the resemblance of iron than of any other metal. Soon after he found another sort of ore, which he delivered with a shew of great satisfaction to Sir Humphrey, and assured him, upon the peril of his life, that if silver was what he and his companions sought, there it was, and they need seek no farther. We learn all these circumstances from Captain Edward Hayes, who seems, by his writing, to have been a very intelligent person; and therefore he inquired very strictly about this silver mine, which procured him such an answer from the general, as shewed that he was absolutely satisfied on that head; and I must own I see no reason to doubt there being silver mines in this country, since we know they are generally found in cold climates, and in a hungry barren soil; and, as to the northern situation, we are certain that there are rich silver mines in New Mexico, a country not far to the southward of Newfoundland; and silver ore has been found in Scotland, several degrees farther to the north than it is supposed to have been found here.

But though Sir Humphrey was very well satisfied with the account his Saxon gave him, yet he thought himself obliged to proceed in his discoveries southward; for which, while he was providing, some of his men fell sick, some deserted, some died, and some fell to plundering and piracy: in short, the number of his people was so lessened, that he was constrained to leave the *Swallow* behind him. The captain of his admiral going home, Captain Brown of the *Swallow* took the command of the admiral, and the captain of the *Squirrel* deserting likewise the expedition, Sir Humphrey went on board that little vessel himself; as thinking her the fittest for observing and discovering the coast, because she could run into every creek, which a larger ship could not do. All things being now ready, and plenty of provisions of all sorts being put on board, they sailed on the 20th of August from the harbour of St. John, with three ships, the *Delight*, the *Golden Hind*, and the *Squirrel*, and proper boats and pinnaces for discovery. Before their departure they made an exact observation of St. John's Harbour, and found it to be in the latitude of forty-seven degrees forty minutes north. The next night they reached Cape Race, which is twenty-five leagues distant; and from thence sailed about eighty-seven leagues towards Cape Breton.

All this time they had the wind indifferently good, but never could get sight of the land, being hindered by the currents; at last they unhappily fell into those flats and shoals in which most of them perished. On the 27th the general ordered his

men in the frigate to sound, and found thirty-five fathom white sand, in the latitude of forty-four degrees. The wind coming south, the next evening they bore in with the land, all the night west north-west, contrary to the advice of Mr. Cox, master of the *Golden Hind*. On the 29th the wind blew vehemently at south and by east, with rain, and so thick a mist, that they could not see a cable's length before them. Early in the morning they found themselves in the midst of shoals and sands, among which they found sometimes deep, sometimes shoal water, every three or four ship's length. After they began to sound, a signal was immediately given to the *Delight* to cast about to the seaward, but it was too late; for she struck immediately, and her stern and hind-quarters presently beat to pieces. Upon which the *Golden Hind* and the frigate cast about east south-east, bearing to the south, which carried them to the seaward, and with much difficulty got clear of the shoals.

In the *Delight* perished Captain Maurice Brown, with near one hundred persons: the captain might probably have saved his life, if he would have left the ship when she first struck, but he would not be the first to set an ill example. In the mean time fourteen persons leaped into a small pinnace of a ton and a half burden, no bigger than a Thames barge. They looked out some time for the captain, but not seeing him took in Mr. Clark, the master of the *Delight*, and one more: being now sixteen in number, they cut the rope and committed themselves to the mercy of the waves, without any provisions, or a drop of fresh water, and nothing to work with but one single oar. The boat seeming to be over-loaded, one Edward Headly, thinking it was better for some to perish than all, proposed to cast lots, and that four of the number, upon whom the lot might fall, should be thrown over-board to lighten the boat; but he was over-ruled by Mr. Clark; who, though it was proposed that he should be excepted from the number, persuaded his comrades rather to submit to Providence. The boat was driven before the wind six days and six nights, during which time these poor wretches had no other sustenance than their own urine, and some weeds which swam on the surface of the water; and in this extremity of cold, wet, hunger, and thirst, only Headly and one more perished the fifth day; but the other fourteen lived till they were driven the seventh day on shore, on the coast of Newfoundland; whence they got in a French ship to France, and so to England, before the year's end. During their seven days dangerous course they had the wind always at south, which saved their lives; and it is very remarkable, that in half an hour after they were on shore it came about and blew full north.

After the loss of the admiral the men being generally discouraged, and in want of necessaries, Sir Humphrey Gilbert proposed returning to England, having, in his judgment, made discoveries sufficient to procure assistance enough for a new voyage in the spring. His people, when he made this proposal, were at first a little backward, but, upon hearing his reasons, they submitted; and, according to his advice, on the last of August they altered their course and returned back for England. On the 2d of September they passed in sight of Cape Race, and had afterwards frequently very bad weather, with such high seas, that they in the *Hind* often expected to see the *Squirrel* swallowed up; notwithstanding which, Sir Humphrey would by no means be persuaded to leave her. On the 9th, the storms and swelling of the seas increasing, he was again pressed to leave the frigate, but his answer was, "we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." About midnight the *Squirrel* being a-head of the *Golden Hind*, her lights were at once extinguished, which those in the *Hind* seeing, cried out, "our general is lost!" and it was supposed she sunk that instant, for she was never more heard of.

The *Golden Hind* arrived in safety at Falmouth, on the 22d of September, more fortunate than her companions; not only as she returned, but as she lost but one man during the whole course of this unfortunate undertaking. Such was the end of this expedition, very disastrous to its author; who lost first his fortune, and then his life, by it; to which, if the sallies of some distempered men's untimely wit could effect it, we might add his reputation also. Yet to this expedition I make no scruple of imputing all our succeeding colonies in America; and the grounds of this opinion of mine, which I must confess is new, I lay down thus:

12. We have before shewn that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a man of great interest and alliances: for, besides his eldest brother Sir John Gilbert, and his younger brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, who were of the whole blood, he was, by the mother's side, brother also to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had a great concern in this undertaking; and who is on good grounds allowed to have been one of those true, brave, and steady friends, who went to sea with him in his first attempt, which there is just reason to believe was in 1579. This great man, after Sir Humphrey Gilbert's miscarriage and loss in his last voyage, procured his patent to be renewed to himself, which was dated the 25th of March 1584, and he resolved immediately to carry it into execution; to which purpose he made choice of two very able sea officers, Captain Philip Aradas, and Captain Arthur Burlew; who, in two small barks fit for discovery, sailed from the west of England upon the 27th of April following, shaping their course for the Canaries, which they passed on the 10th of June, and proceeding from thence to the islands of America, they crossed the gulph of Mexico, and soon after discovered the coast of Florida. Some authors who have written of this expedition, and who are pleased to speak in very high terms of Sir Walter Raleigh's skill in maritime affairs, venture nevertheless to affirm, that the persons he employed were so ignorant of navigation, that, by the computation of able seamen, they went above two thousand leagues out of their way; but as I am very well satisfied they pursued Sir Walter's instructions, so I cannot help thinking this imputation of ignorance ought to be wiped away; and this may be very easily done, by shewing the true cause why this great and knowing seaman directed this course: he had observed that all the attempts hitherto had failed, by the adventurers pursuing their discoveries from the north, which was one reason why he chose another rout; besides which, he had a better and stronger motive; for, considering all the lands on the continent of America from the last settlements of the Spaniards to sixty degrees north, as lying within his grant, he very prudently chose to settle those first, which lay nearest those Spanish settlements; and this was the clear and certain cause of his directing his servants to take this course; which was so far from being a proof of their ignorance, that it is a full and fair testimony of their master's extensive knowledge.

It was on the 2d of July they fell in with the coast of Florida, in shoal water, where they smelled a most delightful odour, as if they had been in the midst of a garden, abounding with the most fragrant flowers, by which they supposed they were near, though they saw no land. On the 4th they discovered the continent, and sailed ~~near~~ the coast forty leagues, till they came on the 13th to a river, where they anchored, going on shore, took possession in right of the Queen, and for the use of which is ~~twelve~~ ^{two} ~~towers~~. This place they afterwards found to be the island of Wokoken, on towards ~~Cap~~ the country since called Virginia, in thirty-four degrees latitude; and in

All this ~~the~~ deer, rabbits, hares, fowls, vines, cedars, pines, saffrafras, cypress, and the land, being ~~the~~ the author of the history of Virginia says, they anchored at the inlet and shoals in which ~~res~~ ^{re} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} under the government of North Carolina. They went to

the tops of the hills which were nearest the shore; from whence, though they were not high, they discovered the sea on all sides, and found it to be an island of twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. It was the third day before they saw any of the natives; but then a little boat with three of them appeared: one of them going ashore, they rowed up to him, and he not only waited their coming without any signs of fear, but went on board, where they gave him a shirt and hat, with some wine and meat, which he expressed a liking to. After he had, with a seeming satisfaction, narrowly viewed the barks with all that were in them, he went in his own boat to above a quarter of a mile's distance, where he fished, and in half an hour loaded his boat with fish, as deep as it could swim, and came again to the point of land; where, to shew his gratitude, he divided it into two parts; and, making signs that he designed it for the two ships equally, he departed.

The natives from the continent, after this, repaired to their ships frequently, and exchanged several sorts of skins, white coral, and some pearls, for some tin things, and other baubles of inconsiderable value. The very next day after they saw the three Indians, several boats appeared in view; in one of which was the king of the country's brother, attended by forty or fifty men of a tolerable good appearance. They made him, and four of his chiefs, presents of several toys, which he accepted of very kindly; but he took all himself, and gave them to understand that none there had a right to any thing but himself; two days afterwards they let him see their merchandize, of which nothing seemed to please him more than a pewter dish, for which he gave twenty deer skins; and, making a hole in the rim of it, hung it over his neck for a breast-plate, making signs that it would defend him against the enemies' arrows. The next thing he bought was a copper kettle, for which he gave fifty skins. As long as he thought fit to traffic with them, none, but such as like him wore plates of gold or copper on their heads, were allowed either to buy or sell; but as soon as they had done, every man had his liberty. They offered very good exchange for hatchets, axes, and knives, and would have given any thing in truck for swords; but the English would not part with any. The king's brother came afterwards frequently on board, and would eat, drink, and be merry with them; and once he brought his wife and children with him, who afterwards came frequently with their followers only.

They often trusted the king's brother with goods upon his word, to bring the value at a certain time, which he never failed of doing. He had a strong inclination to have a suit of armour and a sword, which he saw in one of the ships; and would have left a large box of pearls in pawn for them, but they refused it; that he might not know they set a value upon them, till they could discover whence he got them. They understood from the natives, that their country, which they found to be very fruitful and productive of all things, in so very short a time as is hardly credible, was called by the name of Wingandacoa, and their king Wingina. When they went on shore they were entertained with extraordinary civility, and once in particular by the king's brother's wife, at a little village in Roenocke. They were told of a great city where the king resided, six days' journey on the continent, which, however, they did not see: they made no long stay, nor proceeded any farther on discovery, only just to the neighbouring parts, in their boats; and, being satisfied with what they had seen, returned to England about the middle of September, pleased with the advantage they had made in this short and prosperous voyage; and, with the hopes of the future advantages they should make, especially as they found all things here entirely new and surprising.

They

They gave a very advantageous account of matters, by representing the country so delightful and desirable, so pleasant, and abounding with all the necessaries of life; the climate and air so temperate, good and wholesome, the woods and soil so charming and fruitful, and all other things so agreeable, that Paradise itself seemed to be there in its native lustre. They gave particular accounts of the variety of good fruits, some whereof they had never seen before; especially, that there were grapes in such abundance as were never any where known; stately tall large oaks, and other timber; red cedar, cypress, pines, and other ever-greens and sweet woods, for tallness and largeness exceeding all they had ever heard of. Wild fowl, deer, fish, and other game, in such plenty and variety that no epicure could desire more than this new world seemed naturally to afford. To make it yet more desirable they reported, that the native Indians, who were then the only inhabitants, were so affable, kind and good-natured; so tractable in learning trades and fashions; so innocent and ignorant in all manner of tricks and cunning, and so desirous of the English, that they rather seemed ready to take any impression, than any ways like to oppose the settling of the English near them.

Upon this fair representation of the effects of their voyage, and of the noble discovery that had attended it, Queen Elizabeth was pleased to promise what assistance it should be necessary for the crown to give for promoting and perfecting this settlement; and she was likewise pleased to bestow the name of Virginia upon this new-found country; but whether, as is commonly believed, in regard to its being discovered under a virgin Queen, or in allusion to the uncorrupted state of the land and its inhabitants, is a question I will not pretend to decide; but perhaps the former was the sense imposed by Sir Walter, the completest courtier, shall I say, or rather the completest man of his time; and the latter the sense in which the Queen would have had it understood: but however that matter be, we must not confound the Virginia of Sir Walter Raleigh with the province now so called; for, without all question, it was in those days a very different thing, and comprehended the whole country claimed by the crown of England, from the southern limits of the new province of Georgia, to the utmost extent of our discoveries northwards, agreeable to the two patents granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and to his brother Sir Walter Raleigh.

It was not long before the proprietor resolved to fit out a much more considerable fleet than had hitherto been employed in such undertakings, that something might be done worthy of the nation, on whose behalf this settlement was to be made, of the powerful Queen who had protected it, and of himself, who was the author and patron of this scheme; Sir Walter intended to have commanded in this expedition himself, and to have carried with him a sufficient number of forces to have completed this design of making a settlement there; but being at that time jealous that his absence might be prejudicial to his interest at court, which the earl of Leicester sought all occasions to lessen, he committed the conduct of this second enterprize to his lieutenant, Sir Richard Greenville; who, on the 8th of April, set sail from Plymouth with seven ships fitted out by the company, of which himself and several gentlemen were members; and this company was the first of that kind that was established in Europe: these King James incorporated, by the name of the Governor and Company of the West Indies; which, for their mal-administration, was dissolved by his son King Charles I.

On the 26th of June, 1585, Sir Richard Greenville anchored at Wokoken, and in August following they began to plant on the island of Roenocke, five miles distant from the continent, where Sir Richard landed one hundred and eight men, under
Governor

Governor Ralph Lane, and Captain Philip Amadas, who was constituted admiral of the new colony, though I do not find he had so much as a bark left with him.

Sir Richard did not remain above three weeks longer in those seas; but having made some discoveries to the southward, and having traded with the Indians for skins, furs, pearls, and other commodities, he sailed on the 25th of August on his return to England, in which he took a very rich prize; so that this voyage appeared to the eyes of the nation no less prosperous than the former, and the new Virginia company began to entertain very sanguine hopes of their undertaking. Let us now return to the first planters in Virginia, and give an account of what happened to the first colony the English established there, or in any part of America. Sir Richard Greenville was no sooner sailed, than the people whom he left behind applied themselves with diligence to what had been recommended to them by Sir Walter Raleigh, which was the discovering the continent, and with this view they travelled eighty miles south, and one hundred and thirty north from that part of the main opposite to their island; but in these expeditions, venturing indiscreetly too high up the rivers, and too far into the country, the Indian governors grew jealous of their designs, and began first to be weary of their company, and then to cut off their stragglers when they fell into their hands; and they also formed a conspiracy to destroy the rest, but were happily prevented.

The journals of the colony's proceedings were duly entered, and afterwards delivered to the company in England, who were not so careful as they should have been to send them supplies of provisions, and the English, not understanding the nature of the climate, neglected to gather food in season as the Indians did, by which means they were reduced to great streights. The natives never after kept faith with them, but watched all opportunities to cut them off. And as this obliged them to be more wary in their enterprizes on the main, so it hindered them from having any supply from thence; however, they endured all with incredible resolution, and extended their discoveries near a hundred miles along the sea-coasts. They kept the Indians in awe by threatening them with the return of their companions and the reinforcement of men; but no ships coming from England in all that winter, nor in the spring following, nor in summer, they despaired of being able to support themselves any longer, the natives beginning to despise them, when they saw them as it were abandoned by their countrymen; and the English expected every day to be sacrificed to their cruelty. In this distress their chief employment was to look out to sea, in hopes of finding some means of escape, or recruit; and, when they were almost spent with want and watching, hunger and cold, in August they discovered Sir Francis Drake's fleet, who was returning from an expedition against the Spaniards in North America, and had been commanded by the Queen to visit this plantation in his way, and see what encouragement or assistance they wanted.

The sight of Sir Francis's fleet was most joyful to these poor people: their first petition to him, was to grant them a supply of men and provisions, with a small ship or bark to attend them, that, in case they could not maintain themselves where they were, they might embark in it for England. Sir Francis granted their request; and they set all hands to work to fit the ship he had given them, and furnish her with all manner of stores for a long stay; but a storm arising, which drove the vessel from her anchor to sea, and the ship suffering so much in it that she was not fit for their use, they were so discouraged, that, notwithstanding Sir Francis offered them another ship, they were afraid to stay, and earnestly intreated him to take them with him, which he did: and this put an end to the first settlement.

It was not at all owing to any negligence in Sir Walter Raleigh that this misfortune happened; for he continually pressed the company to reflect on the necessity of supporting the colony in time, and so solicitous he was in this business, that, finding the fleet which was preparing under the command of Sir Richard Greenville went on but slowly, he proposed that the first ship that was completely manned and equipped, should be sent, without staying for the rest, which was done; but when she arrived at the island Roenocke, she found it deserted. A few days after came Sir Richard Greenville with his squadron of three small vessels, and found not a man upon the place, to his great disappointment; however, he resolved to settle again, and therefore left behind him fifty men, with directions to build a house, or rather fort, for their own security, furnishing them besides with all necessaries for two years, and giving them the strongest assurances, that they should be constantly and regularly supplied.

This second colony had no better fortune than the first, for the Indians, taking advantage of the smallness of their number, and the difficulties they had to struggle with, attacked, and cut them off; so that when Mr. John White came thither with three ships and considerable supplies, on the 22d of June, 1587, he found their fort demolished, some huts they had erected near it destroyed, and not far from them the bones of a dead man. In all these revolutions Manteo, the Indian, remained firm to the English interest, and it was from his information that Mr. White learned what was become of this last colony.

The misfortunes that had attended these two settlements, would certainly have discouraged a man of less constancy and fortitude than Mr. White; but he had a commission to be governor, and Sir Walter had strongly recommended to him the keeping possession of the place. He therefore erected a new habitation, and, choosing eleven of the most capable persons that came along with him, constituted a regular society, to which he gave the title of the Governor and Court of Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia, hoping they might be able to retrieve the credit of this undertaking, and conduce to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of his country, and thereby answer the expectations of his honourable patron, whose name he had given to his new plantation. On the 13th of August, Manteo the faithful Indian, was christened, and created by the governor Lord of Dassumonpeak, an Indian nation so called, as a reward of his fidelity and service to the English; and on the 18th of the same month was born the first child that was the issue of Christian parents in that place, being the daughter of Mr. Ananias Dare: she was after the name of the country christened Virginia. Good government and industry soon rendered Mr. White and his men formidable to the Indians, who courted their friendship, and made leagues with the corporation, which they kept or broke as they thought themselves too weak or too strong for the English, who, as much as they seemed to thrive, underwent so many hardships for want of due supplies from Europe, that nothing but the invincible constancy, which is the distinguishing character of their nation, could have supported them in the midst of so much misery.

Yet so far were they from repenting of their undertaking, or desiring to return, that they disputed for the liberty of remaining at Roenocke, and obliged Mr. White their governor to return for England, and solicit the company to send them recruits of men and provisions. Mr. White undertook to negotiate their affairs; and, leaving one hundred and fifty men in the corporation, set sail for England; where he arrived in safety, and was two years there before he could obtain a grant of the necessary supplies. At last he had three ships fitted out for him, with provisions and more men for the colony. And on the 15th of August he arrived at Cape Hattaras; and, landing
on

on the island Roenocke, found by letters cut on trees, in large Roman characters, that the English were removed, but he could not tell whete. They saw the letters C.R.O. on several trees; and, searching farther, on one of the pallifadoes of the fort which they had quitted, they found cut in large capital letters the word Croatan, one of the islands forming the south, about twenty leagues southward of Roenocke. On this advice, they embarked in quest of their fellows at Croatan; but they were scarce all of them aboard, before a dreadful storm arose, which separated the ships one from another. They lost their anchors and cables, and durst not venture in with the shore, so they all shifted for themselves, and, with various fortunes, arrived in England and Ireland.

This dreadful blow proved the ruin of the third settlement, of which I do not find that the company took any farther care, or that any new attempt was made for preserving the possession of this country to the crown of England, which had been so highly magnified, and the advantages thereof painted in such strong colours at the beginning. Some have attributed this to Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles; but surely they were but indifferently acquainted with his history, since it was during the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign that he stood in the highest credit at court, and was most capable of procuring favour from it. But that I may not leave this subject altogether dark and imperfect, I shall venture to suggest what appears to me to be the true reason why there was no more care taken of so promising a scheme as this was of which we are writing. Sir Walter Raleigh, as very clearly appears from his manner of conducting it, had the public service alone in view, which induced him to throw the concerns of this colony into the hands of a company, in which, no doubt, he thought he had provided for them effectually, and therefore turned his own thoughts and most vigorous endeavours to other purposes, in which he was so entangled, that he found it impossible to disengage himself, when he saw their negligence, and foresaw the consequences of it, which were fatal to a settlement that cost him so much pains, and of which he had once so great hopes.

13. But neither the business of planting, nor the profits resulting from military expeditions, could hinder such as were addicted to the study of maritime affairs from wishing to see the new passage to the Indies fairly opened. And notwithstanding many attempts had been made to very little purpose, yet no considerable mariner, no man of reputation for cosmographical learning, could propose any reasonable scheme for this purpose; but there were merchants enough ready to lend their assistance, and to lay down whatever money was requisite for carrying it into execution. This freedom and readiness of venturing their private fortunes for the public service, was certainly very honourable and commendable, but they did still more, for they did not only prosecute such attempts like merchants, but adhered to them with a philosophic firmness; so that when a man returned without success, and plainly shewed that he had done his duty, and that there were still hopes, they encouraged, they rewarded, they fitted him out again and again: but this was an age of public spirit; the people went eagerly into whatever great ministers proposed; most of those ministers had only the service of their mistress at heart; and the Queen herself was truly the mother of her people.

In such a reign it was natural that wonders should be done, and it happens very luckily for those who celebrate these wonders, that they are able to maintain all that they assert, by incontestable evidence; an instance of which we shall give in a succinct account of the voyages of Captain John Davis, for the discovery of the north-west passage; which, however, should not have been brought in here, but have been referred to another chapter, if we had not found them necessary to shew the limits of our discoveries.

coveries in the northern parts of America; and having thus opened the true design of his attempts, we shall proceed to the narrative of them, in such a manner, as to render the nature and success of his enterprizes as clear as it is possible. In order to this, it is requisite to observe, that before his first voyage was undertaken, there was a design of attempting to discover a north-west passage, formed by some traders of the west of England; who, when they understood that the like project had been set on foot at London, proposed joining their forces, which was accepted, and Mr. William Sanderfon, merchant of London, who was both a principal man in the undertaking, and a large contributor towards the expence, recommended Captain John Davis, as a proper person to have the direction of this enterprize; and he was accordingly appointed commander of the *Sunshine* of London, a bark of fifty tons, on board of which were three and twenty persons, and, in conjunction with the *Moonshine*, of Dartmouth, a vessel of thirty-five tons, with nineteen persons on board, they sailed from the last mentioned port on their voyage for discovery, June 7, 1585.

On the 14th of the same month they were forced into one of the Sylley, or, as it is now written, the Scilly islands, where being detained for a fortnight, Captain Davis shewed his active and indefatigable genius, by making an accurate chart of them, which was a thing, at that time, very much wanted. On the 28th they sailed from thence, and continued their course to the north-west, till on the 19th of July they came into a whirling tide, which set northwards, and sailing about half a league into a very calm sea, which bent south-south-west, they heard a mighty roaring, as if it had been the breach of some shore, which could not but be very terrible, since the weather was so foggy that they could not see from one ship to another, though at a very small distance. Upon this the *Moonshine* was ordered to hoist her boat out to sound, but they could find no ground in three hundred fathoms and better; then the captain, the master, and Mr. Jane, who wrote this account, went towards the breach to see what it was, and it proved to be several islands of ice which were broke loose, and floating in the sea; they got out upon these, and walked upon them, and when they went back into their boat, they carried several large pieces of ice, which melted into very good fresh water.

On the 20th the fog breaking up they discovered the land, which looked like a sugar-loaf, and made so uncomfortable, or rather so horrid an appearance, that Captain Davis called it the Land of Desolation. On the 21st they were forced to bend their course south again, to clear themselves of the ice, which they did, and then ran along the shore. On the 22d the captain endeavoured to go ashore, but was hindered by the ice; the water on the coast was very black, and though the seamen made use of their lines, they could catch no fish. On the 24th the captain caused the men's allowance to be increased, to encourage them; but it is very remarkable, that he assures us the weather was far from being cold, but like ours in April, very sharp, when the wind blew from the shore; and on the contrary, very hot, when it blew from the sea.

On the 25th they bore away north-west, and continued their course for four days. On the 29th they discovered land in the latitude of sixty-four degrees fifteen minutes north, the sea quite free from ice, and the weather very temperate. Upon viewing the coast they found many pleasant bays and commodious ports, but judged it not a continued land, but rather an archipelago, and therefore they resolved to go ashore on one of these small islands, in order to search for wood and water, and to gain a better knowledge of the country; they were no sooner on shore, than they found evident marks of the country's being inhabited, by there lying upon the ground a small shoe, several pieces of leather sewed with sinews, a piece of fir and wool like beaver. They

went next upon another island, where, getting upon a high rock, they were seen by the people of the country, who set up thereupon a most hideous howling; when they perceived this, the English likewise made a noise, to give notice of what had happened to their own people; upon which Captain Bruton, of the Moonshine, presently came to their assistance, with a good number of his seamen; and presently after their arrival there appeared ten boats full of the natives coming from a neighbouring island, and two of these canoes advanced so near the shore, that they could easily talk with those that were in them; their language was much in the throat, and their pronunciation harsh and unpleasant; one of them however, seemed inclined to come on shore, but first pointed to the sun, and then struck his breast so hard, that they could hear the blow; upon which, Mr. John Ellis, master of the Moonshine, was appointed to treat with him; and he going to the sea-side, pointing to the sun, and striking his breast, as the savage had done, he at length ventured on shore, and they threw him caps, stockings, gloves, and what else they thought might please him; but the night drawing on, they took their leaves on both sides.

The next morning there came thirty-seven canoes rowing by their ships, calling them to come ashore. The English however did not make great haste; upon which one of the savages leaped on shore, and went to the top of a rock, where he danced and beat a drum, to shew his joy. The English then manned their boats, and came to them to the water-side, where they waited in their canoes; and after the formal ceremony of swearing by the sun, the savages made no scruple of trusting them; but on the contrary, shewed all possible signs of kindness, and even of politeness; for when the author of this voyage offered to shake hands with one of them, he first took his hand and kissed it. They readily parted with any thing they were asked for, and were content with whatever was given them, shewing no signs of greediness, much less of treachery or infidelity. They bought of them five of their canoes, and several of their stockings and gowns, which were made, some of seal and other of bird skins, all of them well dressed and neatly made; so that it plainly appeared they had various trades amongst them. They had plenty of furs; and when they saw that the English admired them, they gave them to understand, by signs, that they would go up into their country and come down and bring them more, but the wind proving fair in the night, Capt. Davis, despising profit, on the 1st of August sailed still farther to the north-west; and on the 6th of the same month they entered into a very fair road, free from ice, in the latitude of sixty-six degrees forty minutes, where they landed under a high mountain, the cliffs of which shone like gold.

Captain Davis, having taken a view of every thing, began to think of bestowing names on the places he had discovered. He gave to the hill the name of Mount Raleigh; the road where the ship lay he called Totness Road; the sound at the foot of the mountain, Exeter Sound; the north-foreland, Dier's Cape; and the south-foreland, Walsingham. Here they discovered four white bears of a prodigious bigness, two of which they killed and brought on board; the fore-paw of one of which measured fourteen inches. They saw a raven upon Mount Raleigh, and at the bottom of the hill they found some shrubs and flowers like primroses; the coast however was very mountainous, and altogether barren, affording neither wood nor grass, nor so much as earth; the mountains being all of stone, but the bravest stone, says our author, that ever we saw. Yet this account concludes nothing against the fruitfulness of the inland part of the country, which might be very good for all that, and indeed probably was so, since the bears were very fat, and yet it appeared, upon open-

ing their stomachs, and upon viewing their dung, that they were not ravenous, but fed upon grass.

They weighed on the 8th from Mount Raleigh, sailing still along the coast, which lay south-south-west, and east-north-east. On the 11th they came to the most southerly point of this land, which they called the Cape of God's Mercy, and here they were surprised with a very thick fog; upon the breaking up of which, they found that they were shut into a very streight or passage, in some places sixty miles broad, in others ninety; the weather very fine and temperate, and the water of the same colour with that of the ocean, which filled them with hopes. They sailed through this streight for sixty leagues, and then discovered several fair islands in the midst of it, with an open passage on both sides, through which they sailed; one bark taking the north, the other the south side; but the wind changing, and the weather growing foggy and foul, they were forced to lie by for five days, in those which have been ever since called Davis's Streights. On the 14th they went ashore, and saw evident marks of the country's being inhabited; for they found part of a stone wall and a human skull. On the 15th they heard a great howling on shore, which they supposed to be wolves, and therefore went ashore to kill them; when they came to land they found the creatures they had taken for wolves were dogs, and they came instantly running to the boat to meet them, wagging their tails, and shewing other signs of joy, as is usual for those animals to do at the sight of men. There were twenty of them in all, and as they were of the size of mastiffs, with short ears, and long bushy tails, the seamen being afraid of them, fired and killed two, one of which had a leather collar on. They found likewise there two sledges, one made of several kinds of boards that were sawed, and the other of whale-bone. They likewise saw larks, ravens, and partridges. On the 17th they went ashore again, and in an oven built with stones, they found a small canoe made of wood, an image, a bird made of bone, beads for necklaces, and other trifles. The coast made no very promising appearance, as having neither wood nor grass; but the rocks were of a fine bright stone, like marble beautified with veins of different colours. Upon the shore they found a seal or sea-calf just dead and thrown under a heap of stones.

Captain Davis and his master were extremely well pleased with the appearance of this streight, though they began to doubt whether the season would permit them to continue long in it; which nevertheless they took for the very channel into the South Seas, in search of which they came, and resolved to report so much upon their return to England. The reasons which confirmed the probability of there being a passage in this streight, and upon which they grounded their hopes of future success, were, first, That this place was all islands, with great sounds between them. Second, That the water remained all of the same colour with the main ocean, without altering; whereas they never came into any bay before nor after, but the colour of the water was altered very blackish. Third, Because they saw to the west of those islands three or four whales in a skull, which they imagined came from the Western Sea, because to the eastward they had seen no whales. Fourth, Because as they were rowing into a very great sound lying south-west, from whence those whales came, there came suddenly a violent counter-check of a tide from the southward, against the flood which they came in with, not knowing from whence it received its source. Fifth, Because in sailing twenty leagues within the mouth of this entrance, they had sounding in ninety fathoms on a grey and ousy sand; and the farther they ran into the

the westward, the deeper was the water: so that among the islands they had near the shore no ground in three hundred and thirty fathom. Sixth, Because it ebbed and flowed six or seven fathom, the flood coming from divers parts, so that they could not with any certainty discern the chief source of it.

On the 19th it was resolved by the officers to continue the prosecution of their discoveries; but the wind changing on the 20th, they were obliged to remain at anchor; and the weather growing very foul, they, on the 24th, hoisted sail for England. On the 10th of September they fell in with the Land of Desolation; on the 27th they had sight of the English coast, and in a storm lost the Moonshine that night. On the 30th captain Davis came safely into Dartmouth, where he found the Moonshine, which arrived about two hours before. Upon his return to London, captain Davis gave a very clear account to his owners, of his expedition, and of what he had done; observing, that at the time he put to sea he had only general instructions to search for a passage to the north-west, without any intimation where that passage was most likely to be found; that he had accordingly entered a streight which he thought might possibly be that passage; but the weather changing, and the season of the year being too far advanced, he judged it requisite to return home.

His owners were so well satisfied, that they procured him an audience of secretary Willingham; who approved very much of the enterprize, and of the manner in which he had conducted it; but at the same time recommended it to him to complete this discovery, to which he was also pressed by those who were concerned in his former undertaking, and by some merchants of Exeter, who desired to join in the expences necessary for a second expedition; to which he willingly consented, and accordingly undertook it; and as he has written himself an account of this voyage, which was a very remarkable one, I shall give it the reader as near as may be in his own words.

“ On the 7th of May, 1586, I set out from Dartmouth with four sail, viz. the Mermaid of one hundred and twenty tons, the Sunshine of sixty tons, the Moonshine of thirty-five tons, and a pinnace of thirteen tons, called the North Star. We coasted the south side of Ireland, and on the thirteenth steered away north-west, till we came to the latitude of sixty degrees. At which time I divided my fleet, and ordered the Sunshine and the North Star, to seek a passage northward between Greenland and Iceland, to the latitude of eighty degrees, if land did not hinder them. I departed from them the 7th of June, and on the 15th discovered land in sixty degrees latitude, and in longitude from the meridian of London westward forty-seven degrees. The ice lay, in some ten, in some twenty, in some fifty leagues off the shore; so that we were constrained to bear into fifty-seven degrees to double the same, and to get a free sea, which through God's favourable mercy we at length obtained.

“ On the 29th, after many storms, we again discovered land, in longitude from the meridian of London fifty-eight degrees thirty minutes, and in latitude sixty-four degrees, being east from us, into which since it pleased God by contrary winds to force us, I thought fit to bear in with it, and to set up our pinnace, which we had provided in the Mermaid to be our scout for this discovery, and so much the rather, because the year before I had been in the same place, and found it very convenient for such a purpose, being inhabited by a people of tractable conversation, and the sea void of ice. The ships being within the sounds, we sent our boats to search for shoal-water, where we might anchor, which in this place is very hard to find. The people of the country espying them, came in their canoes towards them with shouts and cries; but when they saw in the boats some of our company that were there

the last year, they rowed to the boat, and taking hold of the oar, hung about the boat, expressing a great deal of joy; and making signs that they knew all those that had been there the year before. I went ashore with others of the company, and took with me twenty knives. We had no sooner landed but they leaped out of their canoes and came running to us, and embraced us with many signs of hearty welcome; there were eighteen of them, and I gave to each of them a knife, and they offered me skins for a reward; but I made signs that they were not sold, but freely given to them; and so dismissed them for that time, with signs that they should return after certain hours.

"The next day, with all possible speed, the pinnace was landed upon an island, there to be finished; and while it was setting up the people came continually to us, sometimes a hundred canoes at a time, bringing seal-skins, stag-skins, white hares, seals, salmon-peal, small cod, dry caplin, with other fish, and some birds. I sent one of the boats to search one part of the land, while I went to another part, with strict command that there should be no injury offered to any of the people, nor any gun shot. They formed tents made of seal-skins, wherein was store of dried caplin, being a small fish no bigger than a pilchard, some bags of train-oil, many little images cut in wood, and seal-skins in tan-tubs, whereof they diminished nothing. When they had passed ten miles within the snowy mountains, they came to a plain champaign country with earth and grass, like to our moory and waste grounds in England; they went ten leagues up into a river, which in the narrowest place was two leagues over, finding it still to continue they knew not how far. But I with my company took another river, which, although at first it afforded a large inlet, yet it proved but a deep bay, the end whereof I attained in four hours; and there leaving the boat well manned, went with the rest of the company three or four miles into the country, but found nothing, nor saw any thing but gripes, ravens, and small birds, as larks and linnets. The 3d of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoes attending upon me into another sound, where the people, by signs, willed me to go, hoping to find their habitation. At last they made signs that I should go into a warm place to sleep; at which place I went on shore, and desired they would leap with our men, which they agreed to, but ours did over-leap them; from leaping they went to wrestling; we found them strong and nimble, and to have skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

"On the 4th the master of the Mermaid went to certain islands to store himself with wood, where he found a grave with divers buried in it, covered with seal-skins only, and a cross laid over them. The people are of good stature, well proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, broad visages, small eyes, wide mouths, the most part unbearded, great lips and close toothed; they are much given to bleed, and therefore stop their noses with deer's hair, or that of an elan. One of them kindled a fire after this manner; he took a piece of a board wherein was a hole half through; then he put into the hole the end of a round stick like a bed staff, wetting the end thereof with train-oil, and, (as your turners do,) with a piece of leather by the violent motion he speedily produced fire; this done, he made a fire with turfs, into which, with many words and strange gestures, he put divers things which we supposed to be a sacrifice; they desired me to go into the smoak, and I willed them likewise to stand in the smoak, which they would by no means do; I then thrust one of them into the smoak, and commanded one of my men to tread out the fire and spurn it into the sea, to shew them that we did condemn their forcery. They are very simple in their conversation, but marvelously thievish, especially of

of iron, which they have in great esteem. They cut away the Moonshine's boat from her stem; they cut our cables and our cloth where it lay to air, though we did carefully look to it; they stole our oars, a caliver, a boat, a spear, a sword, with divers other things, which so grieved the company, that they desired me to dissolve this new friendship; whereupon I ordered a caliver to be shot among them, and immediately upon the same a falcon; which strange noise did so amaze them, that they departed with all speed; but within ten hours they returned and intreated a peace, which being granted, they brought us seal-skins and salmon-peal, but when they saw iron they could not forbear stealing; which when I perceived, I commanded that in no case they should be any more hardly used, but that our own people should be more vigilant to keep their things.

"They eat all their meat raw; they live most upon fish, drink salt water, and eat grafs and ice with delight; they make fishing-nets with whale-fins; it is probable they have wars with those on the main land, many of them being sore wounded, which wounds they received upon the main land, as by signs they gave us to understand. The 17th of July I went ashore in our new pinnace, and with the most part of my company went to the top of an high mountain, hoping from thence to see into the country; but the mountains were so many and so lofty that we could not see far; we returned to our pinnace and saw a strange sight, which was a mighty whirlwind, continuing three hours with little intermission, which taking up the water in great quantities, furiously mounted it into the air. The next morning, the storm being over, we sailed into a mighty great river, directly into the body of the land, and found it to be no firm land, but huge, vast, and desert islands, with mighty sounds and inlets passing between sea and sea. On the 9th we returned to our ships, where our mariners complained heavily against the people, that they had stolen an anchor from us, had cut one of our cables very dangerously, and spared not to sling stones at us of half a pound weight: the next day I went ashore and used them with much courtesy, and when I returned they followed me in their canoes; I gave some of them bracelets, and seven or eight of them came on board, whom I used kindly, and let them depart; as soon as sun was set they began to practise their devilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Sunshine, and knocked down the boatswain; whereupon we pursued them with our boats, and shot at them; but they rowed so swiftly, that we could not reach them.

"On the 11th five of them came to make a new truce; the master acquainted me with their coming, and desired they might be kept prisoners until we had our anchor again; but when he saw the chief ring-leader and master of mischief was one of the five, he was then very urgent to have him seized, and so it was determined to take him; he came crying *Iliaout*, and, striking his breast, offered a pair of gloves to sell; the master offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to us, one we dismissed, but the other was soon made captive among us; then we pointed to him and his fellows for our anchor, which being had, we made signs to him he should be set at liberty; about an hour after the wind came fair, and we set sail and brought him away with us. One of his companions, following our ship in his canoe, talked with him, and seemed to lament his condition; we still using him well, and saying to him *Iliaout*, i.e. we mean no harm; at last he aboard spake four or five words to the other, and clapped both his hands on his face, the other did the like; and so parted; we judged the covering his face, and bowing down his body signified his death; after some time he became a pleasant companion among us; I gave him a new suit of frieze of the English fashion, of which he was very fond; he trimmed up his darts and

all his fishing tools, and would make oakum, and set his hand to the rope's-end; he fed upon caplin and dry Newland fish. The 17th, being in latitude of sixty-three degrees eight minutes, we fell in with a mighty mass of ice, very high, like land, with bays and capes; and, supposing it to be land, we sent our pinnace to discover it; but on her return, we were assured that it was only ice, which caused great admiration to us all, and the rather, because in this place we had very tickle and strong currents. We coasted this mass of ice till the 30th, finding it a great bar to our purpose. The air was now so foggy, and the sea so pestered with ice, that all hopes of proceeding was banished; for on the 24th of July our shrouds, ropes, and sails, were so frozen and compassed with ice, only by a gross fog, as seemed to us very strange, who the last year found this sea free and navigable without impediments.

"Our men, through this extremity began to grow sick and feeble, and with all hopeless of good success; whereupon, very orderly and discreetly, they intreated me to regard our present state, and withal advised me, that in conscience I ought to preserve my own life and theirs; and that I should not, through my own boldness, leave their widows and fatherless children to give me bitter curses. This did move me to commiserate their condition, yet considering the importance of this discovery, if it could be accomplished, the great hopes of a passage by what we had seen the last voyage, and that there was yet a third way to be attempted, I thought it would turn to my discredit if the action should fail through my neglect, therefore resolved to prosecute it; and considering the Mermaid, by reason of her burden, was not so nimble and convenient for this purpose as a smaller bark, and was one hundred pound a month charge to the adventurers; I determined to re-victual the Moonshine, and proceed as God should direct me: whereupon I altered my course to recover the next shore, where this might be performed; and the 1st of August discovered land without snow or ice, in latitude sixty-six degrees thirty-three minutes, and in longitude, from the meridian of London seventy degrees.

"On the 2d we anchored in a very good road, where, with all speed, we graved and re-victualled the Moonshine; we found it here very hot, and we were very much troubled with muskitos, which did sting grievously. The people of the country caught a seal, and, with bladders fast tied to him, sent him to us with the flood, so as he came right with our ship, which we took as a friendly present from them. On the 5th I went on top of a hill, and espying three canoes under a rock, went to them, and found in them skins, darts, &c. whereof we diminished nothing; but left upon every boat a silk-point, a bullet of lead, and a pin. The next day the people came to us without fear, and bartered with us for skins; our savage kept close, and made shew that he would fain have another companion. Being thus provided, I departed on the 12th, leaving the Mermaid at anchor; her crew finding many occasions of discontent, and being unwilling to proceed, here forsook me.

"The 14th, sailing west fifty leagues, we discovered land, in latitude sixty-six degrees 19 minutes; and the next day we stood to the south; and on the 18th discovered a very fair promontory north-west from us, in sixty-five degrees, having no land on the south, which gave us great hopes of a passage. The 20th I went to the top of a high hill, whence I perceived that this land was all islands; we coasted this island towards the south, from sixty-seven to fifty-seven degrees. The 28th, having great distrust of the weather, we arrived in a fair harbour, and sailed ten leagues into the

the same, being two leagues broad, with fair woods on both sides: here we continued to the 1st of September, in which time we had two very great storms; I went six miles into the country, and found the woods were fir, pine-apple, elder, yew, withy, and birch. Here we saw a black bear, and store of birds, as pheasants, partridges, wild geese, bucks, blackbirds, jays, thrushes, and other small birds. The 1st we set sail, and coasted the shore with fair weather. The 4th we anchored in a good road, among many islands. Eight leagues to the north of this place we had strong hopes of a passage, by reason of a mighty sea passing between the two lands, west; we greatly desired to go into this sea, but the wind was directly against us.

“The 6th we sent five young men ashore to an island, to fetch some fish which we had left there covered all night. The savages who lurked in the woods suddenly assaulted our men, which we perceiving let slip our cable, and under our fore-sail, bore in to the shore, and discharged a double musket upon them twice; at the noise of which they fled, having killed two of our men with their arrows, and grievously wounded two more; the other escaped by swimming, with an arrow shot through his arm.

“This evening it pleased God farther to increase our sorrows with a furious storm at north-north-east, which lasted to the 10th: we unrigged our ship and intended to cut down our masts; the cable of our sheet-anchor broke, so that we expected to be driven on shore, and become a prey to the cannibals; yet, in this deep distress, God gave us succour, and sent us a fair sea, so that we recovered our anchor again, and new-moored our ship; where we saw that God had manifestly delivered us, for two strands of our cable were broken. The 11th the wind coming fair at west-north-west, we departed with trust in God's mercy, shaping our course for England, and arrived in the West-country the beginning of October, where the *Sunshine* arrived a few days before us; she had been at Iceland, and from thence to Greenland, and so to *Estotiland*, and thence to *Desolation*, where she trafficked with the people, staying in the country twenty days. They lost sight of the pinnace called the *North Star*, on the third of September, in a very great storm, and lay a-hull to tarry for her all the next day; but saw her no more: the said pinnace never returned home.”

We find annexed to this account of Capt. Davis's second voyage, a letter of his to Mr. William Sanderfon, who seems to have been his patron, in which he excuses his want of success in this voyage, declares his confident hope, that such a passage might yet be found, the improvement of his knowledge by this last voyage, and his resolution to prosecute this discovery to the utmost, though it should cost him the little paternal fortune he had in the West; and concludes with an assurance, that he would communicate to him a fair and clear chart of his voyage, which would give him a perfect comprehension of the arguments he had to offer in support of his notion, that this passage so often attempted in vain might still be found. This letter is dated from Exeter, the 14th of October 1586; and it had all the good effects that Capt. Davis could expect from it, since his friend still continued to have as good an opinion of him as ever, and so it appears the rest of his owners had; but it went no farther than the approbation of his conduct in his last voyage, for when he came to propose a third expedition, the West-country merchants, and most of those in London, grew weary of the expence, and would be concerned no longer. He proposed however, to the rest of the adventurers, a new scheme, which took effect, and it was this: that they should fit out three vessels, one of which only should be employed on the discovery, and the other two in fishing; by which he proposed to defray all, or at least

the best part of the expence. It is very remarkable that Mr. Bruton, who served with Capt. Davis in his first voyage, accompanied him also in this, and so did Mr. John Jane, who has been his merchant or supercargo, and many of his old seamen; which shews the confidence they had in his skill, and how sensible they were of his care and good usage.

The vessels provided for this last voyage were the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the Sunshine of London, and the Ellen, which was but very small. As for the history of the voyage, which is but short, we shall give it as we did the former, in the words of the author. "We departed from Dartmouth the 10th of May, and discovered land on the 14th of June. On the 16th we anchored among many low islands which lay before the high land; the people came to us crying, *Iliout*, and shewing us seal-skins. On the 20th I left the two ships to follow their fishing, taking their faithful promise not to depart till I returned unto them, which should be in the end of August; but they finishing their voyage in sixteen days, presently returned for England, without regarding their promise, whilst I, not distrusting any such hard measure, proceeded on the discovery. On the 24th, in latitude sixty-seven degrees, forty minutes, the weather was very hot, thirty savages came to us in their canoes, twenty leagues from the land, intreating us to go ashore. I coasted the shore of Greenland, from the 21st to the 30th, having the sea all open towards the west, and the land on the starboard side, east from me, the weather extremely hot and very calm. The sun was five degrees above the horizon at midnight, latitude seventy-two degrees twelve minutes; the compass in this place varied twenty-eight degrees towards the west. The 3d of July we fell in again with ice; and on the 6th put our bark through it, seeing the sea free on the west side; and when we had sailed five leagues west we fell in with another mighty bank of ice which we could not pass; therefore returning again, we got clear on the 8th at midnight, and recovered the open sea through God's favour, by giving us fair winds and calm weather. On the 15th, in latitude sixty-seven degrees forty-five minutes, a great current set us to the west six points from our course.

"On the 19th we had sight of Mount Raleigh. On the 30th we crossed over a great inlet or passage, being twenty leagues broad, and situate between sixty-two and sixty-three degrees, in which place we had eight or nine great races, currents, or over-falls, like the water under London-bridge, and bending their course into the inlet. The 31st, in latitude sixty-two degrees, coming close by a foreland, we fell into a mighty race, where an island of ice was carried by the force of the current as fast as our bark could sail with all sails bearing. This cape, as it was the southern limits of the gulph we passed over yesterday, so was it the north promontory, or beginning of another great inlet which we passed over this night, where we saw the sea falling down towards the inlet with a mighty over-fall, and circular motion, like whirl-pools, in the same manner as forcible streams force through the arches of bridges. On the 10th of August, as we were seeking our ships that went to fish, being among many islands, we struck on a rock, and had a great leak: the next day we stopped our leak, in a storm; and on the 15th, being in latitude sixty-two degrees twelve minutes, and not finding our ships, nor (according to their promise) any mark or beacon which I willed them to set up, and they promised to do, upon every headland or cape within twenty leagues every way from their fishing-place, and we having but little wood in our ship, and but half a hoghead of fresh water, I shaped my course for England, and arrived at Dartmouth the 15th of September."

Upon his return from this, as after his second voyage, he wrote a letter to Mr. Sanderfon,

Sanderfon, dated from Sandridge, September 16, 1587; wherein he tells him, that he had returned safe with all his company: that he had sailed sixty leagues farther than he intended at his departure: that he had reached the latitude of seventy-three degrees north, finding the sea all open and the streight forty leagues broad; concluding from thence that the passage was most certain, and the execution most easy; but, as we shall see hereafter, he was in this mistaken, which however, does not at all lessen his merit or the great discoveries he made, by which he entitled his country to all this coast of North America, the value of which may hereafter prove as great as any discovery made in this reign. Neither ought we to esteem it any diminution of his merit, that he was so confident of finding a passage this way to the very last; because as far as he, or any man, could judge, there was indeed great probability of the thing, and nothing but such a spirit as his will ever be able to effect this discovery whenever it shall be made.

But he was not only an able officer and a most skilful seaman, but had likewise a head perfectly well turned for making all possible advantages of the service in which he was employed; as appears from the minutes of a memorial of his which I have seen, addressed to Secretary Walsingham; wherein he tells him, that he found many ignorant and malicious people had a very mean opinion of what he had done, because his voyages had not answered the expence; but he persuaded himself that so wise and honourable a statesman, would think in a manner different from the vulgar, and esteem his services capable of producing great advantages to the nation, even supposing that no such passage as he expected should be found; in support of which he laid down the five following points.

I. That it would redound very much to the honour of the Queen and her subjects, if the people in these northern regions were converted to the Christian faith; in which pious work many of those busy and fiery spirits might be profitably employed, that, by their factious stirrings at home, served only to create confusion in church and state: for if these people, who seemed neither destitute of wit, industry, or valuable commodities, were once brought over to the Christian faith, they might soon be brought to relish a more civilized kind of life, and be thereby induced to take off great quantities of our coarser woollen manufactures; which would employ the poor at home, increase our shipping, and augment the number of our seamen.

II. That in the judgment of such as were best acquainted with the fishing trade, the cod he caught were the fattest and finest that were ever seen; and that the plenty of these fish was so great as might well encourage the establishing an annual fishery at the mouth of the Straights, which would afford immediate profit, and might lead to future discoveries of greater importance.

III. That notwithstanding the shores of the countries he had seen were bleak and barren, yet the inner part of the country might, notwithstanding, be very rich and fertile: that as the people he had conversed with had some of them utensils of different metals, it might be presumed there were mines of value in these countries; and that how little profit soever these people might make of them, they might be wrought to great advantage by such as understood them better.

IV. That it was very evident from the several voyages he had made, that there was nothing intolerable in these northern climates, and that it would be of great service to the nation to keep up a constant succession of enterprizes on this side, since it might be done with very little expence at first; would contribute to make these parts of the world better known, and secure the advantages derived from them to the English; whereas, if they were discontinued or abandoned, other nations would not fail to make

attempts of the like kind, and so come, in process of time, to reap the fruits of other men's labour.

V. That the furs brought from thence were much esteemed, and allowed to be richer and more valuable than any that came from Muscovy; and that if the fashion of wearing them at court were encouraged, it might prove a means, when all others failed, of promoting this commerce; for you know right well, most honourable Sir, concludes he, that it is a great secret in policy to make the follies of the extravagant, and the vanity of the ambitious, contribute to the maintenance of industry; so that even the vicious and the lazy, may of their own accord furnish the rewards of labour and virtue.

I shall, hereafter, take occasion to shew, that he has very wisely and sensibly recommended the propagating the Christian religion, as the most proper means for extending, as well as establishing, our colonies, and rendering them highly beneficial. There is no question that the sending a few preachers to convert any of these nations to Christianity, would be a thing of greater consequence to this nation, than building many forts to secure our commerce with savages; for these people would then live in towns, wear cloaths, cultivate their lands, and, instead of destroying and extirpating each other, as at present, they would live peaceably, and consequently grow daily more numerous; which would occasion such a consumption of our manufactures of all kinds, and such a return of their commodities, which is the only true and just standard of trade, as neither fraud nor force can any other way attain. His reflections, with respect to the expediency of keeping up this northern navigation, are highly sensible, and it would have been much for our interest, if, even at the public expence, they had been continued; for then Sir Josiah Child would not have set down this north fishery among the number of our lost trades, as he does with just reason. That our neighbours would be wiser in this respect than ourselves, was in itself a very throwd, and in fact has proved a prophetic observation; for the Dutch and other nations still frequent Davis's Streights, which we have in a manner deserted, and employ thereby a vast number of people at home, besides raising annually fresh supplies of skilful and well-seasoned seamen, which a maritime power ought to regard as a point of the highest consequence, and in that view ought to favour most such branches of commerce as are known to contribute thereto, especially if they are not at a great distance. With these remarks we shall dismiss this subject for the present, and, as the nature of our plan directs, proceed from these discoveries in the most northern parts of America, to the attempt made for fixing a settlement more to the south than any we have yet obtained.

14. The speaking of this southern settlement brings us back to Sir Walter Raleigh, a gentleman whose name must often occur in all books that any way relate to English history, and whose memory will be ever celebrated by such as can distinguish any kind of worth; for he had all, and excelled in all. Amongst the rest, the completest courtier of his time, which perhaps drew upon him more envy than all his other great qualities; and I am induced to think so from the nature of those calumnies by which he was most hurt; for though deeply malicious, they were so indifferently forged, that they could not bear the least inspection; so that notwithstanding they cost him his favour often, and his life at last, from the credulity of princes, yet they never had any effect upon his reputation with wise men in his life-time, nor have injured his reputation in the least with posterity.

He was always useful to his country, but most so when he had least credit at court. At such times he did not relinquish business to go and hide himself in
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country retreats, and thence write pitiful letters and poems to scrow himself again into the affections of the Queen his mistress, as some other of her great men did, and which he could have done better than any of them; nor did he form intrigues against her ministers, and force himself into power and his sovereign's presence; but he took another road peculiar to, and worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh: he applied himself to contrive, and not to contrive only, but to execute, such great and glorious enterprizes, as raised his fame so high, that the whispers of envy could be no longer heard; and, when the Queen recalled him to her favour, it never appeared as an act of grace, but as a stroke of justice; so that after these recesses, he shone at court with double lustre, and his mistress, haughty as she was, could not help appearing upon these occasions proud of the possession of such a man, and ashamed of his absence.

It was in one of these voluntary exiles that Sir Walter Raleigh executed a design he had long meditated, I mean his expedition to Guiana, an expedition great in itself, though unfortunate in its consequences; formed upon the most noble principles, and performed with equal valour and prudence, and in a word every way equal to the genius of its author, and, experience has since fatally shewn, superior to every genius but his. He saw, with regret, the plantation of Virginia abandoned, and he saw that the want of immediate profit was the cause; he resolved therefore to strike out the means of settling a new colony in another part of America, which should be free from this inconvenience, and which should transfer the richest products of that country to the English, if they had but courage and conduct enough to fetch them. In order to this he inquired, with the greatest diligence, into the state of the country before mentioned; he sought from books and papers all the assistance that could be had of that kind; he drew from personal informations, which were more in his power than perhaps they ever were in any other man's, all the notices that they could give; but he drew the greatest lights from his own profound knowledge and extensive experience.

He was undoubtedly as well versed in all parts of philosophy and natural history, as any man of his time, and perhaps much better; for, besides all the knowledge which results from reading, he had likewise a great practical skill, whence, without doubt, arose his confident belief, that this country of Guiana was the richest in America, and by consequence, according to the opinion of those times, and indeed of these, the richest in the world. He did not go thither, therefore to satisfy his own mind upon that head, but that he might furnish himself with the means of satisfying others; for he very well knew that it would have been an idle and ridiculous thing in him to think of moving people to attempt a plantation merely by a rational and philosophical argument, which he knew few would be able to understand, and of those that did, many would oppose his sentiments from pride, and more from prejudice. He chose therefore to treat the riches and value of this noble country in the plainest way, and as a point of fact; and foreseeing that it would be objected, that if it were so, and the facts so notorious as he represented it, the Spaniards would certainly have settled there, and not have left it to fall into the hands of any other nation, this induced him to draw up a very clear and succinct account of the several methods used by the Spaniards to discover and gain this country, which at once answered the objection, and proved to such as had an high opinion of the judgment formed by the Spaniards of the wealth and importance of these countries, that Guiana was one that deserved the highest commendations.

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These accounts of his are dispersed through various pieces written by him upon this subject; but for the ease of the reader, we shall collect and range them in their natural order, by which means they will become a kind of supplement to what has been already delivered of the Spanish discoveries and conquests; this being the sole reason of our omitting them there, because we foresaw the necessity of repeating, or at least of recapitulating, them here, for the sake of explaining Sir Walter Raleigh's expeditions. We have shewn in that chapter how the Marquis Pizarro overthrew the empire of the Incas, and made himself master of all their territories, and of a great part of their treasures; and we have likewise shewn that this was so far from satisfying his avarice and ambition, that he proposed to extend his conquests beyond the limits of Peru, in order to penetrate into the heart of South America, from the hopes he had conceived of finding richer countries there than any he had yet met with.

It was with this view that he ordered his brother Gonzalo, after he had taken possession of Quito, which was the last conquest of the Incas, to continue his expeditions on that side, though he was sensible that he could receive little or no assistance from the informations of the natives; his brother accordingly entered the province of Los Quixos; and after making himself master of that country, the people of which were downright barbarians in comparison of those of Peru, he determined to pass the high mountains which bound that province on the north, and assembled a great many Indians, and a good quantity of cattle for that purpose; but when he had ascended half way up these mountains, he found that he had taken his measures wrong, and that the cold was so intense, that it would be impossible for him to prosecute his march in that manner. He therefore quitted his cattle and the best part of his baggage, resolving to make all the haste he could into the plain countries on the other side, and trust to the provisions he might meet with there.

Accordingly he descended into the valley of Zumaque, which he found very plentiful, and in which therefore he refreshed his forces for two months, endeavouring then to continue his march northward; but finding the road extremely rough and mountainous, he turned directly east, in hopes of meeting with an easier passage; this opened a way into a new province well peopled and very rich; the inhabitants of which were dreadfully amazed at the coming of the Spaniards amongst them, and indeed they very well might, for they behaved towards them in a manner barbarous beyond expression; for Gonzalo Pizarro exercised the greatest cruelty imaginable on the inhabitants of these regions, insomuch that he gave men to be eaten alive by his dogs. This engaged all the natives to put themselves in arms against him, so that he was obliged to encamp himself as in an enemy's country; and his cruelties, together with the despair he was in of ever being able to find what he was seeking after, had like to have put an end to his enterprize at once. He was encamped on the bank of a river, which swelled so much in one night, that if the sentinels, who perceived the water was apace getting ground, had not warned them of their danger, they had been all drowned; but at the alarm they soon secured themselves, by making towards the cottages of the wild people; and Pizarro resolved to return to Zumaque, not knowing what other course to take. From thence he proceeded again with all his men, and after a march of four leagues he met with a great village called Ampua, governed by a cazique, and found a great number of the inhabitants in a posture of defence, expecting their enemy; but there was another and greater obstacle in his way than this cazique and all his troops, and that was a river so wide and deep that he could have no thought of venturing to swim
over

over it. He could therefore find no better expedient than to enter into a treaty with the people of the country, and to desire the help of their canoes to cross this river.

The cazique received this proposal with great civility, offered them what they asked, and gave them as many of these little boats as they desired; and on this, Pizarro made him a return of a great many little Spanish toys, by way of requital. This cazique having received advice of the ill treatment many of his neighbours had received from the Spaniards, thought of nothing more than how to get rid of them, and to deliver himself from the danger of such bad guests, endeavoured to make them believe there were great riches to be found among the people that dwelt upon the river, some days journey lower. Pizarro, by his actions and by his guides, who were his interpreters, returned him thanks for his courtesy; but finding no appearance of those pretended riches, he returned to Zumaque very much dissatisfied with his expedition; however he had too much courage to retire back to Quito just as he came. He had a mind therefore to attempt some great exploit, and, by the discovery of some other part, to render himself as considerable as the Marquis Pizarro, his elder brother: he opened his mind to Francis Orellana, a gentleman of Truxillo in Spain, who was come to join him in the valley of Zumaque; and, having taken one hundred effective soldiers, and some Indians for guides and to carry provisions, he marched directly to the east.

Either the ignorance of his guides, or the hatred they bore him, engaged him in a country all full of mountains, forests, and torrents, so that he was constrained to make ways where he found none, and to open himself a passage through the woods with hatchets, where none had ever gone before. At length, after many days' march, he pierced through as far as the province of Coca; the cazique of which province came to meet him, and offered him all the accommodations the country afforded for his refreshment; Gonzalo promised himself much from this kind entertainment, and by the assistance of his guides entered into conversation with the cazique: he informed him that the country through which he had passed, which was so full of mountains, forests, and brooks, was the only passage he could have taken to come thither, that it was extremely difficult to get through it; but that if he was willing to embark on the river he saw before him, or to follow it by land, he might assure himself, that along the banks of another river much greater than this, he should find a country abounding with all things, whose inhabitants were covered with plates of gold. There was no need of saying any thing more to Pizarro, to incite him to any kind of enterprize, who presently sent two of his guides to Zumaque, with orders to his officers to come and join him, who marched immediately; and surmounting all the difficulties of the way, arrived much fatigued, at the town of Coca.

Pizarro having rested some few days, afterwards put them in battalia before the cazique, who was so much terrified with them, that he amassed almost all the provisions of his whole province to make a present of them to Pizarro, that by this magnificence he might civilly acquit himself of his new acquaintance, who was more impatient of his stay than the other; and the next morning, having filed his troops along the river, he took his leave of the cazique, presenting him with a fine sword, and put himself at the head of his cavalry, and followed the pleasant course of the river. This good way did not last long, but they had rivulets to swim over, and were forced to march in uneven ways, and for forty-three days, without finding any provisions, or any fords, or canoes by which to pass the river. This long march
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having mightily fatigued our travellers, they were stopped by a very surprising sight; the river was pressed by two rocks, and on each side its passage, at no more than twenty feet distance from one another; and the water, going through this streight precipitated itself into a valley, and made a leap of two hundred fathoms: here it was that Pizarro caused that famous bridge to be made for his troops to pass over, which is so much boasted of by the Spanish historians.

But finding the way not at all better on the other side, and the provision growing more and more scarce every day, Pizarro resolved to make a brigantine, to carry by water all his sick men, provisions, baggage, and the gold which they had got amongst them. This was no small difficulty; but industry and necessity surmounted it, and the vessel being finished, Pizarro embarked all in it that hindered his march, and gave the command of it to Francis Orellana, with fifty soldiers; giving him express order not to part far from him, but to come every night to the camp. He observed this order exactly, till his general, seeing all his men much pinched with hunger, commanded him to go and seek some provisions and cottages where his men might be refreshed. Orellana had no sooner received his orders, but he launched out into the middle of the river, and the rapidity of the stream carried him as fast as he could wish, for he made above one hundred leagues in three days, without the use of either sails or oars.

The current of Coca carried him into another river which was much larger, but not near so swift: he made his observations of it one whole day, and seeing that the farther he went down, the more the river widened; he made no doubt but this was that great river which had been so often and in vain sought after. The joy he conceived at his good fortune, so transported him, that it made him quite forget himself, so that dreaming only of the enjoyment of this good success, and trampling upon his duty, oath, fidelity, and gratitude, he had now nothing in view but to bring about the enterprize he was contriving. To this end he persuaded his companions that the country was not the same with that which their general had described; that it had not that plenty the cazique had told him he should find at the joining of the two rivers; that they must certainly float along farther, to find that pleasant and fertile country, where they might store themselves with provisions; and besides that they all saw there was no likelihood of getting up this river again which they came down in three days, but as he believed, could not make the same way back again in the space of a whole year; that it was much more reasonable to wait for their company on this new river; and that in the mean time it was necessary for them to go and seek provisions.

Thus concealing his design, he hoisted sail; and abandoning himself to the wind, to his fortune, and to his resolution, he thought of nothing but pursuing the course of the river, till he should discover it quite to the sea. His companions were amazed at the manner of his putting in execution the design he had been proposing to them, and thought themselves obliged to tell him, that he went beyond the orders of his general; and that in the extreme want he was in, they ought to carry him the little provisions they could find; and that he had given sufficient evidence he had some ill design, because he had neglected to leave two canoes at the bank of the two rivers, as the general had appointed him, for his army to pass over in. These remonstrances were made chiefly by a Dominican friar named Gaspar de Carvajal, and by a young gentleman of Badajos in Spain, called Fernand Sanches de Vargas. The consideration they had for these two persons, occasioned a division in the company in this little vessel into two parties; and from words they were like to have
fallen

fallen to blows, but that Orellana, stifling their gratitude by his dissimulation, by fair protestations, and great promises, appeased this disorder.

By means of his friend he had in the vessel, he gained most of the soldiers that were against him to his side; and seeing the two heads of the other party left almost alone, he caused Fernand Sanches de Vargas to be set ashore, leaving him quite alone, without victuals and without arms, in a dismal wilderness; bounded, on one side, with high mountains, and with a river on the other. He had more prudence than to treat the friar after the same manner, yet he gave him to understand, that it was not for him to penetrate any more into the intentions of his commander, unless he had a mind to be severely chastised. After this he continued his voyage; and the next day, being willing to know if he might depend upon all that were with him for the success of his resolutions, he let them know that he aspired to a much higher pitch of dignity than what he might have obtained in the service of Pizarro: that he owed every thing to himself and to his king; and that his fortune having, as it were, led him by the hand to the greatest and most desirable discovery that was ever made in the Indies, namely, the great river upon which they were sailing; which coming out of Peru, and running from west to east, was the finest channel in the New World, through which they might pass from the southern to the northern sea; that he could not, without betraying them all, and without ravishing from them the fruits of their voyage and industry, make others share in a favour which heaven had reserved for them alone. By this means he easily quieted these murmurs, and brought his men to have a share of that ambition which flamed in his own breast. His necessities forced him ashore for provisions, and, as he did not take these with that gentleness and prudence that became him in a strange country; the natives unanimously took up arms, and with great boldness fell upon the Spaniards, who defended themselves with much courage, and killed many of their antagonists with their cross-bows; and upon inspecting their bodies, found that several of them were women; as indeed it was no uncommon thing for the Indian women, in that country, to fight by the sides of their husbands; but our Spaniard, having a romantic head, improved this slight incident into a formal history of a great nation of Amazons, settled upon this river: by which fable he overturned his great design of bestowing his own name upon it, and thereby perpetuating the memory of his passage; for from this story of his it received the name which it still bears, and will always bear, of the river of Amazons.

He took care, in the remaining part of his passage, to behave with more prudence and mildness to the people he met with, among whom were many gentle, and even polite nations, as well as others fierce and warlike. In fine, he passed quite down the river to the sea; and having coasted about a cape, now called the North Cape, which by the way is the name the French have bestowed on the country of Guiana, two hundred leagues from the island of Trinidad, he sailed directly thither, and there bought a ship to carry him to Spain; where he made such a report of the countries he had seen, to the Emperor Charles V. that he obtained as ample a commission as he could desire; and, in the year 1549, sailed with three ships for the river of Amazons; but this second expedition was the very reverse of the first, as being unfortunate from the beginning; for a contagious distemper, spreading among his men, obliged him to quit two of his three ships, and afterwards his company was so reduced as to sail in a small bark, with which he proposed to prosecute his discovery; but being shipwrecked on the coast of the Caraccas, he there lost the rest of his men, and soon after died himself on the island of St. Margaret, of downright despair.

The ill success of Orellana's voyage cooled the ardent desire the Spaniards had for

the discovery of the river of Amazons, and it seemed quite extinguished by the civil wars of Peru, till the Marquis de Caguete, being viceroy of that kingdom, a gentleman of Navarre, named Peter de Orfua, who had always entertained thoughts worthy of his great courage, turned his designs on this great river, and believed he should be more fortunate than Orellana. He presented himself to the viceroy, and proposed his designs to him, who, being well acquainted with his merit, commended his resolution; and was persuaded that if so difficult a matter should succeed, it must be by the conduct of so wise and brave a commander. Most of the gentry came to offer their service to Orfua, who was so much in every one's esteem, that there was no soldier so old but would leave his retirement with pleasure, to serve under so excellent a general; he made choice of such amongst them as were fit for his purpose; and to carry on the famous conquest he designed, he made all necessary provisions, to which all the lords and inhabitants of the towns contributed with a great deal of liberality, being well persuaded that Orfua had qualities that well deserved to be obliged.

He departed from Cusco in 1560, with the acclamations and good wishes of all the inhabitants of that place: he was attended with above seven hundred good soldiers, and with a considerable number of good horses. Being well versed in the map of Peru, and having been for some time laying the scheme of his journey, he marched directly to the province of Mosilones first, to meet the river Moyabamba, by which he was sure of entering into the river of Amazons. One would have hoped, an attempt so wisely laid, and so universally approved, should have had a happy issue, yet never was any project more unsuccessful; for Orfua had taken with him one Don Fernand de Gusman, a young man lately come from Spain, and another more advanced in years, named Lopez d'Aguira of Biscay, a little ill-favoured man, whom he had made his ensign. These two wretches fell in love with their general's lady, whose name was Agnes, and who had accompanied her husband in all his travels; and thinking they had a favourable occasion to satisfy their lust and ambition together, they engaged Orfua's troop to revolt, and assassinated him.

After the tragical fact, the traitors who committed it, who to the number of seven or eight were in a strict confederacy, elected Don Fernand de Gusman for their king, whose mind was vain enough to receive that title which became him so little; but he did not enjoy it long; for those very persons that had given him the quality of king, gave him his death wound too; and D'Aguira succeeded him; who made himself king, notwithstanding the remonstrances of others. He gave all those he had gained to his party to understand, that he intended to make himself master of Guiana, of Peru, and of the new kingdom of Grenada; and promised them all the riches of those great kingdoms. His reign was so bloody and barbarous, that the like tyranny was scarce ever heard of in the world. Therefore the Spaniards, to this day, called him the tyrant. However, he commanded Orfua's vessels, and went down the river Coca into Amazon, hoping to obtain one of those kingdoms, and to make a considerable progress into it: but having entered the Amazon, he was not able to master the current of it, and so was constrained to suffer himself to be carried down to the mouth of the river above a thousand leagues from the place where he embarked, and was driven into the great channel which goes to the North Cape, being the same way Orellana had taken before him. Going out of the Amazon he came to the island of St. Margaret, which is, to this day, called the Tyrant's Port. There he killed Don Jean de Villa Andrada, governor of the island, and Don John Sermiento his father.

After their death, with the assistance of one John Burg, he made himself master of the island, plundered it entirely, and there committed unheard-of barbarities; he killed
all

all that opposed him, and passed from thence to Cumana, where he exercised the same cruelties. He, after that, desolated all those coasts that bear the name of Caraccas, and all the provinces along the rivers Venezuela and Bacho. He then came to St. Martha, where he put all to the sword, and entered the new kingdom of Grenada, designing to march from thence through Quito into Peru. In this kingdom he was forced to a battle, in which he was utterly defeated and put to flight, and all ways being stopped, when he found he must perish, he thereupon begun his tragedy with a sort of barbarity, without example. He had a daughter by his wife Mendoza, that had followed him in all his expeditions, and whom he loved entirely: daughter (said he to her) I must kill thee; I designed to have placed thee on a throne, but since fortune opposes it I am not willing thou shouldst live to suffer the shame of becoming a slave to my enemies, and of being called the daughter of a tyrant and a traitor:—"Die my child, die by the hand of thy father, if thou hast not courage enough to die by thy own:"—She, surprized at this discourse, desired him, at least, to give her some time to prepare for death, and to beg of God the pardon of her sins. This he granted, but, thinking her too tedious in her devotion, as she was praying upon her knees he shot her through the body with a carbine; but having not killed her outright, he stuck his dagger into her heart, and she falling down at the stroke, cried, "Ah Father, it is enough." Soon after her death he was taken prisoner, and carried to the island La Trindada, where he had a considerable estate. His process was made, and he condemned to be quartered. He was publicly executed; his houses razed to the ground, and the places where they stood sowed with salt.

I chose to mention the attempts of the Spaniards to penetrate into this country on the south-side, first; that I might end with those attempts made by the same nation upon the north, by the great river Oronoco, or, as most of our English writers write it, after the French manner, Oronoque, by which also Sir Walter Raleigh made his attempt. The first person we read of who engaged in this design of finding and making himself master of the inca's new city of Manoa, was Diego de Ordaca, who sailed from Spain with a great force for this purpose, in the year 1531; which, by the way, shews how early this notion was taken up, and that it was not, as is commonly believed, invented by the Indians, to rid themselves of Gonzalo Pizarro. This Diego de Ordaca, with six hundred foot and thirty horse, reached the Oronoco, where, by a series of unlucky accidents, too long for us to relate, his expedition was totally ruined: yet one of these accidents proved the means (as the Spaniards pretend and believe) of making a full discovery of this famous city; and the story is thus told:—When Ordaca came first upon this coast, and anchored in the harbour of Morequito, his magazine of powder, by some mischance, blew up; and this being imputed to the carelessness of Juan Martinez, his master gunner, he was condemned to be shot for it; but the seamen prevailed to have this punishment changed into his being put alone into a little canoe, with his arms only, and without any provisions, and so committed to the mercy of the wind and waves.

In this wretched condition he was found by some of the Indians, or savages, who, having never seen a white man before, passed him about from one place to another, till he came to the royal city of Manoa, where the King no sooner saw him than he knew him to be a Christian and a Spaniard, for this happened but a very little after the Marquis Pizarro had destroyed the empire of the inca's in Peru. This prince, however, received him civilly enough, though he was far from forgetting the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards on his countrymen. He kept him seven months at Manoa; but in all that time he was never suffered to go without the city, or even to pass through the

streets of it without a guard, and a cloth bound over his eyes. At the end of this space, when it was perceived that Martinez had acquired, in some measure, the language of the country, the King sent for him, and proposed two things to his choice, viz. either to remain with him as long as he lived, or to return into his own country, and he chose the latter; upon which the King sent him under a guard the shortest way to the river Oronoco; but, at the time he dismissed him, he was pleased to bestow on him, as a mark of his favour, a considerable quantity of gold, which, however, was taken from him by the savages on the frontiers, and by the Oronocoponi, a nation so called from their living upon the banks of that great river. They left him, however, two large bottles, in which they thought he kept his drink, but which were really filled with gold dust, and these he brought along with him to the island of Trinidad, from whence he went afterwards to St. Juan de Puerto Rico, where he lived for some time, and from whence he intended to have procured a passage to Spain; but being seized there with a mortal disease; after he had received the extreme unction, and saw no hopes of life, he caused his two bottles of gold to be brought, and the account he had written of his voyage: the gold he gave to the church for masses to be said for his soul, and the relation of his voyage was entered at large, in the registers of the chancery of St. Juan de Puerto Rico.

To this Martinez the Spanish writers unanimously ascribe the discovery of this famous city, which he stiled Manoa el Dorada, or the Golden Manoa, on account of the prodigious quantities of that metal which he had seen there, in their palaces, temples, and other public edifices, but more especially in their drunken feasts, of which he gave the following very singular account:—that those who drank with the King were quite naked, and having their bodies rubbed over with a kind of thin gunny balsam, they were then powdered with gold-dust, so as to be gilt from head to foot:—this relation, whether true or false, proved of very fatal consequence to the Spaniards, for it gave occasion to (some say twenty, others sixty) several expeditions in search of this golden city, all of them with very indifferent success. Juan Cortez attempted it with thirty men, but neither he nor they were ever heard of more. Gaspar de Sylva, and his two brothers, sailed with two hundred men, from the Canaries, to reinforce Diego de Ordaca; and, after taking a great deal of pains, to no purpose, returned to the island of Trinidad, where they died.

Another adventurer, in the same way, was Don Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, who landed at Cumana, and afterwards marched by land on the banks of the Oronoco till he came to an Indian nation called Wikiri, who opposed his further passage, and attacked his men with such fury, that only eighteen of his Spaniards escaped from the battle; yet this enterprise was of particular service to Sir Walter; for it fell out that when Captain Amias Preston took the city of St. Jago de Leon by storm, he made one of these adventurers prisoner, who gave him a large account of the vast riches the Spaniards hoped to find in this country, which coming to the ears of Sir Walter Raleigh, induced him to make diligent and strict search into the original of this story, whence he came to collect a multitude of histories, relating to this matter of which we have given the reader only a few, that he might see upon what grounds this expedition was undertaken, or rather what reason Sir Walter Raleigh thought fit to assign for his voyage, in order to draw such an approbation of it as was necessary, from those whom nothing but a show of vast and immediate profit could tempt; for, I must confess, it seems very doubtful to me, whether Sir Walter Raleigh gave entire credit to these accounts, or not; but whatever his own opinion was, he had certainly a right to use them as popular arguments for promoting his design,

since

since no politician ever doubted that it is lawful to cheat men as well as children for their own good. But he took care to provide reasons of another nature, for men of other minds: he shewed them that of all the countries in America, the most profitable, the best situated, the easiest planted, the most defensible, was Guiana. These notes of excellency I have collected from his writings upon this subject, which are very artfully inmethodical, and, under an apparent carelessness of stile and order, are so wrote, as to affect the mind of the reader with an opinion, that he has made discoveries in Sir Walter's treatise, by penetrating into those secrets which he meant to conceal; while, alas! the true secret is, that he meant thus to catch us, and make every man's understanding revolt in his favour.

It was necessary, in his time, and more especially to him; and therefore his design is as commendable as his execution is inimitable. But that he might proceed cautiously in an affair of such importance, he sent before him one Captain Whiddon to take a view of the coast, that he might be perfectly informed of the state things were then in, and thereby become more able to take the proper measures for overcoming those difficulties, which a man of less sagacity would have esteemed insuperable. This gentleman did his business effectually, though he met with some obstruction from the force, and suffered much greater inconveniences from the frauds of the Spaniards, who were at that time bent upon the same design, and labouring with the utmost diligence to discover and secure this valuable country.

Among other adventurers there was one Gonzales Ximenes de Cafada, a man of greater courage than good fortune; who, after having had a large share in the conquest of New Grenada, attempted to penetrate into Guiana; but after a great expence, and incredible fatigue, to no purpose, was obliged to return, disappointed indeed, but not in despair. This gentleman had an only daughter, whom he married to Don Antonio de Berreo; to whom, with a large fortune, he bequeathed this expedition, taking from him an oath, that he would prosecute the discovery and conquest of Guiana to the last hour of his life. He, to fulfil this obligation, undertook this enterprize, with seven hundred horse, attended by a vast number of Indian slaves; but after marching five hundred leagues in pursuit of this project, he was obliged to return, but brought with him from the frontiers of Guiana forty plates of gold, and many other valuable curiosities, sufficient to fortify him in his resolution not to abandon the design. It was this Berreo that Captain Whiddon had to deal with, and of whom he made a very bad report on his return.

When Sir Walter's project was ripe for execution, he was assisted by the Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, so that in the beginning of the year 1595 he was ready to proceed; and it appears, from his relation, that he had in the whole five ships. He does not tell us the name of his own, which he commanded in person; though as to the rest, he distinguishes them plain enough; so that we perceive the *Lion's Whelp*, which was the Lord Admiral's, was commanded by Captain George Gifford; Captain Keymis had the command of a galego, besides a bark, which was committed to Captain Cross, and another to Captain Calfield. The whole number of men in this fleet is not mentioned; but the select company of officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, he used in his discoveries, exceeded not one hundred.

Thus prepared he departed from Plymouth on the 6th of February following, and sailed to the Grand Canaries, and so to Teneriff, where he waited awhile for the *Lion's Whelp*, and for Captain Amias Preston. But this captain disappointed him,
and

and went upon another adventure, which proved some disadvantage in the prosecution of his discoveries. After waiting seven or eight days, to no purpose, he sailed with his own ship and a bark, commanded by Captain Cross, to the island of Trinidad, where he arrived the 22d of March, and spent a considerable space of time in viewing that island, examining all its ports and havens, and even every little creek, with infinite care and exactness. The reasons which moved him to this stay were two; the first, that he might revenge himself upon Berreo for the injuries he had done Captain Whiddon's people, eight of whom he betrayed into his hands, and then used them barbarously; the other was, that he might obtain some account of the continent, and of the most proper method for entering into Guiana, in both of which he succeeded, in spite of all the care the Spanish governor could take to hinder it. At last, perceiving that the Spaniards were contriving measures for his destruction, and knowing there could be nothing more fatal than to leave an enemy at his back, he resolved to make himself master of this place, which he knew would gain him the friendship, as well as secure him the obedience, of the Indians, who by the Spaniards were most cruelly oppressed. Accordingly he sent Captain Calfield to attack the main-guard with sixty men, and following himself with forty more, reduced the town of St. Joseph without much trouble.

The inhabitants he set at liberty, keeping only the governor and his Spaniards prisoners; and afterwards, at the request of the Indians, burnt the place; but though he gratified them in this respect, yet, in all others, he acted towards his prisoners, and more especially towards the governor, with so much civility and kindness, that he drew from him a faithful account of all his adventures in pursuit of the design before mentioned. The same day that Raleigh made his conquest arrived Captain Gifford and Captain Keymis, and in their ships divers gentlemen, and others, which to his little army was a great succour and solace. Then proceeding upon his discovery, Raleigh first called all the chiefs of the island together, who were enemies to the Spaniards; for some of them Berreo had brought out of other countries, and planted there to eat out and waste the natives; then by the Indian interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them understand, "He was the servant of a Queen, who was the greatest cazique in the north, and a virgin, who had more caziques under her command than there were trees in that island; that she was an enemy to the Castellans, in regard of their tyranny and oppression; and, having freed all the coasts of the northern world from their servitude, had sent him to free them also; and withal, to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest." Then he shewed them Her Majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, that it had been easy to have made them idolatrous thereof.

The like and larger speeches he made in a solemn manner to the rest of the nations, both in his passage to Guiana and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world the Queen of England's fame was diffused with great admiration. This done, Raleigh returned to Curiapan; and though he had learnt of Berreo that Guiana was some hundred miles further than the accounts he had received of Captain Whiddon had represented it, he kept the knowledge thereof from his company, who he much feared would have been discouraged thereby from prosecuting the discovery. When Raleigh had further gathered from Berreo the proceedings of the past adventurers and his own, he told him he was come upon the same design, and was resolved to see Guiana. Berreo used many arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small boats, to pass so many dangerous shallows, and could not carry victuals enough above half the way; that none of the
country

country would speak with him, and if he followed them would burn their towns; besides, the way was long, the winter at hand, and the rivers beginning to swell; but, above all, that the kings and lords who bordered upon Guiana, had decreed that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow. Raleigh, resolving however to make trial, directed his vice-admiral Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield to turn eastward against the mouth of the river Capuri, and gave them instructions to enter at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, but they laboured in vain, nor did the flood continue so long, but the water fell before they could pass the sands, though they used all the skill and diligence they could.

Then Raleigh sent one King, master of the Lion's Whelp, to try another branch, called Amana, if either of the small ships would enter; but when he came to the mouth, he found it like the rest; after him went John Dowglas, who discovered four fair entrances, but all shoal and shallow in the bays leading to them. In the mean time Raleigh, fearing the worst, caused his carpenter to cut down an old galego boat; to fit her with banks for oars, and so as she might draw but five feet. In this went Raleigh with gentlemen and officers, to the number of threescore; in the Lion's Whelp boat and wherry they carried twenty; Captain Calfield, in his wherry, carried ten; and a barge of Raleigh's ten more; this was all the means they had, having left their ships at Curiapan, to carry a hundred men with weapons and provisions for a month, exposed to all the extremes of the weather, all the hazards of the water, to lie open to the air, and upon hard boards by night in storms of rain, or under the burning sun by day, to smell the wet clothes of so many crowded together, the dressing of their food, and that mostly stale fish, in the same place, to be in such a labyrinth of rivers, in such a remote unknown region; what prison could be more loathsome and unhealthy, what prospect more fearful and desolate? At first setting out they had twenty miles of a high sea to cross in these crazy boats, so that they were driven before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Gnanipa, inhabited by inhuman cannibals, who shot poisoned arrows, and from thence to enter one of the rivers of which Dowglas had brought tidings. After four days they got above the force of the tide, and might have wandered a year about, and never been able to extricate themselves; in such a general confluence or rendezvous of streams were they now bewildered, and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguished, but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same place where they had been before, passing between many islands and straits, whose borders were so thickly arched and overshadowed with trees, as bounded their sight to the breadth of the river and the length of the avenue, while the gloominess of the prospect added horror to the loathsomeness of the places in which they were confined.

At length, on the 22d of May 1595, they fell into a river, which, because it had no name, they called the Red Cross River, these being the first Christians who ever entered the same: when they drew into a creek, which led to a town upon this river, their Indian pilot, named Ferdinando, landing, was set upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon Raleigh seized an old man passing that way, and threatened to cut off his head, if he did not procure his pilot's liberty; but he, by his agility, soon escaped them, and swam to Raleigh's barge; however, they kept the old man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful information from a native, so long conversant in those parts. And indeed, but for this accident, they had never found their way forward to the country they sought,

nor back to that where their ships lay; the old man himself being often in the utmost perplexity which river to take, so numerous and intricate they were. The people who inhabit the countries at the mouth of this great river, are comprehended under the general name of Tivitivas, a bold and hardy race of people, who know the value of liberty, and have courage enough to defend it: they live in houses during the summer, or dry season, but in the wet or winter months they live in little huts, which are built upon trees, a thing common enough on this coast, and even in the East Indies, where the countries are excessively wet.

After this, Raleigh's barge ran a-ground, and that with such force, that it did not seem very probable they should be able to get her off; so that the discovery seemed at a stand; but on the fourth day after this accident happened they set her on float, and, striking into the Amana, one of the noblest branches of the Oronoco, they continued their voyage, but with incredible fatigue. As they were now within five degrees of the Line, Sir Walter was forced to keep up their spirits by directing his pilots to give them hopes from time to time that their labours would soon have an end. At length the old Indian pilot they had on board, perceiving that their provisions were quite exhausted, and that they were in danger of perishing without an immediate supply, told them that if they would venture up a river on their right hand, he would bring them to a town where they might be sure of refreshments, and be able to return before night. Sir Walter took him at his word, and went immediately into his boat with eight musketeers, followed by the Captains Gifford and Calfield in their wherries, with eight men a-piece. But it appeared that the Indian pilot had learned Sir Walter's art, for they not only rowed all day, but all night, without seeing any town, and a less prudent captain than he would have been tempted to have punished the pilot for giving them false hopes. Yet about one the next morning they reached this long expected town, and obtained those supplies of which they stood so much in need. In the mean time the company in the galley manned out a boat in search of them, but next day they returned and continued their course. After they had made this hungry and hazardous voyage for fourscore miles in that river, which, besides other strange fishes of marvellous bigness, abounded with crocodiles, whence the people named it the river of Lagartis, Raleigh had a very proper young negro attending upon him in his galley, who, leaping out to swim in the mouth of this river, was in the sight of them all instantly devoured by one of these amphibious animals.

Not long after, being again in want of victuals, they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run ashore by the Indians in them, called Arwaycas, who fled to hide themselves in the woods, fearing, through the prepossessions of the Spaniards, that Raleigh and his company were cannibals. Raleigh, pursuing them in hopes of some intelligence, found, as he was creeping through the bushes, a refiner's basket; in which were quicksilver, salt-petre, and divers other materials for the trial of metals, and also the dust of some ore that had been refined. But in two other canoes that escaped them, they heard of a good quantity of ore and gold. Raleigh then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to any of his soldiers who should take one of the Spaniards. He found the Arwaycas hidden in the woods, who had been pilots to the Spaniards, of which Raleigh kept the chief for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana; by whom he understood in what parts the Spaniards laboured for gold, which he divulged to two of his company, knowing both the season of the year and other conveniences would be wanting to work any mine himself. After recruiting his people with wholesome refreshments, he continued his
voyage:

voyage: the men seemed now quite as well pleased as their commander had been from the beginning, and of their own accord offered to go as far as he would; so that on the fifteenth day from their leaving their ships he entered the great river Oronoco, and had an opportunity of satisfying himself as to the number and names of the Indian nations that inhabited both sides of it.

After having passed the mountain Aio, and a great island which he mentions, he reached on the fifth day of his entering the great river aforesaid, as high as the province of Aramaia, and anchoring at the port of Morequito, which is full three hundred miles within the land, upon the said great river Oronoco, he sent a messenger to the old king of Aramaia, named Topiowary, who came the next day before noon on foot from his house, and returned the same evening, being twenty-eight miles backwards and forwards, though himself was one hundred and ten years of age. He had many attendants of both sexes, who came also to wonder at the English, and brought them great plenty of flesh and fish, with divers sort of fruits. When the old king had refreshed himself awhile in the tent, which Raleigh had caused to be pitched for him, they entered by the interpreter into discourse about the murder of Morequito his predecessor, and the other barbarities of the Spaniards. Then Raleigh acquainted him with the cause of his coming thither, whose servant he was, and that it was his Queen's pleasure he should undertake this voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as he had done before at Trinidad) on Her Majesty's power, her justice, and her clemency towards all oppressed nations; all which being with great reverence and attention received, he began to sound the old man touching Guiana, as what sort of commonwealth it was; how governed; of what strength and policy; of what extent; with whom in alliance or enmity; lastly, the distance and way to enter the heart of the country. The King gave such an ample and perfect account of these particulars, that Raleigh wondered to find a man of such gravity, judgment, and good discourse, without the help of learning or breeding.

After his departure Raleigh sailed westward to view the famous river Caroli, both because it was so wonderful in itself, and led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, who were enemies to the Epuremei, subjects to the Inca or Emperor of Guiana, and Manoa: even when he was short of it, or lower down than the port of Morequito, he heard the roaring falls of this river; but when he entered it with his barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the Casagotos, he was not able, with a barge of eight oars, to row one stone's-throw in an hour, and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich. Therefore encamping on the banks, he sent off an Indian to acquaint the nation upon the river of his arrival and his purpose, and that he desired to see the lords of Canuri, who dwelt in that province. Then one of the princes came down, named Wanuretona, with many of his people, and brought great store of provisions, as the rest had done. By him Raleigh found the Carolians were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, who abounded in gold; and that there were three mighty nations at the head of that river which would join them against them; he was further informed by one Captain George whom he had taken with Berreo, that near the banks of this river there was a great silver mine, but the rivers were now all so risen, that it was not possible for the strength of men, with any boat, to row against the stream. Therefore he dispatched a party of between thirty and forty to coast the river by land, while himself, with a few officers and half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange and wonderful over-

falls of the said river Caroli, which roared at such a distance, and the plains adjoining, with the rest of the province of Canuri.

When they had got to the top of the first hills, overlooking the river, they beheld that prodigious breach of water which poured down Caroli, and how it ran in three streams for twenty miles together; no less than ten or a dozen of the steep cataracts appeared in sight, each as high above the other as a church tower, which rushed down with such violence, that the very rebound of the waters made the place seem as if it had been all over covered with a great shower of rain; and in some places they took it at first for a thick smog which had risen out of some great town, till they drew nearer down in the valley to this thunder of waters, where they better discerned and distinguished the effects of it. And here Raleigh says he never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; the hills so raised up and down about the valleys; the waters winding into such various branches; the plains so clear of brush and shrub, and covered all with fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, and easy for the march either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree a thousand several tunes, with cranes and herons, of white, crimson and carnation, perched along the river-banks; the air refreshed with gentle easterly breezes, and every stone they stooped to take up, promising either gold or silver by its complexion. His company, at their return, brought several of those stones home, which they rather found coloured outwardly like gold, than any of that metal fixed in them; for those who had least judgment or experience, kept only such as glittered, and would not be persuaded but they were rich, because they shone; and thereby bred an opinion that all the rest were no better. Yet some of those stones Raleigh shewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told him it was *El Madre del Oro*, that is, the Mother of Gold, and that the mine was farther in the ground: he received also many other informations from these people, some of which, however, seemed to border upon those fabulous accounts delivered by antiquity, but always suspected by men of sense; which Raleigh reports, but with due caution.

While he lay at anchor near the banks of the Caroli, he spared no pains that were requisite to gain a thorough knowledge of the names and manners of the several Indian nations that lay farther within the country, which was all, in that respect, left in his power; there being many reasons which rendered his farther stay improper, and his return to his fleet a point of absolute necessity; for he had been now absent above a month, had wandered in that space above four hundred miles from the sea coasts; and besides the winter was coming on very fast, and the greater river began to rise. Besides all this they had no instruments with them to open mines; and if they advanced farther, were to act against a numerous, civilized, and warlike people; so that, having done more with a handful of people, and that too in fewer days than the Spaniards had been years in searching for this country, he very wisely resolved to submit to necessity, and seek the shortest way back to his ships. Yet as he returned to the east, he spent some time in discovering the river towards the sea, which he had not surveyed, and which he thought also necessary to do; in a day's time he arrived again at the port of Morequito; for, gliding down the stream, he went without labour, though against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a day; when he came to anchor, he was very desirous of farther conference with old Topiowary, who soon came with a multitude of his people flocking down to Raleigh's tent upon the shore, loaded with presents.

When the old King was refreshed, and the croud retired, Raleigh, by his interpreter,

entered into a long conference with him, telling him, that as both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were his enemies, the one having conquered Guiana already, and the other endeavoured to get it from both, he desired to be instructed, both in the best way to the golden parts of Guiana, and the civilized towns of the Inca. The King answered, he could not perceive Raleigh meant to proceed to the great city of Manoa, because neither the season of the year, nor the strength of his company, would enable him; for he remembered that in the plains of Maqureguarai, the first town of Guiana, where all the gold plates were made which were scattered over the neighbouring nations, and above four days journey from his own, three hundred Spaniards were destroyed who had no friends among the borderers; he therefore advised Raleigh never to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the help of all those nations which were their enemies. Raleigh asked, if he thought the company he had with him were sufficient to take that town? The King thought they were, and offered to assist him with all his borderers, if he would leave him a guard of fifty men upon his departure.

But Raleigh, knowing if they should escape the Guianians, the Spaniards, expecting supplies, would repay upon him his treatment at Trinidad, very plausibly excused himself. Hereupon the King desired he would forbear him and his country at this time; for if the Epuremei should know he had given Raleigh any aid or intelligence, he should soon be overrun by them, nor could he avoid the Spaniards if they should return, who had before led him, seventeen days, in a chain like a dog, till he paid a hundred plates of gold and several chains of spleen-stones, for his ransom; but if Raleigh would return in due season next year, he would engage all the borderers in the enterprize; for that he could not more desire to make himself master of Guiana, than they to assist him, having been plundered in their wars by the Epuremei, of their women, whom to recover, they would willingly renew the war, without hopes of farther profit; for the old King complained of it as a matter of grievous restraint, that now they were confined to three or four wives apiece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen, while the lords of their enemies had no less than fifty or a hundred; but they seem to have had a political reason for this recovery, to strengthen their alliance, and increase their forces; those frontiers having been much depopulated, between the subjects of the Inca and the Spaniards.

Raleigh, after farther consultation, finding it absolutely improper either to leave any of his company, or to attempt war upon the Epuremei till the next year, applied himself now, only to learn how those people wrought those plates of gold, which were dispersed about, and how they divided it from the stone. The King told him, that most of their plates and images were not severed from the stone; but that, on the lake of Manoa, and many other rivers thereabouts, they gathered the perfect grains of gold, and, mingling a proportion of copper, the better to work it, put it in a great earthen pot, under which they increased the fire by the breath of men through long canes fastened to the holes under the said pot, till the metal dissolved, which then they cast into moulds of stone and clay, and so made these plates and images; whereof Raleigh brought two sorts into England, more to shew the manner of them, than the value; for he gave more pieces of gold of the twenty shilling coin, with the Queen's effigy upon them, among these people, to wear in honour of Her Majesty, and to engage them in her service, than he received, so little did he make his design of gold known to them. He brought away with him, however, various samples both of the spar and of the ore, which were sufficient to justify his reports of the riches of this country; and he likewise brought with him the highest testimony that could well

be given him of the sincere love and entire confidence of the natives, since old Topiwari, one of the wisest, and none of the least powerful, princes in that country, sent over his own son Cayworaco into England, where he was baptized with much ceremony by the name of Gualtero. On the other hand, Sir Walter left behind him, at their own request, two of his company, viz. Francis Sperry who was an excellent draftsman, and undertook to describe, as he did, all the country very exactly; and Hugh Goodwin, a boy who waited upon Sir Walter, and who was to learn the languages of the Indian nations, which he did to great perfection, but was unfortunately devoured by a wild beast.

After this, a cacique whose name was Putoma, and another whose name was Warapana, offered to conduct him to a gold mine, which they accordingly performed; but the weather being extremely bad, Sir Walter was desirous to make as much haste back as it was possible to his ships, which he accordingly did; but when he found himself on the sea coast, and in a manner at the end of his labours, he met with a most dreadful and dangerous storm, which drove them almost to their wits-end; and at length, in a dark night, and in the midst of the tempest, he quitted his galley, which he found amongst shoals and sands, and in his boat thrust out to sea, with so much good fortune, however, that the next morning, by nine o'clock, they had sight of the island of Trinidad, and rowing cautiously under the shore, arrived safely at Curiapan, where their vessels lay at anchor. In all this tedious and surprising expedition, wherein they went through such a variety of dangers, being always alike exposed to the feverities of the weather, and to the attempts of their enemies, absolutely wanting most of the conveniencies, and frequently even the necessaries of life, except the negro devoured by the crocodile, he lost not so much as a single man, which amazed the Spanish governor Berreo to the highest degree, who openly professed his admiration of Sir Walter's conduct and courage, which so visibly surpassed those of all the Spanish captains employed in this service, from Orellana down to himself.

After a short stay, to put his little squadron in order, he sailed from Trinidad on his return to England, and in his passage home, landed and burnt several of the Spanish towns upon the coast; and on the 13th of July he met with Captain Preston, under Cape St. Antonio, in the island of Cuba; and on the 20th of the same month pursued his voyage to England, where he safely arrived, his expedition being exceedingly applauded, in prose and verse, by all the reputed wits of those times.

But it was not long before those who envied Raleigh began to circulate new calumnies, framed on purpose to depreciate his discovery. It is of some consequence, even at this day, to examine and expose these lying stories, because they have most unaccountably found so great credit with the generality of mankind, that though they commend Sir Walter's design, as supposing it against the Spaniards, yet they question his veracity with regard to the produce, value, and expediency of settling Guiana, which is the reason (at least it ought so to be) why it was not afterwards attempted, when the importance of plantations were better understood. The first suggestion was, that this was a favourite scheme, perhaps a pleasing vision of Sir Walter Raleigh's; and there was no reason to yield implicit credit to any man's dreams, how wise and learned soever. It is really strange, how far such foolish insinuations as these prevail, and how basely mankind repay the greatest services that can be done them. When Colon opened his scheme in Portugal, it was reputed a mere fancy and a contrivance to gain employment; when Faustus invented printing, he was treated by some as a conjurer, and by others the art was condemned as prejudicial to the book-scrivers; and at the time Harvey taught the circulation of the blood, he was almost generally

generally run down; and that, according to the physicians of those times was treated as a ridiculous fiction, which is now regarded as the very foundation of the art of physic. The truth seems to be, that what is pervaded and clearly comprehended by a first-rate genius, is a mere cloud, vision, or airy appearance, in the judgment of common men, who, either really forgetting, or affecting not to distinguish, this difference in capacities, would have their judgments take place, and the ignorance of the many rather reputed wisdom than the sentiments of a single man; and thus, between folly and arrogance, the advantages which might be drawn from such high and rare spirits, if due distinction were made, are absolutely lost, and the discoveries in the world of science (always achieved by such men) postponed for ages. Sir Walter Raleigh was aware of this, which induced him to take so much pains in tracing the knowledge of the Spaniards, and in making what they knew, and had endeavoured on this subject, public, by which he thought he plainly proved this was no invention of his, but only an improvement on the notions of other men. He observed likewise, that the French, at the very time he attempted it, had a view to this discovery; and, it is very certain, that since his time, Count Pagan recommended such a settlement to Cardinal Richelieu, so that the calling this a whim of Sir Walter's, as many did then, who are believed: now is to talk childishly and ignorantly on a very important subject.

The next insinuation was, that there was no such thing as gold dust, gold plates, or gold mines there, but that all was mere invention, calculated to recommend the project. To this Sir Walter opposed three reasons, each of which was a fair and full answer, and indeed wholly destroyed the objection. For first, he shewed from the situation, it was impossible this country should not be rich, as having New Grenada on one side, Peru at its back, and in that climate which affords the richest mines of gold and silver in America; to which, we may add, the discovery of the Brazil treasures unknown in his age. He next pleaded the authority of the Spaniards; and that with respect, not to opinions only, but as to facts; for he annexes to his voyage certificates of considerable quantities of gold, which they had drawn from that country, and which made them so eager to discover it fully. This too has been confirmed by Father D'Acughna, and other writers, since his days, who very positively maintain the very same thing. He lastly urges his own actual experience, producing very ample specimens of gold ore from thence. Upon some doubt whether the stones by him produced were gold ore or not, he caused them to be examined by refiners. From some, Mr. Westwood, who lived in Wood-street, drew at the rate of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds a ton; some, tried by Messrs. Bulmar and Dimock, held after the rate of twenty-three thousand pounds a ton, and some, examined by Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the mint, and Mr. Dimock, held almost twenty-seven thousand pounds in a ton. Yet after all this, another question was started, whether Raleigh did not carry this gold from Africa as well as bring it from Guiana; to which he answered, that from the very mines in that country, he helped to dig it himself, though with no sifter instrument than his dagger.

Another head of calumny was, that he chiefly aimed at attacking and plundering the Spanish towns upon the coasts; and that these were in reality Raleigh's gold mines in Guiana. But this was so far from the truth, that one principal reason, which Sir Walter assigns for fixing here, was, that the Catholic King had neither any right to, or possession of, this country. It is also most evident from Sir Walter's own accounts, that, except at San Joseph in Trinadada, he took nothing in the places which he plundered in that country, and from this very instance he recommends planting rather than privateering. On the whole, therefore, this affair has been mis-

taken from first to last : Sir Walter's proposal was wise and well-founded ; his description of this country true and very exact, his expectations, though sanguine, perfectly well grounded ; and his own voyage a very pregnant proof that such an establishment is highly practicable. If any should enquire what views I have in labouring this topic so much, I shall fairly answer, many : I thought the nature of my subject led me to it ; I conceived that Sir Walter's memory demanded this piece of justice ; and I remembered that we are at war with Spain, Guiana still unsettled ; and that we may, as the phrase once was, " take and hold."

15. We are now to speak briefly of such other transactions under the reign of this great Princess, as may contribute to explain some passages in this chapter, and set what follows in a clear light. She encouraged privateers immediately after her coming to the crown, as the most effectual means of raising a fleet in a short time ; but when she found this end answered, she brought that practice under due regulations. She was extremely careful in giving all possible encouragement for discoveries, and it was with this view that she promoted, as we shall see hereafter, several enterprizes for finding out a passage to the East Indies, by the north-east and by the north-west. The Russia trade she encouraged ; and her conduct in respect to that nation was such as raised her credit in those parts of the world, to the highest degree that can be imagined. The King of Sweden was so charmed with what fame reported of the Queen, that he put himself into the number of those who were suitors to her for marriage. The King of Demark asked her leave to transport corn through the narrow seas, which, to shew her dominion over them, she once refused ; and the Hanse Towns having presumed to send a fleet through them without her leave, she seized and confiscated their ships ; as for the Dutch, they more than once offered to submit themselves to her government, and in the most public manner acknowledged that they owed the recovery of their liberty to her succour and protection ; but she was wise enough to foresee, that as they grew in power they might alter their notions, and she took care to provide against this, by procuring the keys of Holland and Zealand to be put into her hands, by which means she was able to lock up their commerce, and naval force, at her pleasure.

She kept France in great awe, even when it was governed by Henry IV., the wisest, bravest, and best monarch of the house of Bourbon. She ruined the naval power of Spain, then the most formidable in Europe, and under the direction of a Prince whose abilities were equal to every thing but his ambition : she encouraged expeditions to the West Indies, as long as they proved beneficial to her subjects ; and when they appeared to be no longer so, she very prudently restrained them. It was under her reign, that the English first attempted the passage into the South Seas by the Straights of Magellan ; which proved of great consequence, not only in that part of the world, but also in opening a way to the East Indies, as we have already shewn in the former parts of this work, to which those passages properly belonged.

She brought, by affording the means of employing them, the building of ships into use, and by degrees to great perfection, which was of infinite benefit to the nation, and at the same time delivered us from the heavy inconvenience of hiring vessels from foreigners whenever the public occasions demanded a large fleet ; but most of these things (though incident to my purpose) have been already insisted on by others, and therefore I am content barely to mention them, that I may have room to mention some other things of no less importance, though not so much attended to. We have shewn how wretched a situation things were in at the beginning of her reign, and how suddenly and how effectually she changed the face of our affairs ; and we have in some measure pointed out the manner in which this was done ; but there remain some
other

other points worthy the reader's consideration, which I shall next handle with all imaginable brevity.

Queen Elizabeth taught all her subjects industry and application by her personal conduct; she was constantly attentive to every branch of her government; knew exactly what was done, what might be done, and what was omitted; she understood most things herself, and what she did not understand, she committed to the inspection of such as were reputed to be best acquainted with them; she was slow in resolving, and quick in execution; she heard all that could be said for, or against, Sir Francis Drake, before she went on board his ship, or gave him any public marks of her favour; but afterwards she would never permit his conduct to be censured.

She was sparing in her honours, because she was resolved to use them as rewards; and she knew that in order to this it was requisite they should not become cheap; she never employed any but capable ministers; for she had men for show and men for service; and in nothing demonstrated her great capacity more than in her choice of servants. Secretary Walsingham, and after him Secretary Cecil, had the department of the marine, and both understood it well, so that whoever applied to them, was to make out the reason and probability, as well as the profitableness of his project. This produced the many excellent pieces which are preserved in Hacklitt, particularly Sir Humphrey Gilbert's discourse of the north-west passage, Sir George Peacham's benefits of Western planting, with Mr. Harriot's account of Virginia, and many such things. By this means a spirit of useful knowledge was promoted and kept up; all things were thoroughly sifted before encouragement was given, and due regard had to what succeeded, to what did not, and to the reason and causes of both.

She took some share of most expeditions of consequence, as well to keep up the spirits of those concerned, as in case any good prizes were made, that the public might have its part, in which we find her always strict, and sometimes a little severe: but with all her frugality and good management in this respect, she found war an expensive and ruinous thing, which demanded constant and great supplies, bringing in but slowly and inconsiderably. She was the better able to discern this, because she took care to have the treasury books as regularly kept as those of a merchant, whence she was very well able to tell how far her revenues answered her expences, in what articles her excesses were incurred, and even the loss and gain on particular expeditions; as for instance, that of Cadiz, or Cales, reputed the most fortunate in her long reign, which nevertheless cost sixty-four thousand pounds more than it brought in. The balance, in this respect was always against her, notwithstanding the vast sound her prizes made in the world; for according to a minute of an account made up by the famous Lord treasurer Burleigh, from the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth year of her government, it appears, that the bare expence of the navy amounted to two hundred seventy-five thousand, seven hundred and sixty-one pounds, and all received by prizes within those years, which were the most prosperous in that respect of the whole Spanish war, came to no more than sixty-four thousand and forty-four pounds.

Yet, considering what mischief was done the enemy, how much his commerce was embarrassed, his merchants ruined, his credit lessened, and his power decreased, there was no great cause to repine; and in truth, we nowhere find the Queen did so, but she always endeavoured to put her nobility upon such enterprizes, as well

to keep them employed, as to throw a part of the expence upon such as she judged were much more able to afford it than the common people.

But there was another great and useful effect which flowed from this assiduous care in the Queen, and this generous conduct in her nobility, and that was, the establishing a just regard for public spirit. It was the mode in her days, to do every thing with a view to the welfare of the state, and it was impossible for any man to make a figure at court, or to appear with distinction in his country whose actions as well as words did not discover somewhat of the patriot. Some of the nobility served in Holland, to learn the trade of war, at the same time that they contributed to break the power of Spain, and to raise the English reputation for courage, steadiness, and other military virtues. The Earl of Essex, and other men of quality, served the Queen at sea in various expeditions of great importance. Others again, such as the Earl of Cumberland, embarked in particular enterprizes at their own expence; and by this means, after the formidable invasion in 1588, the King of Spain found himself sufficiently employed at home, and perceived, when it was too late, that he had wasted the blood and treasure of all his kingdoms to raise up two new powers in Europe, *viz.* England and Holland, which neither he nor his successors would be able to cope with.

But the Queen and her ministers, when the dangers of war were thus removed or kept at a distance, knew how to divert the same spirit to other good and salutary purposes. In former reigns there had been little care taken to explore the riches of this kingdom; but now every part of it was examined, and every kind of improvement set on foot. The lord treasurer sent for several Germans over, who were employed in erecting iron works, in discovering and working lead mines, and in making saltpetre. We formerly exported most of our commodities raw and unwrought, but now the persecution in the Low-Countries furnished us with multitudes of able workmen in every branch of the woollen manufactory, who had all imaginable encouragement given them, and with very considerable privileges were settled in different parts of the kingdom, more especially at London, Norwich, Colchester, and Canterbury. The like care was taken with respect to other trades, and this was attended with such success, that whereas in the beginning of the Queen's reign we bought our artillery abroad, towards the end of it we furnished all Europe with ordnance; so that at length it grew a question, whether it might not be requisite for the public safety, to put a stop to the exportation of iron cannon.

There was now scarce a session of parliament held in which there were not acts passed for promoting new branches of trade, or for preserving or regulating the old; and though it may be, and I believe is, true, that some of the laws then made, have become in process of time rather dangerous and destructive than profitable or advantageous to commerce, yet certainly they were made with a good intent; and we have reason to believe were well enough suited to those times, so that we have no reason to censure those who made them, on account of the inconveniencies they produce, but ought rather to blame ourselves for not repealing them. By these steps the face of things in this country was quite changed: instead of being served by the Venetians and Genoese, with all the commodities of the East, we brought them home ourselves, and even furnished them to others; instead of suffering all our domestic trade to be managed, as formerly, by Germans and other foreigners, we began to settle factories abroad, and there was hardly a nation in the known world, with which, before the death of this Queen, we had not some correspondence.

Yet

Yet instead of setting down quietly with these acquisitions, and falling into a nominal trade amongst ourselves, like the modern stock-jobbing; we were then continually contriving and executing new schemes, either for improving our country or exporting its produce; our people, even then, began to think the trading world too narrow for them, and admired nothing so much as finding out new markets, where goods always sell best, where novelty and variety often procure high prices even for indifferent commodities. We need not at all wonder, therefore, that in these times there were men of such extensive abilities produced, as seemed to grasp the whole circle of commercial knowledge; such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Thomas Gresham, and many others; some of whom have left us treatises in this way, that are both read and admired in more enlightened times. We may therefore safely pronounce, that the seeds of all our traffic, which have since so happily come up, and from which the nation has reaped such mighty profits, were sown in this reign, and cultivated when they needed cultivation most, by the royal hand of the matchless Elizabeth; the mother of her subjects, the terror of her enemies, and the benefactor of posterity.

16. We are now to take a view of the state of English affairs in regard to America, at the close of this Queen's reign, when it will appear, that there was scarcely any part of it, whether of the northern or southern continent, or islands, with which we had not some acquaintance; though we had made no settlements any where. Drake and Candish examined the whole backside of America from south to north, and it appears very clearly from Sir Richard Hawkins's History of his own Voyage, that we were almost as well acquainted with those countries as the Spaniards themselves; this will appear less strange, when it is observed, that some of our seamen being surprised, others being sent ashore by their commanders, and several straggling when landed in parties, on particular designs, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and being sent from place to place, travelled through more countries than most of the Spaniards that were sent thither by their government, or were driven thither by their necessities, some of whom coming home, related, and several of them, particularly Miles Phillips and David Ingram, wrote accounts of their adventures, as we shall have occasion to shew in another place.

By this means we gained very clear and distinct descriptions of the countries bordering on the straits of Magellan, of Chili, Peru, the bay of Panama, the several provinces of the kingdom of Old Mexico, some knowledge of the New, and even of California: nor were we less acquainted with the other side of the continent, as the reader may learn from the English voyages of the first chapter of this work, in which are contained very distinct accounts of the most southern parts, from the river of Plata to the mouth of Magellan's straits. We have likewise a sufficient knowledge of the great country of Brazil, from Mr. Knivet, and other travellers; though it must be allowed that they gave great scope to their imagination, in what they have written, or at least what is published by Purchas, if it was by them written, upon this subject. As to Guiana, or the country of the Amazons, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Capt. Laurence Keymish, whom he sent thither soon after his return, have written as good descriptions of them, if not better, than any that are extant in other languages.

As for the coast, from the island of Trinity up to Carthagena, it was the chief scene of most of our privateer expeditions in this reign, so that we had repeated relations of all that was necessary to make this part of the new world perfectly known. The remaining part of the coast, as far as the gulf of Honduras, was likewise explained and described by several Englishmen, who had visited those coasts, particularly Captain Barker; and as for the bay of Mexico, it was often resorted to;

but more particularly by Captain, (afterwards) Sir John, Hawkins, in the year 1568, at which time he set on shore David Ingram, before-mentioned, at about one hundred and forty leagues west-by-north from the cape of Florida. From thence he travelled with several other persons of his company by land, to within sixty leagues of Cape Breton; where they found a passage home by a French ship, in 1569, and soon after their arrival, David Ingram, Richard Brown, and Richard Twede went to visit Captain Hawkins, who had set them on shore, and related to him their adventures. I have been more particular on this head, because this Ingram has given the clearest account of any man concerning the north-west passage, as the reader will see hereafter in its proper place, where I shall give his account at large. The remaining part of the coast of North America, from the cape of Florida to the utmost extent of the continent northward, was examined by several of our seamen, as appears by what has been already said in this section, and will farther appear from the account we are yet to give of some voyages that were made in the last years of the Queen, and which I thought proper to reserve for this place.

The first of these, in order of time, is the glorious expedition of Captain William Parker of Plymouth, who undertook, at the expence of a few private persons, an enterprize against the Spaniards, in which he was accompanied by Captain Giles and Captain Ward, land officers; and by the Captains Fugars, Loriman, Ashly, and several other gentlemen as volunteers, which, all circumstances considered, will appear one of the hardest undertakings, as well as one of the most successful, in that reign, or indeed ever attempted by our own nation or any other of which there remains an account in history. This squadron of his consisted but of three small barks, scarce equal in strength to a fifth-rate man of war; of these the Prudence, stiled the Admiral, was of the burden of one hundred tons, and a hundred and thirty men, commanded by Mr. Parker himself; the Pearl, vice-admiral, of sixty tons, and sixty men, Captain Robert Rawlins commander; the Pinnace of twenty tons and eighteen men. They sailed in November 1601, and off the fourth cape had the misfortune in a violent gust of wind to lose their pinnace with all her men but three; steering their course from thence to the islands of Cape Verd, they landed one hundred men, and took one of them called St. Vincent, with a town of the same name; and, after having given the spoil of it to the soldiers, set fire to the place. Thence they haled over to the coast of the continent, and coming to La Rancheria, or the Pearl Fishery, in the small island Cubagua, they there found the governor of Cumana, with a small company of soldiers. This did not discourage them from landing, and though at first they were received with great warmth, they got at last the better of them, and took the place with several prisoners, barks, and boats, all which they ransomed for the value of five hundred pounds, which was paid them in pearls.

They sailed from thence directly for Cape de la Vela, where they took a great Portuguese ship of 250 tons, coming from Angola and Congo, and bound for Carthagera; which, having little of value in her except three hundred and seventy negroes, they ransomed for five hundred pounds. After this they went to the island of Cabecas, where they embarked one hundred and fifty of their men in two small pinnaces and two shallops, and sailed to the Bastimentos, where they landed, and picking up some negroes for their guides, with their boats and pinnaces, they entered the river of Puerto Bello the 7th of February 1602; it being moon-light the watch discovered them at their first entrance into the haven, and haled them by the strong castle of St. Philip; in which were thirty-five brass guns, and soldiers enough to manage them. Having some on board who spoke the Spanish tongue, they pretended they were Spaniards coming from Carthagera.

The officer of the castle bid them come to anchor, which they did, but about an hour after Captain Parker gave them the slip with his two boats and above thirty men, leaving the pinnaces at anchor before the castle. With this force he went directly to the suburb of Triana, and, though the alarm was given, landed his thirty men, and setting it on fire left it burning, and marched into the great and rich town of Puerto Bello. As soon as he entered, he marched directly to the King's treasury, where he found a guard of soldiers drawn up to receive him, with two brass field pieces on their carriages; the fight was long and obstinate, and Parker had lost the best part of his men, when Captain Fugars and Captain Loriman, who commanded the pinnaces, hearing the noise, came timely to his relief, with one hundred and twenty men. This assistance soon turned the scale, and the Spaniards began to think of securing themselves by flight; a good number of them got into the King's house, which they defended very resolutely for four or five hours; but at length the English became masters of that, as well as of the whole town. They found but ten thousand ducats in the treasury, though there were often six millions in it; and if they had been seven days sooner they would have found one hundred and twenty thousand, which had been embarked in two frigates for Carthage.

The spoil of the town, which in money, plate, and merchandize was considerable, was by Captain Parker given to the soldiers. But two frigates, which he took farther up the river, he carried away with him; after having kept possession of the town two days, Captain Parker generously spared it with its churches, buildings, and forts from burning; and released the prisoners, among whom were Don Pedro Melandez, the governor, the King's secretary, and several persons of quality, without ransom; satisfied with the honour of having taken with a handful of men, in so little time, and with so inconsiderable a loss, one of the finest towns the King of Spain had in the West Indies. His reason for this was to give the Spaniards an example of civil and generous deportment towards their enemies; and the governor he released, because he had fought so bravely, having received eleven wounds in the action.

The town had at this time two churches, six or seven fine streets, three small forts on one side, besides the great castle of St. Philip; all which they might have demolished, and have left the whole a heap of ruins. During their stay in the town they had not the least disturbance from any forces of the Spaniards, nor any alarm given; only as they were sailing away the enemy began to appear, but it was only to exchange a few bullets, and to take leave of each other from the mouths of their great guns. Thus Captain Parker returned safely home with much honour, and not without reasonable profit; and not only our own, but Spanish writers speak of his expedition in very honourable terms.

The next year some of the Virginia company resolved to fit out a vessel for that country, and accordingly made choice of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold for their commander, who had been formerly there. He sailed from Falmouth on the 26th of March 1602, in a small vessel, and no more than thirty-two persons on board, of whom it was proposed that twelve should stay behind and form a settlement, in case he should meet with any place which he should judge convenient for that purpose. This Captain Gosnold was an excellent mariner, and therefore he did not go the former course, but a much shorter one; and on the 11th of May he arrived in the latitude of forty-two degrees and some few minutes, among the islands, forming the north side of Massachusetts Bay, in New England; where, not finding the conveniences he desired, he set sail again; and when he thought he had got clear of the

land, he fell upon the bay of Cod, now part of New England. He went ashore on a small uninhabited island, which he called Elizabeth Island, and on another island, which he named Martha's Vineyard, where the natives had left some marks of their habitations. Here some of his company sowed English corn, and saw it come up very kindly; he built a little fort for his, and his men's, security, and traded from thence with the savages, to whom Europeans were no strangers; for the commander of the first body of them that came to trade was dressed with waistcoat, breeches, shoes, stockings, hat, and all accoutrements befitting an Englishman; but his attendance had only deer-skins about their shoulders, and seal-skins about their waists; their hair was very long, and tied up with a knot behind; they were painted all over, but their natural swarthy colour was easy enough to be discerned.

On the north-west side of Elizabeth's Island the captain found a lake of fresh water, about a league in circumference, and very near the sea; in the midst of which was another little island of about an acre of ground; and this they pitched upon as the most commodious place for building their fort above-mentioned, and they begun it accordingly. About this lake they found an infinite number of tortoises, with several flocks of fish and fowl; so that those who proposed to settle there had a fair prospect of having provisions enough. They visited the main land adjoining to this island, which they found, in all respects, as charming as meadows, groves, brooks, and rivers could make it. They had some communication with the Indians of the main land, who came and bartered with them for some of their European rarities, and there was nothing hardly but what was so to these people. The commodities they gave in exchange for knives and other toys, were beavers, lucains, martens, otters, foxes, conies, seals, deer, and skins. The affairs of this plantation might have gone on very well, had all the planters been unanimous and easy in their settlement here; but they were intent upon their private interests, and contrived to make only a profitable voyage. The captain laboured against it, but to no purpose; so having gotten a large cargo of sassafras, cedar-wood, furs, and other good commodities, they set sail for England. They left their little fort on the 18th of June, and they arrived at Plymouth the 23d day of July following, A. D. 1602.

What the consequences were of this voyage and discovery will appear in the next chapter; and therefore we shall pass on to the last voyage, which we are concerned to take notice of here; and that was made in the same year 1602, by one Captain Mace of Weymouth, fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh; and as the short account we have remaining serves to correct all that has been said by different authors upon this subject; and does a very singular piece of justice to the memory of Sir Walter, who might seem to have abandoned those who went upon his faith to settle in Virginia; I have judged it both reasonable and requisite to insert the whole paper here, with this farther observation, that Mr. Richard Hackluit received, as he acknowledges, great assistances from Sir Walter Raleigh, in compiling his excellent collection, and the papers of Mr. Hackluit falling, upon his death, into the hands of Mr. Samuel Purchas, he made such use of them as he thought fit, having by no means a capacity adequate to his undertaking; and from his fourth volume, page 1653, we transcribe the account before mentioned, which seems to be no more than a memorandum from a larger relation of the voyage to which it refers; and which, if it had been given us at length in the manner that such things were given by Mr. Hackluit, would very probably have furnished us with other curious particulars. As it is, thus it runs:

A brief Note of the sending another Bark this present Year 1602, by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colony in Virginia.

“ Samuel Mace of Weymouth, a very sufficient mariner, an honest, sober man, who had been at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to find these people which were left there in the year 1587; to whose succour he hath sent five different times at his own charges. The parties by him set forth performed nothing, some of them following their own profit elsewhere, others returning with frivolous allegations; at this last time, to avoid all excuse, he bought a bark, and hired all the company for wages by the month, who departed from Weymouth in March 1602, fell forty leagues from the south-westward of Hatteraske, in 34 degrees, or thereabouts; and having there spent a month, when they should have come along the coast to seek the people, they did it not, pretending the extremity of weather, and loss of some principal ground-tackle, forced and feared them from seeking the port of Hatteraske, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought: *assafras*, *radix China*, or the China root, *benjamin*, *castia lignea*, and the bark of a kind of a tree more strong than any spice as yet known, with divers other commodities, which hereafter, in a large discourse, may come to light.”

17. It may be very natural for the reader to think that I ought to have changed the order of the two last paragraphs, and that I should have concluded my account of the voyages to America, before I had drawn up a general view of such naval transactions as happened in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but I dare assure him that I considered this attentively, and that I quitted what I saw was the regular method, in order to obtain what appears to me to be the great end of method, clearness, and being perfectly understood. By drawing together the naval transactions in the time of this famous Queen, I have shewn how she was occupied throughout the whole course of the government, so as not to have it in her power to attend to the establishment of colonies, which are a work of time, of leisure, and of recollection. But what the nature and circumstances of her administration would allow her to do for trade, she most certainly did; and that she did it by fits and starts, was owing not to any fault in her or in her ministers, but to the faults of the times, which did not permit her to do it otherwise. This, as I have disposed the thing, will, to the reader, appear at first sight to be the truth, because he will see that in the latter part of her reign the desire of planting revived, and in the course of it all the different parts of America, some from one motive, and some from another, were visited and discovered.

This I take to be the true state of the matter; for though there are many writers, who, in their general characters of that Queen, have ascribed to her the beginning of our plantations, yet undoubtedly they were therein either mistaken themselves, or delivered their sentiments in such a manner as occasioned their being mistaken by others. The glories of that period of time are so many, and so great, that they need no false colours to heighten them; on the contrary, they are lessened thereby: for when, upon enquiry, it is found that part of them are misrepresented, it naturally leads people to doubt of the rest; and, as in all other cases, so here, flattery debases what it meant to exalt, and really lessens what it seems to extol. The business of planting is indeed highly advantageous; and I believe it will appear from the following chapters, that no nation has gained more by it than our own; but then it is the business of peaceable and settled times, when nations grow full, and discharges of people

people become necessary, which was not surely the case under this great Princess. The great and real excellency of her administration consisted in this, that she always, and in all things, consulted the good of her people; and the wisdom of her ministers is visible chiefly from hence, that they did not obstinately pursue good things in season and out of season, but chose, as the circumstances of things directed, to do the best for the nation that their situation would allow. It was the opinion of several great men in her time, and upon their authority it has grown to be a received and settled notion since, that the Queen went rather too far into the Spanish war, and that her subjects would have been greater gainers, if she had either avoided that war entirely, or if she had ended it sooner, which perhaps might be true.

But after considering, as naturally as it is possible for me to do, all that has been said by Sir Robert Cotton and other able writers upon this subject, I am thoroughly convinced that the Queen acted upon right principles, and that she began and continued the war with no other view than the good of her people. I am at the same time, however, persuaded that she extended her views in this respect, very far beyond her own times, and that she was sensible enough she might have ended the contest with Spain earlier, and with a prospect of much more quiet to herself, than to her dying day she enjoyed. But this was not the disposition of Elizabeth; if it had, the whole turn of her conduct would have differed widely from what it was; and she sacrificed willingly and knowingly the tranquillity of her own government, to fix the welfare of her subjects upon a solid foundation. In this consisted the strength of her mind and the greatness of her genius; whoever considers her in another light will mistake her character. She saw plainly, that extensive trade and superior naval force were things necessary to the felicity of the inhabitants of this island; but she saw at the same time that it was impossible these should be attained, if the power of Spain was not destroyed. This therefore became her settled point, which, once gained, she knew the other must follow, and therefore from this she never departed; she was very sensible that if the Spanish power was once removed, the trade and naval force of this nation would have room enough to grow and prosper, and therefore she resolved to remove it: she could not but know that this would prove a work of great difficulty; that it would expose her to a long and expensive war abroad, and, which was worse still, to many commotions, plots, and conspiracies at home; but that did not at all move her; she was bent upon doing what the safety and well-being of the nation required; and though she could not but foresee that the advantages she laboured to procure must belong rather to posterity, than to the people she governed, yet she resolved to hazard all things to procure them.

This was her system, vast and extensive in itself, big with difficulties and dangers, extremely liable to be misunderstood, misinterpreted, and misrepresented; full of uncertainties, and requiring a great length of time, and a constant series of labours, to accomplish it. If it had been possible to have set such a scheme as this before the eyes of a monarch of ordinary qualities and virtues, it would, without doubt, have raised astonishment and terror; but to a mind like her's, capable of looking through the mist of present events, and discerning the face of things beyond them; though few obstacles were hid, yet none seemed unfurmountable; the toil was great, the journey long, the road extremely rough, and it was impossible for her to know how far she should be able to proceed; but, however, she thought it necessary to set forward, and though for a time things grew worse and worse, yet she knew that by persisting they must grow better and better. This resolution, this constancy, this magnanimity, carried

ried her through all, and she had the great comfort of seeing before she died all the great ends accomplished, which, in the dawning of her government, her admirable understanding had presented to her view; and, like the sun, she set when she had accomplished that round proposed at her rising.

We are told of Augustus, that he boasted of leaving Rome built with stone, whereas he found it of wood only. Queen Elizabeth might have boasted of much greater things, and with much greater truth; for she did not rise to empire through blood and usurpation, but came to it by succession, and with the acclamations of all her people: acclamations that were sure omens of success; for without doubt there never was a kingdom in a lower, meaner, and more dejected state than this; when the crown was placed upon her brow, and her subjects could not have either joy or hopes, but what arose from seeing it fixed there. She chose for her motto, *semper eadem*; that is, always the same; and I hope I have shewn what she meant by it. Her conduct is the evenest that we meet with in history; she met with many difficulties, but she created none; she experienced misfortunes, but they were trials and not punishments; she met with much prosperity, but all wisely derived to her by the blessing of God upon her wife endeavours.

We will support a few of these particulars by facts. She found scarce any navy; she left a great one. She found the government much in debt, and though possibly her power might have borne her out, if she had expunged it; yet she paid it, even to the pensions granted by her father, to those who were excluded from their monasteries. She found her people poor and herself necessitous; yet she spared them till they grew rich; and in the mean time grew rich herself, by managing frugally a very small revenue; for at the time she entered into the war with Spain she had seven hundred thousand pounds in her coffers. She spent above two millions in the war. She lent the states eight hundred thousand pounds at different times, and half that sum to the French King, and yet she did not raise quite three millions upon her subjects. She saw the inhabitants of her capital city doubled in her life-time, as appears from the computations, published by Sir William Petty. She found the customs producing no more than thirty-six thousand pounds *per annum*; she left them worth more than double that sum, without heightening of duties. At the time of her accession there were scarce any English merchants in England; but before her death there were considerable traders in every port of England. It is very true, that at the death of Queen Elizabeth our commerce was very trifling, to what it is; but it is no less certain, that if she had not lived, our commerce would have fallen very far short of what we find it.

The next chapter will fully shew that our great improvements were made in the two succeeding reigns; but, in this, we have made it evident, that no such improvements could have been made if this reign had not gone before them. It was in Queen Elizabeth's time that the foundation of English commerce was laid, though the superstructure was raised in the days of King James and King Charles. It was under her that our ships visited all parts of the known world. It was she that protected the Russia company; one of the most useful ever formed in this nation, and beyond comparison the best constituted. She founded the company trading to the East Indies; and, in a word, she encouraged every branch of trade that had been opened before her time, projected many, and made way for all. The room I had was much too little, to afford a just account of all that we owe in this respect to her memory, but I have made the best use of it I could, and am only sorry that I could not make a better.

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If what I have done expresses my sense of the advantages derived to us, and which will descend to our posterity, from what she and her ministers, who were truly such; I mean the instruments, and not the directors of their mistress, did, it will afford me great satisfaction; for to praise Queen Elizabeth, with judgment, is a character sufficient to gratify the ambition of the most aspiring author, and to have attempted it is the greatest merit I shall have to plead.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERIES, SETTLEMENTS, AND OTHER TRANSACTIONS, OF THE ENGLISH NATION IN AMERICA, FROM THE ACCESSION OF KING JAMES I. TO THE RESTORATION.

1. *A succinct View of the State of Affairs at the Accession of King James; the Voyage of Captain Martin Pringe, and of Captain Gilbert, to Virginia, and the Consequences of their Discoveries.* — 2. *The Earl of Southampton, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, send Captain Weymouth thither; his prosperous Voyage, and the Patent granted by the King for erecting two Virginia Companies.* — 3. *The London Company fit out Captain Christopher Newport with a small Squadron, who settles a Colony at James Town in Virginia, in 1607, and the various unlucky Accidents that befel this Colony.* — 4. *They desert James Town, embark for England, and are met at the Mouth of Chesapeak Bay by Thomas West, Lord de la War, who carries them back, resettles them, and effectually secures this valuable Country to the Crown of Great Britain.* — 5. *A short Description of this Colony, shewing its several Advantages, the Nature of its Trade, and its great Consequence to this Nation.* — 6. *The first Attempts of the second, or North Virginia Company, to settle within the Bounds of their Grant, and the Difficulties and Discouragements they met with in those Attempts.* — 7. *The Colony is at last settled, under the Direction of the famous Captain Smith, and the Country named by Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) New England.* — 8. *A succinct Account of the Transactions in this Colony, from its Establishment to the Restoration.* — 9. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce and Trade of New England, briefly represented, and the Importance of this Colony set in a true Light.* — 10. *The Discovery and first Settlement of the Bermudas, or Summer Islands, with some Account of them before they came into our Possession.* — 11. *A short Description of those Islands, with an Account of their Commodities, and their Trade to England and to the Plantations.* — 12. *The Discovery of Hudson's Bay, and the Countries in America, to which the Names of New North Wales, and New South Wales, were given by the first Discoverers.* — 13. *The Recovery of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and the History of this Country within this Period, wherein is demonstrated our clear and indubitable Right to the Island of Cape Breton.* — 14. *The several Voyages to Guiana, down to the Death of Sir Walter Raleigh, after his last Expedition thither, and an Account of our Settlement at Surinam.* — 15. *A short Account of the first planting the rich and fruitful Island of Barbadoes.* — 16. *The History of this advantageous Settlement, down to the Restoration.* — 17. *The Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, and incredible Advantages that have accrued to Great Britain from this Colony, which is proved to be the best in the World.* — 18. *The Discovery, Conquest, and Settlement of St. Christopher's, Nevis or Mevis, Montserrat, &c.* — 19. *The Grant of the Province of Maryland to the Lord Baltimore, and the Settlement of that Country, with other Particulars relating to it within the Compass of this Period.* — 20. *The Expedition by the Direction of the Protector Cromwell, for the taking Hispaniola from the Spaniards, with the true Causes of its Mis-carriage.* — 21. *The History of the Conquest and Settlement of the most noble and most important Island of Jamaica.* — 22. *A short Description of the Island, a View of the*

vast Profits derived to Great Britain from the Possession of it, and other Particulars.
 — 23. *The Conclusion of the Chapter, with some Remarks and Observations on the principal Events mentioned therein.*

1. **A**T the time of King James's Accession to the English throne, there were the fairest opportunities offered for extending and securing the commerce of this island that could be wished; and therefore we need not be surprized at finding such vast improvements made, and such mighty advantages gained to this nation, under a government that has not hitherto been represented in the fairest lights to the people. We must, however, observe, that the peaceable temper of King James was of great use to the trading part of his subjects; for the power of Queen Elizabeth had raised such a veneration in some, and struck such a terror into others, that there was scarce any nation which did not willingly embrace the friendship of King James, and offer him whatever terms could be thought most suitable to the commercial views of his subjects; which was extremely agreeable to the English at that time, who began to entertain very true notions of trade; to see its importance above all things, and to wish for the means of promoting and extending it on all sides, to which they began to think a peace with Spain would not a little contribute. At the time of the Queen's decease there was a fleet preparing under the command of Sir William Monson, intended for the Spanish coast; for it was a wise and just policy in that Princess, to keep the war at a distance from her own dominions, to find her enemies work enough at home, and thereby prevent their disturbing any of her territories. But upon the accession of King James this fleet was countermanded; and, it seems, not without reason; for the archduke, who was then governor of the Low Countries, thought fit to recall his letters of reprisal, and thereby opened a free trade between England and Flanders, a thing highly satisfactory to the merchants, who immediately reaped the benefit of it.

There was likewise another design on foot at the time of the Queen's demise, which was the prosecuting the discoveries and trade to North America, in which several gentlemen and merchants of Bristol were concerned, and amongst them the Rev. Mr. Hackluit, whom we have so often mentioned; and who, having a prebend in the cathedral church of Bristol, and having a great genius for promoting such enterprizes, was fixed upon to apply in behalf of himself, and the rest of the persons concerned, to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was still looked upon as the proprietor of Virginia, in order to procure his licence for this trade. Upon his application to that worthy person, they received all the encouragement they could desire; for he not only granted them a licence under his hand and seal, but also made over to them all the profits which should arise from the voyage.

After they were thus impowered, they raised a joint stock of a thousand pounds, and fitted out two small vessels, the one called the *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain Matthew Pringe, of the burthen of fifty tons, with thirty men and boys; the other a bark of twenty-six tons, called the *Discoverer*, commanded by Mr. William Brown, who had under him a mate, and eleven men and boys besides. These vessels were victualed for eight months, and had a large cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of goods that were thought proper for that country. They sailed from King's Road, near Bristol, on the 20th of March, 1683. Being hindered by contrary winds, they put into *Milford Haven*, where they continued till the 10th of April following, and then continued their voyage. The rout they took was by the Azores, and they arrived without any remarkable accident on the coast of North America, in the latitude of 43 degrees;
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and, after having examined the coast, on which they found nothing for their purpose, they failed on south-west in search of that part of the country where Capt. Gofnold had been.

At length they found, in the latitude of 41 degrees and some few minutes, a very convenient bay, to which they gave the name of Whitson's Bay, in honour of Mr. John Whitson, who was then mayor of Bristol. Here they landed, and cut a good quantity of sassafras, and carried it on board; but, lest they should be surprized in the woods by the natives while they were at work, they erected a little fort or redoubt, wherein they left their effects, and four or five men to guard them, while the rest were at work. The natives came and trafficked with the English, forty or fifty in a company, and sometimes upwards of an hundred, who eat and drank, and were very merry with our adventurers; especially when they observed a lad in their company playing upon a guitar, they would get round about him, and, taking hands, dance twenty or thirty in a ring, after the American manner.

Our seamen observed, that the natives were more afraid of two mastiff-dogs they carried with them than of twenty men; and when they designed to get rid of their company, they let loose one of these mastiffs; whereupon the natives would shriek out, and run away to the woods. But it is probable this usage, and the erecting a fortification in their country, made the Indians at length look upon the English as their enemies: for our adventurers inform us, that a party of Indians came and surrounded their fort a few days after, when most of them were absent, and would probably have surprized it, if the captain of the ship had not fired two guns, and alarmed the workmen in the woods, who thereupon returned to the relief of the fort.

The Indians pretended indeed they had no hostile intentions, but our people never cared to trust them afterwards: and the day before the English embarked, the natives came down again in great numbers, and set fire to the woods where they had cut the sassafras; which, it is probable, was designed to let the English know they would preserve nothing in their country which should invite such guests to visit them again; for no doubt the great guns and fire-arms had rendered the English very terrible to them, as well as their dogs. The account these people gave of the country and the inhabitants was, as might very well be expected, much the same with what had been given before by Captain Gofnold, and those who had failed with him into those parts, and therefore we need not dwell upon the subject. Amongst other curiosities they brought back with them, the most remarkable was, one of the boats used by the inhabitants, made of the bark of a birch tree, sowed together with twigs, the seams covered with rosin or turpentine; and though it was seventeen feet long, four broad, and capable of carrying nine persons, it did not weigh sixty pounds. These boats the inhabitants rowed, or rather paddled, with two wooden instruments like to our bakers' peels, by the help of which they went at a great rate. About the middle of June they had completed the freight of their bark, which they sent home before them into England. After her departure, they made all the dispatch they could in loading their own vessel; for which they procured a very valuable cargo of skins and furs, in exchange for the commodities they carried. On the 9th of August they quitted the coast of Virginia, and failed for England, arriving in the mouth of the Channel in five weeks; but meeting there with contrary winds, they could not reach King's Road before the 2d of October; but they had the satisfaction of finding that their bark was safely arrived a fortnight before them.

There was another attempt made the same year, upon the same account, which, however, did not end so fortunately. This voyage was performed by the Elizabeth

of London, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, who had been the year before at Virginia with Captain Gofnold. They departed from Plymouth the 10th of May, and in their passage traded at St. Lucia, Dominica, and Mevis, at the latter of which they cut about twenty tons of lignum-vitæ. The third of July they set sail from thence for the coast of Virginia, and particularly for Chesapeak Bay, which Captain Gilbert was very desirous of failing to, that he might make some enquiry after the people near those parts. On the 25th they came near the mouth of that bay.

But the wind blowing hard, with a high sea, though they beat about for two or three days, they could not make it, and were obliged to bear more to the eastward. The 29th, being not far from shore, the captain with four of his best men landed in their boat, and, being provided with arms, marched some way up the country; but in this march, being set upon and overpowered by the inhabitants, they were all killed; and it was not without difficulty that the boat, with two young men who were left in her, reached the ship again to bring the news. They, being now in all but eleven men and boys in the ship, were afraid to venture the loss of any more of their small company; and their provisions growing short, the master, Henry Sute, who had taken the command, resolved, though they were in extreme want of wood and water, to return homewards, which they did, and arrived in the river of Thames about the end of September.

The peace being concluded with Spain, in 1604, removed several obstacles that stood in the way of the British trade; and at the same time opened to our ships a free access to many islands, countries and ports, to which they had not before resorted; which occasioned a great increase in our exportations, and gave much encouragement to such as were employed in the different branches of the woollen manufacture. As the business of settling and planting on the northern continent of America, that too was laid open, by the attainder of Sir Walter Raleigh, which happened at the beginning of this reign, on account of a plot, which appeared very improbable then, and with respect to him especially, very ridiculous ever since. The reports made by those who were concerned in the three last voyages being very favourable to the country, and the profits made by them being very considerable, induced several persons of distinction to think seriously of promoting these discoveries, inasmuch that some of the nobility resolved to engage in an undertaking of this kind.

2. Accordingly Henry Wriothesly earl of Southampton, and Thomas lord Arundel, of Wardour, resolved to fit out a ship for this expedition. This vessel was called the Archangel, and was commanded by Captain George Weymouth, an experienced and skilful seaman, who sailed on the last day of March, 1605, from Dartmouth, and met with nothing of consequence, till such time as they judged themselves to be very near the coast of Virginia; but the winds carrying them to the northward, in the latitude of forty-one degrees, thirty minutes, and their wood and water beginning to grow extremely short, they grew very desirous of seeing land. By their charts they had reason to expect it, and therefore bore directly in with it, according to their instructions, yet they found none in a run of almost fifty leagues. After much expectation, on the 16th of May, they obtained sight of an island of no great consequence, and very woody along the shore; but by the fruits they found, it appeared no barren nor despicable spot, more especially as there were streams of fresh water running down the cliffs in great plenty, vast numbers of fowls, and fish enough all along the shore. This island is now called Long Island, and it was upon the eastern parts of it they fell, to their great satisfaction. From hence they could discern a great many other islands, and the

main land stretching from the west-south-west, to the east-north-east. Several of the islands adjoining to the continent they visited, and found very full both of timber and fruit-trees, of several sorts.

Among those islands they met with a harbour, in which ships of any burthen might lie, defended from all winds, in six to ten fathom water, upon a tough clay ouze. This they called Pentecost Harbour, because it was about Whittfuntide they discovered it. The fir-trees, which were in great numbers on these islands, yielded an exceeding sweet turpentine; and the muscles which they found about the rocks, afforded small pearl in abundance, and some that were large and orient; and the shell of the pearls on the inside resembled mother-of-pearl; but they wanted proper tackle to dredge for them, and therefore could not take any considerable quantity. The natives from the continent came oft in their canoes to trade with them while they lay in this excellent harbour, their commerce being much the same as in former voyages, all sorts of skins and furs in exchange for knives, beads, and such like trifles: and so good chapmen were they at that time, that they would give the value of ten or twelve pounds in their goods, for five shillings-worth of English iron ware. We shall not enlarge on the manners, habits and customs, &c. of the natives, which were the same we have already seen. Their bows, arrows, and canoes, had nothing in them but what was common among other savages. Their tobacco-pipes were sometimes made of clay, and sometimes the claw of a lobster only, but always of a capacity to hold as much as ten or twelve of ours.

They grew pretty familiar with those people, but found, as others had done, that, amidst all their specious shows of friendship, they were very treacherous, and sought every opportunity of betraying them. Of this they had one very evident proof; when those savages, having invited them on shore to traffic, had very near drawn them into an ambush of near three hundred men, armed after their manner, with bows and arrows; but, they discovered their treachery in time, and escaped the snare. But the most extraordinary discovery made in this voyage was that of a river, esteemed by those who found it the most beautiful in America. They went up it with their ships several leagues, and gave this account of it; that as it runs up the main, it keeps a good breadth for forty miles together, in most places a mile, in some three quarters, but never less than half a mile: it flows sixteen or eighteen feet; at low water it is from six to ten fathom deep; it has abundance of harbours for ships of all burthens, and will secure them better from wind and weather than any known in Europe. On both sides there are, at a small distance one from another, many fine coves, some of them capable of containing more than an hundred sail, where the ground is soft ouze, with a tough clay underneath for anchor-hold. Nature also has made several convenient places, like docks to grave and careen ships of all burthens, and secure them from all winds; the neighbouring land trends along on both sides in a smooth line, and, instead of rocks and cliffs, is bordered with green grass, and tall trees of different sorts. After they had remained here about six weeks, and during all that time carried on a very profitable trade with the natives, they thought of returning to England; with which view they hoisted sail June the 16th, and arrived that day month in sight of the Land's-end of England.

This prosperous voyage induced many persons of high rank, and many more of great fortune, to desire to see this new trade thoroughly established, who applied to the crown for such legal authorities as were necessary; which desire of theirs was very soon complied with, and two companies formed for settling this large tract of land, which for the present was divided into North and South Virginia, and were so styled

stiled many years after. It was to this intent King James, by his letters patents dated the 10th of April, 1606, reciting that Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, knights, and Richard Hackluit, clerk, prebendary of Westminster, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, esquires, William Parker, and George Popham, gentlemen, and divers others his loving subjects, had petitioned him for leave to fend colonies to Virginia, and such other parts of America as either appertained to his crown, or which were not actually possessed by any other Christian prince or people, and lying between thirty-four and forty-five degrees of northern latitude, and within an hundred miles of the sea-coast: and for the speedy accomplishment of the said plantation, intended to divide themselves into two several companies, the one consisting of the adventurers of the city of London, who were desirous to fix themselves between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude; and the other consisting of the adventurers of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, who were desirous to settle between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees on the coast of Virginia in America. His Majesty, in order to promote so noble a work, which might tend to the glory of God, by propagating the Christian religion among the infidels and savages, and bring them to humanity and civility, did graciously accept their petition, and for himself, his heirs and successors, did grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward Maria Wingfield, adventurers of the city of London, and all others that should associate with them, should be called the first colony, and might begin their first plantation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia, or America where they should think fit, between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of latitude; and should have all the lands, woods, rivers, ports, fishing, and hereditaments whatsoever to the same belonging and appertaining, from the first seat of their plantation, for fifty miles either way along the coast, north and south, and an hundred miles to the westward, within land, with all the islands over against the said coast for the space of an hundred miles at sea; with all the lands, ports, rivers, harbours, fishings, and mines thereunto belonging or appertaining; and liberty to plant, build and fortify therein; and that no other subjects of this crown should be permitted to settle themselves in the lands to the westward of this colony without their leave. And his Majesty did grant to the aforesaid Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, and all others that should associate with them, that they should be called the second colony, and might begin their first plantation upon the said coast of Virginia, or America, where they should think fit between thirty-eight and forty-five degrees of latitude; and enjoy all the lands, ports, rivers, fishings and hereditaments thereto belonging, with the like extent of land and sea, from the seat of their plantation, as was granted to the first colony. And it was provided, that the said respective colonies should not plant within the space of one hundred miles of each other; that each company should have a council, consisting of thirteen persons, in whom the government should be lodged, but limited by certain articles under the privy seal; they were impowered also to dig mines in and beyond their respective limits to the westward, paying the crown a fifth of all gold, and a fifth of all copper ore they should get; they were also impowered to seize all ships that should trade within their respective limits; to coin money, raise forces for their defence, &c.

3. The patentees first named were commonly stiled the London Company, and those

those last named the Western Company, who no sooner received this authority from the crown, than they began in earnest to provide for making effectual settlements within the bounds prescribed by their respective grants. With this view the London Company fitted out three vessels, one of an hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace of twenty; on board of which they embarked an hundred and ten land-men, with every thing requisite for settling a colony. The command of this small squadron was given to Captain Christopher Newport, an experienced seaman, well acquainted with the West-India navigation; but to prevent any disputes in the passage, the orders which regarded the government of the colony, and the names of the council who were to be intrusted with the administration of it when settled, were delivered to them in a box sealed up, with directions not to be opened till they were on shore.

They sailed from London on the 20th of December, 1606; but by several unlucky accidents, were, for several weeks, detained on the coast of England. At last they continued their voyage, and, having taken in fresh water and other necessaries, at the Canaries, proceeded to the Caribbee Islands, where they arrived on the 23d of February, and staid amongst them, but chiefly on the island of Nevis, about five weeks. On the 3d of April they sailed for Virginia, and arrived on the 26th of the same month at the mouth of Chesapeak-Bay. The first place on which they landed was the southern cape of that bay, where they built a fort, which they called Cape and Fort-Henry, as they did the northern Cape-Charles, in honour of the two princes; and the first great river they searched, the Indian name of which was Powhatan, they called James River, after the King's own name.

Of this river they made a full search, before they would come to any resolution about a settlement, and then, by unanimous consent, they pitched upon a peninsula about fifty miles up the river, which, besides the goodness of the soil, was esteemed most capable to be made a place both of trade and security, two-thirds of it invironed by the main river, which affords good anchorage all along, and the other third by a small river, capable of receiving small vessels of one hundred tons burden quite up till it comes within thirty yards of the great river again, and where generally, in spring tides, it overflows into the main river; for which reason the land they chose to pitch their town upon had obtained the name of an island. In this back river ships and small vessels may ride lashed to one another, and moored ashore, secure from all wind and weather. They gave the same name to the town as to the river, *viz.* James-Town. The whole island thus inclosed contained about two thousand acres of high land, and many thousand of very good marsh, and is extraordinary good pasture as any in that country. By means of the narrow passage, this place was of great security to them from the Indian enemy; and to strengthen it the more they built castles and a fort there. This was the first plantation of the English that succeeded, and which has continued to this day.

As to the colony, the first business they entered upon, after they landed, was to open their orders, where they found the following gentlemen appointed of the council, *viz.* Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, of whom Wingfield was chosen president; but they thought fit to leave Captain Smith out of the council: for it seems the rest of the gentlemen were so set against him, that they had confined him prisoner ever since they left England, which Purchas insinuates was occasioned by their envy at his superior talents, and because the company in England seemed to rely more upon his skill and experience than upon any of the rest; and it appears that the planters themselves

themselves were so convinced of his abilities afterwards, that they were obliged not only to admit him into their council, but in a manner resign their administration into his hands, after they had by their perpetual jars and weak management, almost ruined the company's affairs. After about five or six weeks stay before this their intended new town, the ships being dispatched, Captain Newport departed with them for England about the middle of June, leaving upwards of one hundred men settled in the form of government already mentioned; but when the ships were gone, the same feuds and disorders broke out again with fresh violence.

In the midst of these feuds, however, they fell to planting, sowing, building, and fortifying; but, above all they carried on a very advantageous trade with the natives. They might nevertheless have made much greater gains of it, and managed it more to the satisfaction of the Indians, as well as to the great ease and security of themselves, if they had been under any rule, or subject to any method in trade, and not at liberty to outbid one another. By this means they not only lessened their own profit, but created jealousies and disturbances among the Indians, by letting one have a better bargain than another; for they being unaccustomed to barter, such of them as had been hardest dealt by in their commodities thought themselves cheated and abused. Thence they conceived a grudge against the English in general, and made it a national quarrel, which seems to have been the original cause of most of their subsequent misfortunes from the Indians. These Indians proved much the same as they had been found to be in other places, fair and friendly at first, but treacherous and deceitful in the sequel. However, it was chiefly by the help of their provisions that the English subsisted till the return of their ships.

The next year two vessels were sent thither full freighted with men and provisions for the supply of the plantation: one of them arrived directly; but the other, being beat off to the Caribbee Islands, did not arrive till the former was sailed back for England. But what gave the greatest interruption to their trade was, an object which drew their eyes and thoughts entirely, not only from that, but even from taking the necessary care for their preservation, and for the support of their lives, which was this: they found, in a neck of land on the back of James-town island, a fresh stream of water, springing from a small bank, which washed down, with a yellow sort of dust using-glass, which, being cleansed by the fresh streaming of the water, lay shining at the bottom, and stirred up in them an unreasonable desire after riches; for they, taking all to be gold that glittered, ran into the utmost distraction, neglecting both the necessary defence of their lives from the Indians, and the support of their bodies by securing provisions, absolutely relying upon the power of gold, and thinking that, where this was plenty, nothing could be wanting. Nay, they began to be so infatuated with the hopes of mountains of wealth, that they despised the mines of Peru and Mexico, in comparison of their own inestimable stream.

They soon, however, grew sensible of their error, and found that if this gilded dirt had been really gold, it could then have been of no advantage, for, by their negligence they were reduced to an exceeding scarcity of provisions, and that little they had was lost by the burning of their town, while all hands were employed about this imaginary golden treasure; so that they were obliged to live, for some time, upon the wild fruits of the earth, and upon crabs and muscles, and such like, not having a day's provision beforehand. By this neglect, likewise, they, many of them, became a prey to the cruelty of the Indians, and the rest durst not venture abroad, and so were forced to be content with what they could get. In this miserable condition they were, when the first of the two ships arrived from England to their

their assistance. They neither thought or spoke of any thing but gold; and therefore they put into this ship all the yellow dirt they had gathered, and what skins and furs they had bartered for, and filling her up with cedar, sent her away. When the other ship arrived, they stowed her likewise with this imaginary gold dust, and filled her up with cedar and clapboard.

But being at length persuaded that they might apply themselves to other labours as profitable, as well as more necessary than collecting yellow sand, which, supposing it valuable, would be always in their power, if they took care to fortify themselves effectually, they began to bestir themselves for that purpose; and by the good management and direction of Captain Smith, they made several discoveries in James-river, and up Chesapeake-bay; and in the year 1608, they first gathered Indian corn of their own planting. While Captain Smith was out on his expedition among the savages, he was treacherously fallen upon by three hundred of the Indians, under the command of one of their kings, called *Panaunkee*, who put all his men to death, and taking him prisoner, carried him to *Powhatan*, their chief king, who would have put him to death had he not been saved at the intercession of *Powhatan's* daughter, *Pacahunta*.

Being released, he returned to James-town, where Mr. Ratcliff resigning his presidency, he was unanimously desired to accept of that office. While these discoveries were making by Captain Smith, matters run again into confusion in James-town; and several uneasy people, taking advantage in his absence, attempted to desert the settlement, and to run away with the small vessel which was left to attend it; for Captain Smith was the only man among them who could manage discoveries with success, or who could keep the settlement in any order. Nevertheless, amidst all these inconveniencies which they brought upon themselves, the plantation being increased to near five hundred men, they made two other settlements, one at *Nansamond* in James-river, above thirty miles below James-town; and the other at *Powhatan*, six miles below the falls of James-river; which last was bought of *Powhatan* for a certain quantity of copper, each settlement consisting of one hundred and twenty men; and soon after they made a fourth settlement at *Kiguotan*, near the mouth of James-river. Captain Smith observed that two-thirds of the adventurers came over with a view of having every thing provided to their hands, without any care or labour of their own, and were subsisted by the labours of the other industrious third, until he compelled them all to take share in the work; and then he soon planted ground enough to subsist the colony in plenty, and, by moderate exercise and good food, saw them not only restored to their healths, but in a very flourishing condition; and as there was now no longer necessity of procuring food from the Indians by violence, they lived and trafficked very amicably together, and *Powhatan* suffered him to make several other settlements in the country.

When their affairs were in this prosperous situation there arrived six or seven ships from England, with between three and four hundred planters, and such ample supplies of ammunition and provision, as would have enabled the colony to have made an entire conquest of Virginia, or at least to have procured what terms they saw fit of the Indians, if they had been under any command; but as things were managed, this supply only brought the colony into confusion. Upon report of which, the company in England, imagining the divisions among the council in Virginia, in whom the government there was lodged, were the occasion of most of the mismanagements that had happened, procured a new patent from King James, whereby they were empowered to appoint a governor with a more ample authority than they

they had by the preceding patent; and prevailed on the Lord de la War to accept of the government of their new colony; who thereupon made Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and Captain Newport, his deputies, until his arrival; and these gentlemen set sail from England with nine ships and five hundred men, in the month of May 1609.

All the three deputy-governors, being embarked in one ship, were unfortunately cast away on the islands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited, but they and all the people escaped to the shore; where, finding plenty of provisions, they took possession of these islands for the crown of England, and from Sir George Summers they have been ever since called the Summer Islands. In the mean time the rest of their fleet arrived safe in the bay of Chesapeake, with the reinforcement above mentioned; where they found Captain Smith president; but both old and new planters gave out they were not obliged to obey him, for there was another commission granted which had superseded his, and they expected the arrival of the deputy-governors every day.

But notwithstanding these jars, Captain Smith made a shift to keep them in some order while he remained among them, for otherwise the colony had been deserted over and over; but as this gentleman was extremely active, and almost continually employed in some service or other, he had the misfortune to be blown up by accident; which, though it did not cost him his life, yet he was so wounded and maimed thereby, that it was found absolutely necessary for him to return to England with the vessels that sailed not long after; a thing happy for himself, but extremely disadvantageous for the settlement; since he was no sooner on ship-board than every man took upon him to do what seemed right in his own eyes, which had desperate consequences, so that those who had given him most trouble while he was amongst them, deeply regretted the loss of him; and yet this sense of their own bad behaviour did not at all incline them to amendment, or to the setting up any other person with such powers as might enable him to do what Captain Smith had done.

On the contrary, they emptied their magazines, and lived in the greatest profusion, till that brought on want; and then they rambled without order, and under no command through the country; taking provisions by force from the natives, who failed not to employ all their cunning, of which they had enough, to destroy and cut them off; so that when the deputy-governors arrived, in two floops which they had built in Bermudas, they found them in a most deplorable condition; war, sickness, and famine, having reduced them from upwards of four hundred, to fewer than four score, and these too uneasy and discontented. Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, took all the pains they could to quiet these uneasinesses, and to bring things once more into order; but it was all in vain; and the people shewing their empty warehouses, their ruined settlements, and the number of sick amongst them, induced those gentlemen to consent to their embarking for England, as the only means of saving those who were left; which they accordingly did, to the great joy, no doubt, of the Indians.

But just as they were sailing out of the bay of Chesapeake, they met with their new governor, who obliged them to return to James-town, to repair their habitations and forts there, and to dispose every thing for maintaining the settlement. This worthy governor was the Right Honourable Thomas West, Lord de la War, of an ancient, as well as noble, family; in which prudence seems to have been hereditary as well as title. He was endued with the virtues most requisite for his station

as governor of an infant colony; for, with great mildness and humanity, he had the warmest courage and the greatest firmness of mind, and was equally capable of persuading by words, animating by example, and awing by the just use of his authority. He accepted of this commission from the company with a view of putting an end to these distractions, which had hitherto disappointed all their expectations, and defeated all their endeavours, and which they justly attributed to the want of having there some person in supreme authority; who might be able to direct the industrious, encourage the deserving, and punish the factious and disobedient.

As soon therefore as these old, or rather new planters, were once on shore again, his Lordship, in a free and plain discourse, set before them the folly and madness of their proceedings, reproving them for their divisions, idleness, and ill conduct, which had occasioned their misfortunes, advising them to reform, or he should be compelled to draw the sword of justice, and cut off the delinquents; declaring, however, he had much rather draw his own sword in their defence; and telling them for their encouragement, that he had brought them such plenty of provisions, that they would be in no danger of wanting for the future, if they were not wanting to themselves, in providing such things as the country produced; then he proceeded to constitute a council, consisting of Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant-general; Sir George Summers, his admiral; the Honourable George Piercy, one of his captains; Sir Ferdinand Wrennan his master of the ordnance; and Christopher Newport his admiral: these, and the rest of his officers, having taken the oaths to the government, and entered on their several employments, his next care was, to furnish his people with flesh; for notwithstanding there were not less than five or six hundred hogs in the plantation when Captain Smith went to England, there was not one left alive at this time; they had either been eat by the colony, or destroyed by the Indians, who, to distress them, had driven all the deer, and other game, out of the country; and the English were so ill provided with nets, that though there was plenty of fish in the rivers, they knew not how to take them.

The company had sent over a supply of cloathing, biscuit, flour, beer, and other liquors; but taking it for granted, that they had hogs, venison, fowl, and fish enough in the country, had made no provision of flesh; whereupon Sir George Summers the admiral, was dispatched to Bermudas, to bring over live hogs from thence, for of those Sir George found plenty in that island when he was cast away there, though there were no people upon it. The governor also set some to fishing within the bay, and others without, where there were shoals of cod-fish; but their nets and tackle were so defective, that they could not catch any. Hereupon he endeavoured to settle a correspondence with Powhatan and other Indian princes, that he might purchase flesh of them for English goods; and in some of these negotiations he succeeded, particularly with the king of Patowmack, one of the most potent of the Indian princes; but notwithstanding he represented to Powhatan that he had already promised to acknowledge the King of England for his sovereign, accepted of a crown and sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty from him, with presents of great value; this prince would give him no other answer, but, that he expected the English should depart his country, or confine themselves within the limits of James-town island, and not range through every part of the country, as they continued to do, only with a view of subduing it, as he apprehended; threatening to issue his orders to cut them off and destroy them, if ever they were found without the limits he prescribed them; and commanded the messengers his Lordship sent to him, not to see his face again unless they brought him

him a coach and six horses; for in these, he had been informed by some Indians who had been in England, their great Weroances were drawn.

The Lord de la War finding he was to expect no friendship from Powhatan, determined he should fear him: having taken an Indian prisoner, therefore, he cut off his right hand, and sent him to his master Powhatan, letting him know, that he would send all his subjects in that manner, and burn all the corn in his country (which was ripe at this time) if he did not forbear all acts of hostility for the future; which had so good an effect, that the colony lived in peace and plenty for some time, every day making fresh discoveries, and forming new alliances with some Indian princes.

And thus the company's affairs being happily established again by the conduct of Lord de la War, Sir Thomas Gates was sent to England, to give an account of the state of the colony; the ships being freighted home with cedar, black walnut, and iron ore; which returns appeared so inconsiderable, that the company were in suspense whether they should not send for the Lord de la War and the colony home. However they first desired Sir Thomas Gates's opinion upon it; who told them that these were not the only returns they were to expect; that if they would send over men who understood how to make pitch and tar, and plant hemp and flax, they might furnish England with all manner of naval stores; and that it would be very easy also to set up a manufacture of silk, the country abounding in mulberry trees, as well as silk-grass; that the soil was exceeding fruitful, producing corn, grass, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; that European cattle and corn multiplied prodigiously; and that there was great plenty of venison, fish and fowl, which they would never want when they could be provided with boats, nets, and engines to take them. The company need then to be at very little charge to support the colony; on the contrary, they would in a short time meet with returns answerable to their expectations. Whereupon the patentees resolved to proceed with alacrity to improve their Virginia plantation, in which resolution they were confirmed by the Lord de la War, who returned to England about this time (1610) for the recovery of his health.

He left behind him the honourable Mr. Piercy, as his deputy; and while he resided in England, took as much care of this plantation as if it had been his paternal estate; and was no less solicitous about the welfare of its inhabitants than if they had been his nearest relations: to say the truth, it was to the wisdom and foresight of this worthy Lord that this nation owes the preserving so great and so beneficial an acquisition; as it was to his courage and steadiness they were indebted for the plantation itself. In short, he spent the whole remainder of his life, which was about eight years, in the service of the company and the colony, and actually died in his voyage back to Virginia in 1618, with a great supply of people, cloathing and goods, for that settlement, which however, arrived safe. As I have now given an account of the settling this country, I have executed all that falls within the compass of my design; but, as I apprehend that it may be both entertaining to the reader, and better answer the design of this collection, I shall just run over a few of the principal facts relating to the history of this province, and then give a short description of it as it stands at present; in order to shew what advantages have accrued to the nation from an establishment which it cost so much labour and pains to effect; and the same method I shall take in regard to other plantations, as most earnestly desiring to render this work as agreeable, as useful; and as perfect, as it is in my power to make it.

While Lord de la War was in England the colony was governed by his deputies, who applying themselves to bring about a peaceable correspondence with the natives,

advanced it at last so far, that several intermarriages took place, and amongst these the Indian princefs Pachahunta espoused Mr. John Rolfe, an English gentleman, whose posterity enjoy, at this day, the lands descended to them from this lady. In the year 1616 one Captain Yardly was at the head of affairs; and the reason I take notice particularly of his administration is, because under it they first began to cultivate tobacco, which is since become the staple commodity of the colony. He was succeeded by Captain Argoll, afterwards Sir Samuel Argoll; who was a man of a military turn, whom we shall have occasion to mention frequently hereafter: he repaired the forts that had run to ruin, and put the colony into such a state of defence, that there was no great danger of any attempts that could be made against them by the Indians.

After the death of Lord de la War, Captain Yardly, who was likewise in England, and who, being knighted by King James, had the title of Sir George Yardly, was sent over with the title of Governor; and a very good governor he proved, for to him the people owed their being made as free as their countrymen in this island, since he augmented the number of the council, and allowed the planters to send their representatives to the assembly, the first of which sat at James-town, in May 1620. In his time negroes were first brought into Virginia, the lands divided, salt-works erected at Cape Charles, and an iron mine wrought with good effect. He was succeeded, in 1621, by Sir Francis Wyat, a young gentleman of a very good disposition, who endeavoured all he could to promote the welfare of the colony, yet in his time it was that this settlement ran a very great hazard of being totally destroyed; for the Indians who had lived amongst them now for seven or eight years with great freedom and familiarity, formed a design of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their war-captains being killed, though he had committed murder and robbery, and died in defending himself from falling into the hands of justice. The method they took to revenge this was, by a general massacre, which they fixed for Friday the 22d of March, 1622, and, in all probability, it had effectually answered their end if it had not been discovered by a converted Indian, the very day on which it was to have taken place; so that the advanced plantations could not receive intelligence time enough, which gave the natives an opportunity of cutting off three hundred and thirty-four persons. The English revenged this in a manner very unbecoming them, since, pretending to be reconciled to the Indians, and thereby gaining their confidence, they massacred likewise in their turn, and pursued their first blow so effectually as to drive most of these poor people to seek for new habitations.

But it was not long before the English gave them an opportunity of satisfying that vice which is deepest rooted in their nation, I mean revenge; for dividing amongst themselves, and falling into factions and parties; and, at the same time, running out new settlements, the Indians fell upon them again, and cut them off in great numbers. As this misfortune was chiefly owing to the imprudent grants made in England, it occasioned loud complaints; and the fatal consequences of the company's mal-administration cried so loud, that King Charles I. coming to the crown of England, expressed a tender concern for the poor people that had been betrayed thither, and lost; upon which consideration he dissolved the company in the year 1626, reducing the country and government under his own immediate direction, appointing the governor and council himself, and ordering all patents and process to issue in his own name, reserving to himself a quit-rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land, and so *pro rata*. The country being thus taken into the King's hands, his Majesty was pleased to re-establish the constitution by a governor, council, and assembly, and

and to confirm the former methods and jurisdictions of several courts, as they had been appointed in the year 1620, and placed the last resort in the assembly; he likewise confirmed the rules and orders made by the first assembly, for apportioning of land, and granting patents to particular adventurers.

This was a constitution according to their hearts' desire, and things seemed now to go on in a happy course, for encouragement of the colony; people flocked thither apace, every one took up land, by patent, to his liking; and, not minding any thing but to be masters of great tracts of land, they settled themselves separately on their several plantations. Nor did they fear the Indians, but kept them at a greater distance than formerly; and they, for their parts, seeing the English so sensibly increase in number, were glad to keep their distance, and be peaceable. This liberty of taking up land, and the ambition each man had of being lord of a vast, though unimproved territory, together with the advantage of the many rivers, which afforded a commodious road for shipping at every man's door, has made the country fall into such an unhappy settlement and course of trade, that, to this day, they have not any one place of cohabitation among them that may reasonably bear the name of a town. The next governor, after the settling of this new constitution, was Sir John Harvey, who proved of a spirit very improper for such an employment, since he began early to differ with his council; and soon after oppressed the people to such a degree, that they were resolved to be rid of him, at all events; and accordingly in 1639 they seized him, and sent him home prisoner, with a long charge against him, accompanied by two of the council, appointed to manage the prosecution against him. But as soon as he came to London, the King, who highly resented this outrage on his prerogative, sent Sir John back again, with the same authority as before; but the very next year removed that oppressive governor, and appointed Sir William Berkley to succeed him.

This gentleman held the government longer than all his predecessors put together, and deserved it; he was, in all respects, an excellent governor; so careful of the colony, and so kind to the people, that he preserved loyalty in Virginia long after it was lost at home; nor did he submit to the Rump, till he was forced to it; and then withdrew to his own plantation, where he lived as a private person, and would have no concern in public affairs at all; but he was still respected by the inhabitants for the great things he had performed. He had pursued the war with the Indians till he had reduced them so low as to be no longer troublesome, after having made their Emperor prisoner; he encouraged the making of pot-ashes, soap, salt; planting of flax, hemp, and cotton; and the manufacture of silk, which he brought to great perfection. After he retired from the government there were three persons sent from England, who ruled one after another seven years; the first of them was Colonel Diggs, who acted under the parliament's authority; then Mr. Bennet was sent over by Oliver; and afterwards one Mr. Matthews, who died governor; and, upon this accident, the people of Virginia desired Sir William Berkley to resume the administration of affairs. He had a commission from King Charles II. then in exile; but he absolutely refused to act, unless the people would acknowledge his master, to which they very readily consented, which will appear the less surprizing, when it is considered, that abundance of gentlemen, who had been ruined in the support of the royal cause, had retired into this colony from England.

In consequence therefore, of this resolution, King Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before he was acknowledged in any of his three kingdoms; but it happened very luckily for Sir William that his master was soon after restored; and as a mark of his affection for the province, he wore at his coronation a robe of silk, sent from Virginia.

ginia. Soon after Sir William went over to compliment the King upon his return, and left Colonel Francis Morrison, his deputy; who behaved, in his absence, to the general satisfaction of the plantation. He ordered the laws to be revised and collected into a body, to be laid before the assembly, at their next session. He took the same care of the church as he did of the state; he regulated the parishes, settled the ministers' allowance, got a revenue for the support of the government, and other laws for the encouragement of the linnen and woollen manufactures, the breeding of silk-worms, tanning, and salt-works.

Whilst the deputy-governor was so busy for the service of the colony, Sir William Berkley was in England, taking his instructions from the King for his future conduct. His Majesty ordered him to promote husbandry, manufactures, silk and vineyards, that all ships trading to Virginia should go to James-town, and be entered at the custom-house there before they broke bulk; which orders were given, with an intent, that by them the people might be tempted to come thither, and dwell there for the convenience of trade; and had they been obeyed it might have increased the number of buildings in that city, which is now much less than it was fourscore years ago; every body coveting to live at his plantation, and settle where he thinks he shall have the best crops and convenience of shipping. This is the reason that there are so few towns in Virginia, and those that are there so very small. Sir William, being fully instructed by the King how to proceed on his return to his government, set sail from England to Virginia, where he arrived in the year 1662, and immediately put the people upon improving their plantations, and advancing manufactures. He summoned an assembly, and got an act passed for building James-town; each county was to build so many houses, and some actually built their quota; which, notwithstanding the act, were converted into taverns and eating-houses, and the town was very little the bigger for them. Sir William Berkley, at his return, gave a sanction to the new body of laws, and took all the care he could to carry them into execution, which was all that he could do, or that indeed could be expected from him. And, as we are now come down in the history of this colony as low as this period will permit, we are next to give a succinct account of the nature and condition of this plantation, that it may appear how well it deserves the pains that have been taken about it, and how amply it rewards this nation for all the care and expence bestowed in planting of it, which will also acquit us of all the promises made to the reader upon this subject.

5. The situation of Virginia is remarkably happy and convenient, having the river Potowmac upon the north-east, the Atlantic Ocean on the east, the province of Carolina on the south, and the Apalachian Mountains on the west, which separate it from Florida. It lies from 36 to 39 degrees north latitude, and between 74 and 80 degrees of western longitude; it extends about 240 miles in length from north to south, and may be in breadth 120 miles from east to west. As to the air of this country it depends very much on the winds. The north and north-west are either very sharp and piercing, or boisterous and stormy, the south-east and south being hazy and sultry. The winter is dry and clear, which makes it very pleasant; snow falls in great quantities, but it seldom lies above a day or two, and their frosts though quick and sharp, yet seldom last long. Their spring is somewhat earlier than ours; in April they have frequent rains; May and June are very pleasant months, the heat being greatly tempered by cooling breezes; July and August are sultry hot, the air growing in a manner stagnant, which produces dreadful thunderings and lightning; in September the weather breaks, and there fall prodigious showers of rain, at which season it is that the inhabitants

habitants are most sickly. It ought, however, to be observed, that in this, and indeed in all our colonies, the climate grows daily better, and these thunder seasons less violent, which the inhabitants very justly ascribe to the clearing the country, and cutting down the woods, which gives the air a free passage, and is attended with many other conveniences.

As to the soil it is generally low towards the sea coasts, and for one hundred miles up into the country there is hardly a hill or stone to be met with, except that here and there some rocks of iron ore appear above the ground, and some banks of a kind of petrified oyster-shells, that are of a prodigious thickness; the whole country before it was planted was either forest or morafs, which in the West Indies they call swamps. The bay of Chesapeake runs directly up the country, almost due north, for three hundred miles; at the entrance it is esteemed about twenty-one miles broad, or something more; and it continues navigable as long as it washes the coast of Virginia, and much farther. Into the west-side of this bay fall four great rivers, which rise in the Apalachian Mountains, all of them running from the north-west to the south-east: the most southerly of these is James-river, the Indian name whereof was Powhatan, being generally about two miles over, and navigable, at least, fourscore miles. York-river, whose Indian name was Pamaunkee, is a little to the northward of James-river, and in some places they approach one another so near, that they are not five miles asunder. To the northward of York-river is the river Raphanack, which in some places is not ten miles distant from York-river, and either of them as broad or broader than James-river. North of Raphanack is the great river of Patowmack, which in some places is not above seven miles distant from Raphanack-river, and in other places upwards of fifty. This river of Patowmack is navigable above two hundred miles, being nine miles broad in some places, but generally about seven. The mouth of the river Patowmack, and that of James-river, are about one hundred miles asunder; but the heads of all the four rivers rise in the same hills, pretty near each other. There are great plenty of springs in all parts of the country, but the water is somewhat harsher than in England.

As to animals, there were neither horses, cows, sheep, or swine, before the coming of the English, but they have now plenty of them all; and their horses are very servicable, and travel at a great rate. They have likewise elks, but not common; red-deer in great plenty; hares, squirrels of several kinds, musk-rats, rackoons, wild cats, beavers, wolves, foxes, and several sorts of dogs. As for reptiles, they have lizards, several kinds of snakes, particularly the rattle-snake, of which an account will be given hereafter. As to birds, they have eagles of three sorts: the first is the grey eagle, about the size of a kite; the second, the bald eagle, so called because the upper part of the neck and head is covered with a sort of white down; the third, a black eagle, resembling those in England, very ravenous, and which do a great deal of mischief; most sorts of hawks, two kind of owls, both very large; and the white owl, very beautiful, all the feathers of her back and breast being bright as silver, except a black spot immediately below the throat. They have a large bird of prey, which they call a bustard, but it is rather a kind of kite; they have wild turkeys very large, some of them weighing forty pounds; their partridges are smaller than ours, but to the full as well tasted; they have a bird called the mocking-bird, of two sorts, grey and red, esteemed the finest singing bird in the world; it receives its name from imitating the notes of all other kind of birds it hears: the humming-bird with a long bill and very fine feathers. As to water-fowl they have of all sorts, such as herons, bitterns, curlews, wild swans, geese, ducks, teal, wigeons, cormorants, and gulls.

As for fish, no country in the world has greater plenty: in February, March, April, and May, there are shoals of herrings come up into their very brooks, some of the size of ours, but for the most part much bigger. There are also plenty of cod-fish and stinging-grass; which last is said to be peculiar to this country, being so called from having a sting in its tail; it is esteemed good food. In their rivers there are the old wife, the sheep's-head, an excellent fish; trouts, green-fish, sturgeons in great plenty; plaice, flounders, whittings, carp, pikes, mullets, and perch. And for shell-fish they have oysters, crabs, cockles, and shrimps. Of those that are not eaten, they have in their seas, whale, dog-fish, sharks, porpoises, gar-fish, and sword-fish: there is also a fish they call the toad-fish, from his swelling monstrously when taken out of the water; and the rock-fish, some species whereof are poisonous, and have been fatal to those that have eaten them; though others, which are not easy to be distinguished from the former, are very wholesome food; the skip-jack, so called from his skipping out of the water, is tolerable good food; and so is the tobacco-pipe-fish, so called from its being long and slender like a tobacco pipe. They have many insects, such as muskitoes, bugs, seed-ticks, red-worms, which lie only on old trees and rotten logs; on which if a man sits down in the midst of summer, he is sure to catch them, but they are easily got off with warm water. We may add to these the worm that eats plank, which has a kind of horn or screw in its head, with which it forces a passage through any wood to which it sticks; and as we have heard much of these worms, and perhaps not a little concerning them that is wide of the truth, it may not be amiss to give an account of them, from a gentleman who resided long in Virginia, and made very exact observations. In the month of June, annually, there rise up in the salts vast beds of seedling worms, which enter the ships, sloops, or boats; wherever they find the coat of pitch, tar, or lime worn off the timber, and by degrees eat the plank into cells, like those of an honey-comb. These worms continue thus upon the surface of the water, from their rise in June, until the first great rains after the middle of July; but after that do no fresh damage till the next summer season, and never penetrate farther than the plank or timber they first fix upon.

The damage occasioned by these worms may be four several ways avoided; 1st, By keeping the coat (of pitch, lime, and tallow, or whatever else it is) whole upon the bottom of the ship or vessel; for these worms never fasten or enter but where the timber is naked. 2dly, By anchoring the large vessels in the strength of the tide, during the worm season, and hauling the smaller ashore; for in the current of a strong tide the worms cannot fasten. 3dly, By burning and cleaning immediately after the worm season is over, for then they are but just stuck into the plank, and have not buried themselves in it; so that the least fire in the world destroys them entirely, and prevents all damage that would otherwise ensue from them. 4thly, By running up into the freshes with a ship or vessel, during the five or six weeks that the worm is thus above water; for they never enter, or do any damage in fresh water, or where it is not very salt.

We come now to speak of what is produced by their soil. And first with respect to trees; of which we may affirm, few countries are better stocked, or afford greater variety. As to timber, they have oaks, cedars, firs, cypress, elm, ash, and walnut; some of their oaks measure two feet square, and sixty feet in height. They have also beach, poplar, hazel, &c. besides saffrass, sarsaparilla, and many other sweet woods, and such as are used in dying. Their fruits are, grapes of several kinds, cherries of various sorts, plumbs from the bigness of a damson to that of a pear;

peaches in such plenty that in some places they feed their hogs with them; quinces in abundance, and apples and pears in as great plenty as can be wished. Their corn is of two sorts, English wheat, barley, oats, rye, which all thrive very well, and yield from fifteen to thirty fold increase; and maize or Indian corn, which is not unlike our pease in taste, but grows in a great ear or head as big as the handle of a large horse-whip, having from three hundred to seven hundred grains in one ear, and sometimes one grain produces two or three such ears or heads; it is of various colours, red, white, yellow, blue, green and black, and some speckled and striped, but the white and yellow are most common; the stalk is as thick as an ordinary walking cane, and grows six or eight feet high, in joints, having a sweet juice in it, of which a syrup is sometimes made, and from every joint there grow long leaves in the shape of sedge leaves: The manner of planting is in holes or trenches, about five or six feet distance from each other; the earth is opened with a hoe (and of late years, with a plough), four inches deep, and four or five grains thrown into each hole, or trench, about a span distant from each other, and then covered with earth: they keep it weeding from time to time, and as the stalk grows high they keep the mould about it like the hillocks in a hop-garden: they begin to plant in April, but the chief plantation is in May, and they continue to plant till the middle of June: what is planted in April is reaped in August; what is planted in May is reaped in September; and the last in October.

But as the great produce of this country is tobacco, and as that of Virginia is looked upon as the best in the world, it is but just that we should give a more particular account of it. It is certain that the country produced vast quantities of it before any Europeans went thither, and that the use of it was taught them by the natives; but in what manner they cultivated it, or how they cured it, is now no longer known, since at present they buy what they consume from the English, and therefore it is of their manner of managing this plant that we shall speak. The tobacco seeds are first sown in beds, where having remained a month, the plants are transplanted into the little hillocks, like those in our hop-gardens, the first rainy weather; and being grown a foot high there, within the space of another month they top them, and prune off all the bottom leaves, leaving only seven or eight on the stalk, that they may be the better fed; and these leaves, in six weeks time, will be in their full growth; the planters prune off the suckers, and clean them of the horn-worm twice a week, which is called worming and sucking; and this work lasts three weeks or a month, by which time the leaf from green begins to turn brownish, and to spot and thicken; which is a sign of its ripening; as fast as the plants ripen, they cut them down, heap them up, and let them lie and sweat a night, and the next day they carry them to the tobacco-house, where every plant is hung up at a convenient distance one from another, for about a month or five weeks; at the end of which time they strike or take them down, in moist weather, when the leaf gives, or else it will crumble to dust; after which they are laid upon sticks, and covered up close in the tobacco-house for a week or a fortnight to sweat; and then opening the bulk in a wet day, the servants strip and sort them, the top leaves being the best, and the bottom the worst tobacco; the last work is to pack it in hogheads, or bundle it up, which is also done in a wet season; for in curing of tobacco, wet seasons are as necessary as dry to make the leaf pliant.

Yet tobacco is very far from being the only thing of value which this country produces; on the contrary, they have flax, hemp, and cotton; and silk they might have if they were not so extremely addicted to their staple commodity, as never to

think of any thing else, if tobacco can be brought to a tolerable market. They have likewise silk grafs, of which they make very little advantage, though, no doubt, under proper management, most profitable manufactures might be raised from it, since its threads are finer than those of flax, and stronger than hemp. We may add to this, that all kind of naval stores might be produced in Virginia with great ease, and in vast plenty: such as plank-timber, masts, yards, pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine, besides sails, cordage, and iron. It is commonly said, and there are some who have lived in Virginia ready enough to affirm it, that there is hardly a stone to be found in the country; but however, this is far enough from being true; for at the waterfalls there are stones enough of different kinds fit for paving, and other uses; and towards the hills there are quarries of slate, and a kind of freestone; there are likewise a sort of shining pebbles, not at all inferior to Kerry-stones, and though, generally speaking, they are soft, yet I have heard that when long exposed to the air, they become very hard, and if polished are extremely beautiful. As to mines, they have several of good iron in almost all parts of the country, more especially in the Northern Neck, which belongs to Lord Fairfax. There was once a lead mine discovered, but lost in the first massacre; there has been likewise a talk of silver and gold mines; but it is certain that they have a great many coals, antimony, and other things of value in the bowels of that country, which they would not fail to search out if tobacco alone did not supply them plentifully.

Thus far we have described the country itself: let us next enquire into its condition as a colony; and in this light we find it divided into twenty-five counties, some say twenty-nine; of these the first is James-county, lying on both sides James-river, which contains five parishes and the only two towns that are in Virginia. The first is Jamestown, on the north side of the river, and about forty miles from the mouth of it; it is very far from being considerable, as it does not contain above sixty or eighty houses at most, and of these, as we observed before, the greater part are taverns or public houses for the entertainment of sea-faring people, the gentlemen of Virginia making it their choice to live on their plantations, in order to see how their estates are managed; and in these seats of theirs they live so handsomely and so hospitably, that how much soever strangers may disapprove their method before they come into the country, they are quickly reconciled to it afterwards. The second is Williamburgh, to which the seat of government is now transferred, and yet it does not consist of above forty houses. The rest of the counties are denominated as follows: Henrico county, Prince George, Charles county, Surry, Isle of Wight, Nanfamond, Norfolk, Princess Anne, York county, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King William, King and Queen, Gloucester, Middlesex, Essex, Richmond, Stafford, Westmorland, and Lancaster, Northumberland, Acomack, and Northampton.

The number of people in these counties, taken altogether, men, women, children, and negroes, may amount to about half a million; of these one hundred and twenty thousand are freemen, or their wives and children, and above twenty thousand are capable of bearing arms. As for the Indians, there are still many nations of them, but some of them so small, that they do not exceed four or five families; and it is thought that amongst them all, they could scarce raise seven hundred, some think not five hundred fighting men. As to the government it resembles that of England; for the legislative authority is lodged in the governor, or council and assembly: the governor represents the King; gives his assent to laws, and has a negative voice. As Governor, he is at the head of the civil administration, and being by his commission a lieutenant-general and vice-admiral, the military and naval power are like-

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wife in his hands. In other respects, the government is very well regulated, and the church also is well taken care of; neither has any plantation belonging to us been under better management, or the people more happy than those of Virginia; and this appears very plainly from the face of the country, though there are no great towns in it, and but very few villages; for the gentlemen's seats are very thick, all of them good convenient houses, many of them large and magnificent. The roads are no where better, the country being, for the most part, level, and scarce any rugged or deep ways; so that it is a common thing to travel forty or fifty miles in an afternoon, and sometimes an hundred in a summer's day. They have likewise as great conveniencies with respect to water carriage as any country in the world; and it is this that has chiefly hindered them from living in great towns, which, though prejudicial to the manufactures, has certainly proved very advantageous to their plantations, which are larger, more frequent, and better secured, than in almost any other colony; and as it has flourished extremely hitherto, so at this time it is as thriving a colony, and as likely to continue so, as any that belong to this nation.

The last thing we propose is, to give the reader some idea of the advantages that arise to the nation from this particular plantation, which I must confess is a very difficult thing to do; but, however, I shall labour to give as much satisfaction as I can, and if I should be so fortunate as to meet with any farther informations, care shall be taken that the public shall not lose the benefit of them, since they will come in properly enough in the latter part of the work. In the first place it must be observed, that as the value of labour differs in several parts of this kingdom, so the labour of a man in most of the plantations is not only as advantageous to his native country as if he worked at home, but much more so: I believe, upon a moderate computation, we may reckon that such a person contributes to the public stock, by which I mean, the income and wealth of the British nation, four times as much: so that we may with reason reckon, that the white people in Virginia, one with another, produce twelve pounds to this nation; the reason of which will appear, when we consider the nature of their commerce more particularly. But besides this, the negroes are of great advantage to this kingdom, though of infinitely less than white people would be, if they were employed in the same work; for every one of these poor creatures consume yearly two hilling-hoes, two weeding-hoes, two grubbing-hoes, besides axes, saws, wimbles, nails, and other iron tools and materials. On the whole, there can be no sort of question, because it appears a plain matter of fact, that these people necessarily take off the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in the commodities of this country. How far it might have been more expedient for the infant-colony to have intermarried with the Indians, and thereby so increased their numbers as to have been in a condition to manage their affairs without slaves at all, I will not take upon me to determine; but this seems so clear as to admit of no dispute, that such a settlement would have been by far more beneficial to the mother-country, and out of comparison more commodious and secure for the planters themselves. But I mention this only incidentally, and that it may pass the consideration of persons better versed in these things than I pretend to be; and, from just hinting how things might be, return to the detail of how they really are.

I have before stated (agreeable to what able authors have asserted upon this subject) some general principles of computation, such as that every head in this plantation may be reckoned worth twelve pounds a year to this nation, which must seem prodigious, and indeed so does every thing grounded on calculation, to such as have not applied themselves thereto; and so they always will, unless clearly explained, which is
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what I shall next attempt, as desiring to inculcate useful truths, capable of influencing men's practice, and not to write paradoxical discourses for my own, and other people's amusement. In order to untie these knots, we must consider that the people in Virginia live exactly as we do, or rather more freely, in that generous, open, hospitable, and consequently expensive method that prevailed here in the last age. But as they are supplied both with necessaries and conveniences, with the instruments of labour, as well as the means of luxury, from England; it follows of course that they must employ an infinite number of hands to provide these. For it is generally known that these demands must be supplied from those handicrafts and mechanics that have most hands in their service; such as weavers, shoemakers, hatters, ironmongers, turners, joiners, tailors, cuttlers, smiths, bakers, brewers, ropemakers, hosiers, and indeed all the mechanics in England; their manufactures being good merchandize in Virginia. The commodities sent thither, besides linnen, silks, India goods, wine, and other foreign manufactures, are cloth, coarse and fine serges, stuffs, bays, hats and all sorts of haberdashers' ware; hoes, bills, axes, nails, adzes, and other iron ware; cloaths, ready made; knives, bisket, flour, stockings, shoes, caps for servants, and, in short, every thing that is made in England.

But if they employ these people they must feed them likewise, and pay them their wages; and not only them, but those who take the pains to go between the planters and these workmen; by which I mean the agents, merchants, or factors; who, though fewer in number, yet have their servants and dependents; who, from the nature of their employments, expect to be paid at a better rate. Neither is this all, for when things are made and brought to the factor, they are never the nearer to the planter in Virginia, but must be put into the hands of a new set of people, who are to be paid for the carriage of them; so that now I think the most common capacity may understand how the labour of every head in any plantation must be worth four times as much to the community of his mother-country, as if he wrought at home; for if he spends so much, and pays for what he has, both of which are undeniable, his labour must produce so much. This shews the benefit of plantations to their mother-country; and I hope there is no need to say that this shews how much regard and respect is due from those who manage the affairs of the mother-country, to those who live and labour for her in the plantations. But because it is not impossible we may err a little in the measure of these computations, and as I am far from desiring to magnify these advantages beyond the truth, I shall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white person in Virginia, one with another, is worth to this nation ten pounds, which will make the value of the whole plantation equal to an annuity of 1,200,000*l.* to Great Britain.

This I think is already, in a great measure, demonstrated; but as I am very sensible that many people will still think full satisfaction is not given upon this head, if they are not shewn how this, or at least the greatest part of it, is received; that we may not do things by halves, my next care shall be to remove this difficulty likewise. In order to this, we must consider that the trade of this colony, as well as that of Maryland, consists almost entirely of tobacco; for though the country would produce several excellent commodities fit for trade, yet the planters are so wholly bent on planting tobacco, that they seem to have laid aside all thoughts of other improvements. This trade is brought to such perfection, that the Virginia tobacco, especially the sweet-scented, which grows on York-river, is reckoned the best in the world, and is what is generally vended in England for a home consumption; the other sorts, called Oronoac, and that of Maryland, are hotter in the mouth, but they turn to as good account,
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being in demand in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany; it is therefore from this commodity that we are to look for the best part of that vast sum which we have mentioned; and if we proceed diligently, and with attention, I dare say we shall not search in vain.

In time of peace, I am persuaded, from several different calculations, and from the comparison of the informations I have sought and received from such as are, or ought to be, best acquainted with these matters, that there is very little less than one hundred thousand hogheads of tobacco exported every year from this colony; that between three and four hundred ships are employed in this trade; and upwards of four thousand seamen. If we take things upon this foot, then the hundred thousand hogheads of tobacco will produce about the sum at which I have fixed the produce of this colony to the nation; but it may be said, that if we take tobacco for the commodities and manufactures that we send to Virginia, it differs very widely from an annuity; and that instead of receiving 1,200,000*l.* from the persons inhabiting this plantation, we return them the most valuable things we have, to 60,000,000 of pounds of tobacco, which in itself is no necessary of life, and which we might very well do without: thus we are all at sea again, and it is my business to set us once more ashore; and if I am able to clear up this last mist, I hope there will, for ever after, be fair weather for the plantations.

In answer therefore to this objection, which seems to destroy all, and to demolish entirely that structure which I have been erecting, I say, that strictly considered, it makes more in favour of the colony of Virginia, than all that I have been saying for it; and this I shall be able to make as plain as any thing can be made, in a very few words. It is, I think, generally agreed, that Sir Walter Raleigh first brought tobacco into England, or rather, as I apprehend, had it brought over to him from this colony; and we find the use of it much recommended by the learned and worthy Mr. Harriott, whom he sent over thither. But we must not infer from thence that Virginia tobacco was always used here, since the contrary is very certain; for, as the reader has been told, it was Sir George Yardly who introduced the planting and cultivating tobacco in that country by the Europeans, in the reign of King James I.

Yet before this time the practice of taking tobacco was become so common in England, that King James wrote a book against it. I do not concern myself in the controversy, whether he was right or wrong in his opposition to this practice; but I mention it to shew that it was become common, and that the fashion of using it was growing strong. We had most of our tobacco then from Brazil, and some from the Spanish plantations; the price of it was from four to seventeen shillings a pound, and if we had come to use as much of it as we do of the Virginia tobacco, and had paid for it at the rate only of five shillings, this single article of luxury would have stood us in upwards of seven millions every year. I very readily allow that this would be a very absurd and improbable supposition, since it cannot be imagined that, in such a case, the common sort of people either could or would have smoked tobacco; but then let us consider what a number of people there are to whom the dearth of this commodity would have proved no restraint; and let us suppose that we should, in this respect, have been no wiser than our neighbours, which I look upon to be a very modest and rational supposition; we might then, instead of forty thousand hogheads, have consumed ten or twelve thousand, which would have amounted to a million or upwards, and consequently so much ready money is hindered from going out of the nation by the bringing in of Virginia tobacco, which, viewed in this light, is equivalent to the importing of so much silver.

But to proceed, besides the money saved to the nation by the use of this tobacco, we export one way or other sixty thousand hogheads, which, at five pound per hoghead, amounts to 300,000*l.* exclusive of the duty of this tobacco, which is not drawn back. I might have taken another method of reasoning upon this subject, by shewing that whatever exchange of commodities contributes to the maintenance and employment of a certain number of people, is not only equal to, but is really much better than, an annuity that would maintain the same number of people in the same way, had I not been inclined to render this matter as evident as it is possible. After this I shall make but two short observations, and so quit this part of my subject.

The first is, that in case what we receive from Virginia in tobacco should fall short of the sum I have computed we derive from thence, this deficiency is certainly made up some other way; or, in other words, the Virginians send us other commodities, or pay us with the balance of their trade with other places. The second observation is, that there is not the least danger of seeing this country over-peopled, and thereby sinking the value of tobacco, because there are a multitude of things to which the people may turn their hands; several of which have been enumerated already, and therefore I shall only observe that in the articles of silk and iron the inhabitants of this colony might save us 300,000*l.* a year, and bring us in very near the same sum from other nations. But it is now time to quit this agreeable topic, which however is a very hard task for one who has any tincture of public spirit, in order to proceed with the proper business of this chapter.

6. In what we have delivered concerning Virginia, we have pursued the history only of the first company established by King James's patent, called also the London, or South Virginia company; but we are next to account for the conduct of the other adventurers, or the western or Plymouth company, as they are styled by the writers of those times, who contented themselves for some years with trading with the natives of North Virginia for furs, and fishing upon that coast. Two ships being employed in this fishery in the year 1614, commanded by the famous Captain John Smith and Captain Thomas Hunt: Captain Smith went on shore, and took a particular view of the country of the Massachusetts, and had some skirmishes with the natives; after which he returned to England, ordering Hunt to sail with the other ship to Spain, and dispose of the fish he had taken there; but Hunt, proposing to make a market of the natives themselves, as well as of their fish, after Captain Smith was gone, enticed twenty-seven men of the Indians on board his ship, and then setting sail with them to Malaga, sold them there to the Spaniards for slaves, at the rate of twenty pounds a man, among whom was an Indian called Squanto, afterwards very serviceable to the English.

This outrage was so resented by the Indians for the present, that all commerce with them became impracticable; nor was this the first time the natives had been thus violently carried away by the English; for Captain Harlow, in the year 1611, surprized one Epenow, and two more of his countrymen, and brought them to England; where Epenow learned English enough to impose upon his masters; and understanding that the hopes of acquiring mountains of gold was the principal inducement the English had to visit his country; the cunning Indian, in order to get thither again, pretended there was a rich gold mine not far from the country where he was born, which he would guide them to if they thought it worth their while to fit out a ship on such an expedition. This overture had the success Epenow expected, and Captain Hobson was dispatched the next year with provisions, tools, and materials, proper to make a settlement, and open the mines Epenow had given them intelligence of. This ship arriving on the coast of Massachusetts, several Indians came on board,
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promising to return again the next day with furs and other merchandize; and they did, indeed, return, but in an hostile manner, with twenty canoes full of armed men; and Epenow, beckoning to them to approach nearer the ship, jumped into the sea, and made his escape to them; whereupon the English fired upon the canoes, and were answered with a flight of arrows, and several were wounded on both sides, among whom was Captain Hobson himself; after which the captain, without attempting any thing farther, thought fit to return to England.

In the year 1619, Captain Dormer was sent to New England, and with him Squanto, the Indian, as an interpreter, to endeavour to make peace with the natives, and settle a colony in the Massachusetts bay, but to no purpose; the Indians would not be reconciled, and, in a skirmish with them, Dormer received further wounds, whereupon he proceeded to Virginia, leaving Squanto on shore in New England. The patentees, having met with such discouragement, were, at last, so much disheartened, that they gave up all thoughts of making a settlement; however, other adventurers carried on a trade to New England; eight ships were employed in it by the merchants of London and Plymouth, this, and the next year, and the success was such, that the seamen, who were sharers also, had each seventeen pound in six months time, as much as thirty pounds now, and as good as five pound a month, or master's pay. It is very probable that the commerce might have gone on in this manner for several years, without any thoughts of planting, though that was the motive upon which their patent was granted, so early began the fashion with companies, to make that their least care for which they were constituted. But it so fell out, that a congregation of Independents or Brownists, that for the sake of their religion had retired to Holland, and formed themselves into a church under one Mr. John Robinson, who was their minister, found themselves more uneasy there than they had been in England; and therefore formed a project of seeking an establishment in the New World, where they imagined they might enjoy peace and quiet; yet before they could carry this design into execution, it was necessary to have King James's licence, not only in regard to the rights of the crown; but to secure them, when settled, from being turned out, either by their own countrymen or strangers. In order thereto they got Sir Robert Nanton to procure the King's consent for their transporting themselves to America. Sir Robert asked His Majesty that such a people might enjoy liberty of conscience under His gracious protection in America, where they would endeavour the advancement of His dominions, and promote the Gospel: the King replied, "It is a good and honest proposal," and yielded to it.

This congregation, by their agents in England, treated first with the council at Plymouth for a large tract of land towards Norembegua and New Scotland; but upon better consideration they abandoned their purposes, and resolved to seat themselves more to the southward on the bank of Hudson's-river, which falls into the sea at New York. To this end, they contracted with some merchants, who were willing to be adventurers with them, in their intended settlement, and were proprietors of the country; but the contract bore too hard upon them, and made them the more easy in the disappointment they met with in settling on Hudson's-river; several of Mr. Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank for a fund to carry on this undertaking. The agents hired the *May-Flower*, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, which was freighted with proper goods and merchandize, and ordered to Southampton, where she took aboard the company that came from Holland with Mr. Brewster. The whole company, about one hundred and twenty persons, sailed from Plymouth, the 6th of September, and fell in with Cape Cod, on the 9th of November,

November, an ill time of the year^{*}ceeded beyond their expectation; for the charter difficult labour; and nothing could elect a governor, a council, and magistrates, and be: here they refreshed themselves aboppolite to ours, or encroached on the prerogative southward for Hudson's River; but Jones the history thus low, and shewing how, bribed by the Hollanders, who intended the settlement was founded and fixed in this as they did some time after, instead of putting most populous of our plantations upon dangerous shoals and breakers, where, meeting farther in this way, because it would again to the Cape, upon which they put into the: and because the history of New the season of the year, to attempt a settlement there, much better informed thereof But Cape Cod not being within the limits of the land well content with endeavouring, patent, they associated themselves into a body politic, by explaining the state of this having declared themselves subjects of the crown of England.

submission to the laws that should from time to time be made meant by New England,

The place they made choice of to build a town on was very is a general name for country about it not less agreeable; so they resolved not to trouble province, properly friends about obtaining any farther licence, but to risque their fortune was originally dence had cast them; in consequence of which resolution they went been formerly in raising their new town of Plymouth, for that was the name they gave it was thus: lies in the latitude of 42 degrees north. The planters designed to stay in unioned, he including women and children, were about an hundred, of whom only one boy of as the passage. Their historians mention no more than nineteen families that set 1614; Plymouth, and give us the names but of forty-one effective men, among whom and chief were John Carver, whom they chose governor, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Brewster, assistant to Mr. Robinson, and ruling elder of his church, Isaac Alerton, Miles Standish, John Howland, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Tilly, Christopher Martin, William White, Richard Clack, and Thomas English. But such were the fatigues this infant colony underwent the first winter, that out of an hundred planters fifty died within the space of two months; and had the Indians attacked them, they had probably all perished, but they met with no disturbance.

After they had fixed themselves at Plymouth Bay, they saw very few of the natives till the middle of March, when Samoset, one of their sagamores, or captains, came to them in a friendly manner, and gave them to understand they were welcome into the country, and that his people would be glad to trade with them; and coming again the next day with other Indians, they informed the English that their great Sachem, whom they called Massassoiet, had his residence but three days march to the northward, and intended them a visit. And accordingly Massassoiet arrived the 22d day of March, with a retinue of sixty people; and, being received by Captain Standish at the head of a file of musketeers, was conducted to a kind of throne they had prepared in one of their houses. This monarch was of a large stature, middle-aged, of a grave countenance, and sparing in his speech; his face was painted red, and both head and face smeared over with oil; he had a mantle of deer-skin, and his breeches and stockings, which were of a piece, were all of the same materials; his knife or tomohawk hung upon his breast on a string, his tobacco-pouch behind him, and his arms covered with wild cat-skins, and in the same garb were his principal attendants. They did not observe any marks of distinction between this prince and his subjects, unless it were a chain of fish-bones, which Massassoiet wore about his neck. Soon after the Prince was seated, Mr. Carver, the governor, came in, with a guard of musketeers, whereupon Massassoiet rose up and kissed him, after which they both set down, and an entertainment was provided by the Indians, of which no part appeared more acceptable than

promising to return again the next day with furs as he did, indeed, return, but in an hostile manner, withfully of it. In Massassoiet's retinue and Epenow, beckoning to them to approach, Hunt, and brought to New England and made his escape to them; whereupon the affection for the English, among whom were answered with a flight of arrows, and favourable representation of the colony, whom was Captain Hobson himself; after this friendly visit; and, at this first meeting any thing farther, thought fit to return to and defensive, with the English, and even to

In the year 1619, Captain Doreign, and to hold his dominions of him; and, Squanto, the Indian, as an interprossioiet granted part of his country to the planters and settle a colony in the Massa-

not be reconciled, and, in a step upon the mutual interests of the contracting parties, whereupon he proceeded to many years. The Sachem, who had been informed patentees, having met with people the English were, both by sea and land, promised that they gave up all gainst the Naraganset Indians, his enemies; and the English carried on a trade to his friendship to establish themselves in that country. The of London and Plued, Massassoiet returned to his capital, leaving Squanto with the seamen, who were extremely servicable to them, not only as an interpreter, but by as thirty pound how to plant and manage their Indian corn, in piloting them along very probabli supplying them with fish, fowl, and venison. The English still remained years, with many of them died; among whom was Mr. Carver, their governor, in the their pri April, 1621. The seamen also had their share of illness, insomuch that they their lot in a condition to sail till May, when the ships returned to England to give of their friends an account of the circumstances of the colony.

While these ships were gone to or remained in the British dominions, the colony made choice of Mr. Bradford for their governor, who enjoyed that post for many years, and saw the plantation thoroughly established; notwithstanding that, in his time, there arose such differences about religion as actually occasioned great feuds and jealousies, and seemed to threaten worse consequences. It may be expected, that I should give some competent reason for the quick progress of this colony beyond that of Virginia, which met with no such success; and this seems to be the rather necessary, because at first sight one might be inclined to think that it ought to be attributed to the superior diligence and application of the Western Company, in comparison of that of London; which is, however, so far from being true, as in reality this company had no share at all in the sending over or establishing this flourishing plantation. On the contrary, it was raised by the spirit, vigilance, and ardour of the malcontents in the reign of King Charles I. who, before the breaking out of the civil war, and when they had little hopes of getting the government into their own hands, projected the securing to themselves a safe retreat in New England, which induced them to send thither such regular supplies, and those too under the direction of men very capable of answering the ends for which they were sent thither. We have seen with what wonderful success their first attempts were attended, and how soon their new colony was in a condition to defend and support itself, not only without any assistance, but almost without any notice from the crown, which in the beginning they did not desire; but afterwards, foreseeing many inconveniences that were likely to attend this manner of proceeding, they very prudently resolved to alter it, and to procure to themselves such farther security as appeared to them requisite towards attaining those ends of which they were in pursuit.

This, therefore, being the case, and the colony of Plymouth still remaining without a patent, or any title to the lands they possessed from the North Virginia (or New England) Company, sent over Mr. Winslow, one of their number, to solicit for both in the

year 1624; and this gentleman succeeded beyond their expectation; for the charter he procured, enabled the planters to elect a governor, a council, and magistrates, and to make laws, provided they were not opposite to ours, or encroached on the prerogatives of the crown. After conducting the history thus low, and shewing how, where, and when the first regular English settlement was founded and fixed in this country, now the largest, best improved, and most populous of our plantations upon the continent, I must excuse myself from going farther in this way, because it would extend this section to an unproportionable length: and because the history of New England has been already written by several able men, much better informed thereof than I can possibly be; and therefore I shall be very well content with endeavouring, in as small a compass as I can, to do as much towards explaining the state of this colony, as I have already done for that of Virginia.

7. In order to this, it will be necessary to explain what is meant by New England, since it differs thus far from all our colonies, that, in reality, it is a general name for several of them, though there is no particular plantation, or even province, properly so called. We are therefore to observe, that under this denomination was originally comprehended that part of the continent of North America, which had been formerly stiled North Virginia and Norembegua, and the way it acquired this name was thus: When Captain Smith made his voyage thither, which has been before mentioned, he went ashore, with no more than eight persons; and at that time drew a plan of as much of the country as he had seen. This, as I apprehend, was in the year 1614; and upon his return he shewed the Prince of Wales his account of the country, and the map he had drawn of it. His then Royal Highness, afterwards King Charles I., read the one, and examined the other, giving several English names to places distinguished by Indian appellations in the book; and from Captain Smith's information of the soil and climate of the country, called it New England, which name it has ever since borne. This work, thus seen, perused, and approved by the Prince, Captain Smith published to the world, under the title of "A Description of New England," in which he gave a very fair and true account of it, as well as of the advantages that might be hoped from a settlement there; in attempting of which, however, he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the French: but notwithstanding this, his treatise produced the intended effect, and actually brought about that establishment, of which we have already given the history. He likewise wrote and published another book, which he called "New England's Trials," which was very well received, inasmuch that we may safely aver, that all the advantages derived since to Great Britain, from the several settlements made in this large and fruitful country, are originally due to the virtue and industry of this indefatigable man.

The name and bounds of this country being thus settled, it is necessary next to take notice of the several plantations made in New England in the proper order of time, and then we shall shew in what situation they now stand. We have already given an account of New Plymouth, which was the first of them; and we are next to speak of that which, though later in point of time, is now become the most considerable in every respect, and which had its beginning and progress much in the same manner with it. For in the year 1625 (as the New England historian relates) Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, observing the success of the Plymouth colony, projected a new settlement in the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and prevailing with Mr. Conant, and some others, to go over, and make choice of a proper settlement, he and his friends purchased or procured a grant from the North Virginia, or New England Company, in the year 1622, to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights;

Thomas Southcot, John Humphreys, and Simon Newcomb, esquires, their heirs, assigns, and associates, of all that part of New England which lies between the great river Merimack and Charles River, at the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and all lands, &c. three miles north of Merimack River, and three miles south of Charles River, and in length, or in longitude, between those rivers, from the Atlantic to the South Sea; and obtained a patent from King Charles I. to hold the same as of his manor of East Greenwich in common soccage, yielding and paying to His Majesty a fifth part of such gold and silver ore as should be from time to time found within these limits. These gentlemen having taken in Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Isaac Johnston, Samuel Addeley, John Van, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goff, George Harwood, Samuel Moor, and several more, the following year 1628, procured a new patent with the names of the last-mentioned gentlemen inserted, as the proprietors; by which patent they and all others who should join with them, were incorporated by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England;" and were empowered to elect a governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates, and make laws for the good of the plantation, not repugnant to the laws of England; and liberty of conscience was granted to all that should settle there. The adventurers, by virtue of this patent, elected Mr. Cradock their governor, and Mr. Endicot their deputy-governor, and sent over the latter immediately to reinforce Mr. Conant, who was settled at Neumkeak (now Salem), situated on the coast of New England, between the promontories of Marblehead and Cape Anne.

This new colony was supported with the same spirit and vigour as the former, and such mighty embarkations made for its service, as shewed plainly enough of how great consequence it appeared to those who were its protectors in England; and so much they were set upon having some man of distinction on the spot, that in the year 1630 they chose John Winthorp, esquire, governor, in the room of Mr. Cradock, who declined going over; and he appointed Mr. Thomas Dudley his deputy-governor: both of them embarked the same year, with Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, esquire, and the Lady Arabella his wife, Mr. Eaton, and several other patentees, on board a fleet of ten sail of large ships, with about two hundred planters every way completely furnished; so that soon after their arrival they erected two new settlements, the one stiled Charles Town, on the north-side of Charles River, and the other Dorchester, at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay; and in a short time part of the inhabitants of Charles Town passing over to the opposite shore, erected Boston, which is now the capital of New England. As new planters arrived every year, the colony quickly became over-stocked; and divisions breaking out amongst them, one Mr. Roger Williams, who was pastor of a church of Brownists, went and settled without this government, and called his new plantation Providence, which afterwards was united to the government of Rhode Island; of which we shall speak in its proper place.

In 1635, arrived a larger fleet from England than at any time before, and amongst other persons of distinction, who came over in it, was Henry Vane, esquire, son to Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state to King Charles I. with whom the people were so taken that they elected him governor, in the room of Mr. Winthorp; but as he had the misfortune to have a very roving and extravagant genius, he quickly lost his credit with them, and saw his predecessor restored: upon which he formed a project of erecting a new plantation to the north-west of the Massachusetts, which, however, he did not carry into execution; but returning into England, was knighted, and made an extraordinary figure under the name of Sir Henry Vane the younger, as every body knows that is acquainted at all with our history. But the project for a plantation on Connecticut

ticut River was not dropped, though Sir Henry Vane did not proceed in it. This settlement was become the more necessary, because the Pequet Indians began to grow very troublesome; and as the building a town and fort on that river would make a good frontier on that side, agents were sent to view the country, who made such an advantageous report of the fruitfulness of the soil, and largeness of the river, as made many of the planters of Newton, Dorchester, Weatherton, and Roxbury entertain thoughts of transplanting themselves thither, being already straitened for room where they were.

Mr. Hooker, minister of Newton, put himself at the head of these new adventurers, about a hundred in number, who set out in the month of July, and travelling on foot with their children and baggage, about nine or ten miles a day, came in ten or eleven days to the banks of the river, where they began a town, which they called Hartford; after these came another draught from Dorchester, who built a little town, which they called Windsor; a third detachment, from Waterton, built Weathersfield; and a fourth from Roxbury, built Springfield. The towns the planters built on this river were fifty and sixty miles from its mouth, so that the ship freighted with provisions for these planters at the Massachusetts, came so late in the year that it was frozen up at the mouth of it, sixty miles from the plantation; upon which many of the new adventurers travelled back in the depth of winter, and others who attempted it were frozen to death. The calamities which attended them are such as all new settlements are liable to; but, however, those that had courage to stay till the spring, carried on their settlements with such success, that they were not only in a capacity of subsisting, but making head against their enemies. They had a sort of commission from the government of the Massachusetts Bay; but finding they had extended their plantations beyond the limits of that colony, they entered into a voluntary association to obey the laws that should be made by proper persons for the common good, and chose Edward Hopkins, esq. their governor; and in this situation they remained as to constitution, till John Winthrop, junior, esquire, obtained an ample charter for them from King Charles II. authorizing them to elect their own governor, council, and magistrates; and enact such laws as they thought most advantageous to the colony, not opposite to the laws of England; the benefit whereof they enjoy to this day.

8. By that time this settlement was brought into tolerable order, George Fenwick, esq. was sent to New England, in order to make choice of the most commodious spot he could find, for the heads of that party which had hitherto supported all these colonies; and it was conceived he would execute his commission the more readily, since the Lord Viscount Say and Seal, and the Lord Brook, two heads of the party, held lands on Connecticut, by virtue of a grant from the Earl of Warwick, another Puritan, who held a patent for all that part of the country, extending from the river Naraganset forty leagues, in a strait line near the sea-shore towards Virginia, as all the continent south of New England was then called, as far as Florida. The Earl of Warwick assigned his grant to these two lords, Brook and Say, Charles Fiennes, esq. brother to the Lord Say, Sir Nathaniel Rich of the Warwick family, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, esq. John Pym, esq. John Hampden, esq. and Herbet Pelham, esq. Mr. Fenwick seated himself at the mouth of the river, and built a town which he called Saybrook, in which he was assisted by Mr. Winthrop, junior, son of the governor of the Massachusetts; but the gentlemen for whom Mr. Fenwick acted, finding matters grew more to a head at home, and foreseeing they should be more useful there for their country and their cause, gave over the thoughts of removing to New England, and authorized Mr. Fenwick to dispose of their lands to the colony of Connecticut, who

who were the more willing to buy them because they had no title to their plantation without the limits of the Massachusetts patent than what possession gave them. The very next year there came over such numbers of people to settle in New England, that the old colonies were over-stocked, and there was an absolute necessity of looking out for new plantations.

Amongst those who put themselves at the head of such as were inclined to remove in the summer of the year 1637, were Theophilus Eaton, esquire, a noted merchant of London, and the Reverend Mr. Davenport. These gentlemen finding there was not room at the Massachusetts, and being informed of a large bay to the south-west of Connecticut River commodious for trade, purchased of the natives all the land that lies between that river and New York or Hudson's River; thither they removed, seated themselves in the bay over against Long Island, and built New Haven; from whence that colony, province, and government were so denominated, as also Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Brainford; they also went over to Long Island, and made there several settlements, erecting churches in all places where they settled; but being without the limits of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, they had no charter, and no other title to the lands than what they had from the natives; the men who settled in this colony were generally Londoners and merchants, who applied themselves first to trade, after the example of Governor Eaton, who had been an east-country merchant, and travelling into Denmark, was employed by the King as his agent at that court. But the new comers met with so many losses, either as novices in the American trade, or some unfortunate accidents, that they were discouraged in their trade, and were going to transport themselves to Maryland or Ireland, until at last turning to husbandry, they thrived wonderfully, and thought no more of removing.

While the south-west parts of New England were thus filling with inhabitants, the north-east were not neglected: the English very much frequented the coast for the benefit of fishing and the fur trade, for which that part of the country lay convenient. This put some of them on attempting a settlement between the rivers Merimack and Sagadahock, and it succeeded so well in a few years that there were two counties laid out, New Hampshire and Main, and several towns built, as Dover, Hampton, Wells, Kittery, &c. These planters and traders being settled without the limits of the Massachusetts colony, entered into a voluntary combination, and formed themselves into a body politic, after the example of Connecticut colony; thus they continued, till being wearied out with feuds and divisions, they petitioned the general court of the Massachusetts to be brought within their jurisdiction, which was done: yet, in 1684, they made an absolute resignation of their charter, and the government has remained in the hands of the crown ever since. Thus the reader has seen, in few words, the rise and progress of the several plantations raised in New England, which had a quicker growth than any that were ever attempted from hence, or perhaps from any other country; for in the space of about twenty years, they had above twice as many good towns, well settled, and the people in a very happy and thriving condition; and indeed it must be allowed, the inhabitants were the most laborious and industrious that were any where settled in America; for though they had scarce any staple commodity, yet they made every thing turn to account, and that chiefly, as I have been informed, by pursuing steadily these two maxims: first, to fix themselves well, and to raise one or more good towns in convenient places, and next to build and freight ships with such commodities as they had, and to send them any where to find a proper market.

9. The country of New England comprehends, at present, four considerable colonies, or governments, viz. the Massachusetts, which with New Plymouth and the Main are

now

now included in one charter; New Hampshire, which remains a separate government; Connecticut, which likewise comprehends New Haven; and Rhode Island, with Providence Plantation. The whole country extends from 41 to 45 degrees north latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 degrees of western longitude; bounded on the north-west by Canada; on the north-east by Nova Scotia; on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by New York; stretching in length somewhat more than three hundred miles, and in some places it is near two hundred in breadth. The air of this country is sharper than ours, though it lies so much farther to the south, and the winters are longer and severer than they are here; but then their summers are warmer, though shorter than ours; and, at the same time, the inhabitants have the advantage of a clear sky, which renders the country very wholesome; so that none of our plantations agree better with an English constitution. Their longest day at Boston is about fifteen hours, and their shortest about nine; the land, next the sea, is generally low, and in some places marlly; but farther up, the land rises into hills; along the north-east the country is rocky and mountainous.

As it is washed by the ocean on the east and south, it has many good harbours, some of them so capacious as to be able to receive large fleets. There are few countries better watered; for, besides several small lakes and rivulets, there are no less than seven navigable rivers. The most western of these is Connecticut; which, rising in the north of New England, runs almost directly south, till it falls into the sea, and runs, at least, two hundred miles, and navigable to a great height, having at its mouth two large towns, called Saybrook and Lime: to the east of this lies the River of Thames, though less considerable than the former; it likewise runs south, and falls into the sea a little below New London. The river Patuxet rises in the north-west of the country of Massachusetts, and running south-east, falls into a noble bay near Swansey: the river Merimack rises in the north of New England, and runs directly south for near one hundred miles, and then turning east, falls into the sea between Salisbury and Newbury. The river Piscataway runs from west to east, and falls into the sea at Portsmouth, where the opening is so large that it affords a port capable of receiving the largest ships: the river Saco rises in the north of New England, and running south, falls into the sea between the capes, Porpus and Elizabeth: the river Casco runs parallel thereto, till it falls into a bay of its own name.

It is owing to the conveniency of so many fine rivers that this country is so full of large and populous towns; and in the country between the rivers there is such plenty of small brooks and springs, that there is scarce any place where water may not be had, by sinking a well to the depth of ten foot; and, which is another singular advantage, the water is almost every where good and fit for all kinds of uses.

As to quadrupeds or four-footed animals, they are here in great plenty, both tame and wild; among the former are cows, sheep, goats, hogs, and horses, all originally brought from England, but now very numerous here; the latter are, generally speaking, of a much smaller breed than ours, but they are somewhat larger than the Welsh: they are, notwithstanding the inferiority of their size, extremely serviceable; and, though they have but one pace, and that too not very agreeable, being a kind of a shuffle, yet they go at a very great rate; some say, not less than twenty miles an hour, which would be a little incredible, if some New England horses had not been brought over to Britain, which are said to have put the matter beyond dispute; but though there are plenty of these horses, yet they sell at a good rate, twenty pounds being looked upon to be a very low price for a sound horse at the prime of his age. As for beasts of the forests they have almost all sorts, such as deer, elks, rackoons, bears, wolves, which

which seem to be only a kind of wild dogs; which, when they are taken very young, may be made tame; foxes, hares, rabbits, squirrels, beavers, martins, opossums, which are small beasts about the size of a fox, and grey as a badger; remarkable for having a false belly, in which they hide their young, and from whence they may be taken without any prejudice either to them or to the beast itself. They have also a great many cur-dogs, but these I suppose were originally from Europe. When the English first settled here, they made a great profit of furs, but they are since much fallen in their value. I have been the shorter in the accounts of these creatures, which are common enough in other countries of America, that I might have the more leisure to describe a creature which is peculiar almost to New England; and which seems therefore to deserve a more particular description.

The moose is found no where but in North America, and is one of the noblest creatures in the forest: there are two sorts, the common grey moose, by the Indians called wampoose, (these are more like the ordinary deer, and like them herd sometimes thirty in a company) and the large and black moose, of which we have the following account: He is the head of the deer kind, has many things in common with other deer, in many differs, but in all very superior. The moose is made much like a deer, parts the hoof, chews the cud, has no gall, and his ears large and erect; the hair of the black moose is a dark grey, upon the ridge of his back ten or twelve inches long, of which the Indians make belts; he has a very short tail. The New England hunters have found a stag moose of fourteen spans in height from the withers, reckoning nine inches to the span, that is ten feet and an half; a quarter of this venison weighed more than two hundred pounds. A few years ago a gentleman surprised one of the black moose in his grounds, within two miles of Boston. It proved a doe or hind of the fourth year; after she was dead they measured her upon the ground from the nose to the tail between ten and eleven feet; she wanted an inch of seven feet in height. The horns of the moose, when full grown, are about four or five feet from the head to the tip, and have shoots and branches to each horn, and generally spread about six feet; when the horns come out of the head they are round, like the horns of an ox, about a foot from the head they begin to grow a palm broad, and further up still wider, of which the Indians make good ladles, that will hold a pint. When a moose goes through a thicket, or under the boughs of trees, he lays his horns back on his neck, not only that he may make his way the easier, but to cover the body from the browse or scratch of the woods. These prodigious horns are shed every year.

A moose does not spring or rise in going as deer, but shoves along sideways, throwing out the feet like a horse, in a raking pace. One of these large black moose, in his common walk, has been seen to step over a large gate, five feet high: after you unharness a moose, he will run a course of twenty or thirty miles before he turns about, or comes to a bay; when they are chased they generally take to the water. The common deer, for a short space, are swifter than a moose; but then a moose soon out-winds a deer, and runs much farther. The meat of a moose is excellent food; and though it is not so delicate as the common venison, yet it is more substantial, and will bear salting; the moose is looked upon as a great dainty. The black moose are rarely found above four or five together; the young ones keep with the dam a full year. A moose calves every year, and generally brings two; they bring forth their young ones standing, and the young fall from their dam upon their feet. The time of their bringing forth is generally in the month of April.

The moose being very tall, and having very short necks, do not graze as the common deer, other cattle, &c. do, and if at any time they eat grass, it is the top of that which grows

grows very high, or on steep rising ground; in the summer they feed upon plants, herbs, and young shrubs, that grow upon the land, but mostly, and with the greatest delight, on water plants, especially a sort of wild colt's-foot and lilly that abound in their ponds and near the banks of rivers, and for which the moose will wade far and deep; and by the noise they make in the water, the hunters often discover them. In the winter they live upon browse, or the tops of bushes and young trees, and being very tall and strong, they will bend down a tree as big as a man's leg; and where the browse fail them they will eat off the bark of some sort of trees as high as they can reach; they generally feed in the night, and lie still in the day. The skin of the moose, when well dressed, makes excellent buff; the Indians make their snow-shoes of them. Their way of dressing it, which is very good, is thus: After they have haired and grained the hide, they make a lather of the moose's brains in warm water, and after they have soaked the hide for some time, they stretch and supple it.

There is hardly greater variety and plenty of fowl any where, such as turkies, geese, partridges, ducks, herons, storks, heath-cocks, swans, wigeons, dapers, black-birds; all sorts of barn-door fowl, crows, ravens, cormorants, &c. Vast flights of pigeons come and go at certain seasons of the year.

The fish in the sea and rivers here are excellent, and in vast abundance, as cod, thorn-back, flurgeon, salmon, haddocks, herrings, mackrel, finelts, eels, lampreys, sharks, seals, porpusses, grampusses, whales, and other fish, great and small. The best months for fishing are March, April, May, and June. Six or seven star-fish were formerly taken off the shore near Nantucket, of which Governor Winthorp gave the Royal Society an account, having observed that this fish divides itself into no less than 81,920 small parts by branchings, and is one of the most wonderful works of the creation. Some years since there stranded on the coast of New England a dead whale, of the sort which in fisher's language is called trumpo, having teeth like those of a mill, its mouth at a good distance from and under the nose, and several partitions in the nose, out of which run a thin oily substance they candied; the remainder, which proved a thick fat substance, being scraped out, was said to be the spermaceti. We have some very curious accounts, not only of this, but of other kinds of whales, by the ingenious Mr. Dudley, which for want of room I omit; and also, because, I shall be obliged to mention this subject again more largely in another place.

We will now proceed from the animal to the vegetable kingdom, which is in full as flourishing a condition, and yields very little to any country in America. There is plenty of good timber in the woods and swamps of New England; but that plenty is so much lessened within ten or twelve miles from the sea, that, we are told, there is a necessity of a law to prevent the waste of woods, which three or fourscore years ago the planters would have been glad to have seen wasted. Oak, elm, fir, ash, cypress, fine chefnut, walnut, cedar, beech, aspin, sassafras, and shumack, are common here; their fir is of an extraordinary growth for masts, yards, and planks. The shumack is of use for dyers and tanners; and as there is no want of hides or skins, nor bark, there must be much leather in New England, if those advantages are improved; the oak has supplied the shipwrights for building; the fir produces pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine. All sorts of garden and orchard trees grow in perfection, so that it is no hard thing for one planter to make a hundred hogheads of cyder in a season, and the export of apples to the sugar islands is one of the constant articles in the trade of the province.

It is affirmed, their apples are larger and sweeter than ours in England; and the same observation extends to their plums, cherries, peaches, pears, &c. All sorts of

roots for the table are in great plenty here, as turnips, parsnips, carrots, radishes, much larger and richer than in England, though originally their seeds came from hence. There are also pumpions and onions, good store of water-melons; and squashes grow here, perhaps from seeds that were first brought from Portugal; whither the traders here have long sent, and still send, their fish in great quantities. Flax and hemp grow as naturally here as in any country on the Baltic, and in as great perfection; oats, barley, peas, beans, and indeed every thing of this kind, succeed as well as can be wished; but amongst them all, there is nothing so much planted as Indian corn, of which Mr. Winthrop having given a large account to the Royal Society, we shall take as much as is necessary for ours, or the reader's purpose, from thence, and insert it here.

The natives called it Weachin, and in some southern parts of America it is known by the name of maïs or maize; the ear is a span long, composed of eight rows of grain, or more, according to the goodness of the ground, about thirty grains in a row; it is of various colours, as red, white, yellow, blue, olive, greenish, black, speckled, striped, and sometimes in the same field, and in the same year; but the white and yellow is the most common; the ear is defended from the cold and storms by strong thick husks, the stalks grow six or eight feet high; that of New England is not quite so tall as that of Virginia, and at Canada it is shorter than at New England; 'tis jointed like a cane, and full of sweet juice, like the sugar cane, and a syrup as sweet as sugar may be made of it, as has been often tried; at every joint there are long flags, and at the top a branch of flowers like rye blossoms.

It is generally planted from the middle of April to the middle of May. In the northern parts the Mohawk corn is not planted till the middle of June, and yet is ripe in season. The stalks of this sort are short, and the ears near the bottom, and are of several colours. The manner of planting maize is in rows, at equal distance every way, about five or six feet; the earth is opened with a hoe four inches deep, and four or five grains are thrown into it, at a little distance from one another in the breadth of a hoe, then they are covered with earth; if they grow the crop will answer. The corn is weeded at a hand's length, and the earth is loosened about it with a hoe. This labour must be repeated as the weeds come up; when the stalk begins to grow high, a little earth should be drawn about it, and on putting forth the ear so much as to make a little hill, like a hop-hill. It is ripe about the middle of September; it must be stripped as soon as gathered, unless it is laid thin, to prevent its growing mouldy or sprouting. The common way is to move the ear together, in long traces, by some part of the husks left thereon, which is called tracing. These traces they hang upon bearers, without doors, and will keep so all winter good and sweet. The Indians thrash it as they gather it. They dry it well on mats in the sun, and bury it in holes in the ground, lined with moss or mats, which are their barns. The English of late plant it with the help of the plough; they turn up single furrows, six feet distance; then plough across, at the same distance, throw in the corn where these meet, and cover it with a hoe, or run another furrow over it with the plough.

The Indians boil it till it becomes tender, and eat it with fish or venison instead of bread; sometimes they bruise it in mortars, and so boil it. The most usual way is to parch it in ashes, stirring it so artificially as to be very tender, without burning; this they sift and beat in mortars into fine meal, which they eat dry, or mixed with water. The English mix it into a stiff paste, make bread of it, which they bake all day or all night. The best sort of food which is made of it is called samp: to make it, the corn is watered half an hour, beaten in a mortar to the bigness of rice, sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and sugar, like rice; and this seems to be so good and whole-

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some a diet, that 'tis a strange sort of folly in some that despise it because it is Indian corn; and the Indians have no other corn to eat. The English have also made good beer of it by malting it, or making it of bread; when they malt it, it must chit both ways, root and blade; to do which they heap it up at a convenient time, then take away the top of the earth of a garden-field, two or three inches deep; after which they cover the ground with the corn and the corn with the earth; when the plant is green all over with the corn-sprouts, which it will be in about ten days, it must be taken up, the earth shaken from it and dried, and then washed and dried again on a kiln; this makes the malt and that the beer, which will be pleasant, wholesome, and of a brown colour. The beer made of bread is more durable, and altogether as pleasant; to make this they cut the bread into great lumps as big as a man's fist, mash and manage it as they do malt; adding or omitting hops, of which they have enough, and as good a sort of their own as is desired. No Indian corn grows wild now; but both that and kidney-beans were found among the natives. The Indians have a tradition that the first grain of corn was brought thither by a black-bird, and the first bean by a crow.

We are now to proceed from the description of the country, and an account of its produce, in which we ought by all means to include iron ore, of which there is in this country great plenty: I say our method leads us to go on to the political state and condition of this colony, that the situation of the English therein may be rendered more obvious, and be the better apprehended. In order to do this as succinctly as possible, we shall observe there are very few countries in which so many different forms of government have prevailed within so narrow a space of time as in New England. At the first going over of the people thither they framed a government of their own, and afterwards procured, as themselves boast, or some of their writers have boasted for them, the establishment of a republic, by virtue of a patent from King James I. which, however, they managed so indifferently, and were guilty of such flagrant oppressions, on account of differences in religion, that their charter was in the reign of King Charles II. declared forfeited; and though it was renewed under the reign of King William, yet it was under various restrictions, and with several material alterations; so that we may safely affirm that there are at present three kinds of governments established by law in those four colonies; which, as we before observed, are established within the limits of New England. The first kind of government I shall mention is that old form of charter government which allows the people to chuse annually their own governors, deputy-governors, council, and assembly, with all their officers, civil and military, and to make such laws as to them shall seem expedient, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain. This kind of government, which, I believe, is more independent than that of any colony belonging to any other nation in the world, is enjoyed in its full extent by the people who inhabit the plantations of Connecticut and Rhode Island; but they make a very different use of it; for those of the first-mentioned colony are very strict in point of religion, whereas those in Rhode Island are the freest in that respect of any in the world; for there are among them people of all religions, or rather of all those sects into which Protestants are divided, but without the least prejudice to their temporal concerns, every man being alike capable of magistracy; and with respect to an established church there is none, but each body of Christians live according to their own system, and chuse and pay their ministers as they think fit. The great colony of Massachusetts is likewise a charter-government, but the appointment of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, is vested in the crown. The people have not only the choice of the assembly but of the council;

upon which, however, the governor in his turn has a negative ; and, by virtue of his commission as captain-general, has the power of the militia ; so that here the supreme authority rests neither in the governor nor the people, but in them both, whenever they can agree to exert it. The government of New Hampshire is entirely in the hands of the crown, in the same manner as that of Virginia and other colonies.

The capital of this country is Boston, in the county of Suffolk, and within the province of Massachusetts Proper : it is situated in the latitude of 42 degrees 20 minutes north, and in 71 degrees of longitude west from London ; it stands on a peninsula about four miles in circumference, at the bottom of a fine bay of the sea, at the entrance whereof are several rocks which appear above water, and above a dozen small islands, some of which are inhabited. There is but one safe channel to approach the harbour, and that so narrow that two ships can scarce sail through abreast ; but within the harbour there is room enough for five hundred sail to lie at anchor. The entrance is defended by the castle of Fort William, on which are one hundred guns mounted, twenty of which lie in a platform, level with the water, so that it is scarce possible for an enemy to pass the castle ; and, to prevent surprize, they have a guard placed on one of the rocks about two leagues distant, on which also there stands a little house, from whence they make signals to the castle when any ships come near it : there is also a battery of great guns at each end of the town, which commands the harbour, to the fire whereof any enemy would be exposed if he should be so fortunate as to pass the castle.

At the bottom of the bay there is a pier near two thousand feet in length, with warehouses for the merchants on the north side of it ; and ships of the greatest burden may come up close to the pier and unload, without the help of boats. The greatest part of the town of Boston lies in the form of a crescent about the harbour, the country beyond rising gradually, and affording a most delightful prospect from the sea. There are in it several streets, not much inferior to the best in London, the chief of which runs from the pier up to their town-house or guild-hall, a handsome building, where are walks for the merchants, as on the exchange ; and there also are the council-chamber, the house of representatives, and their courts of justice, the exchange being surrounded with booksellers-shops, who have trade enough to employ five printing-presses. There are ten churches of all denominations, of which six are Independents, the most prevailing party in New England ; and the number of souls in the town of that persuasion may be about fourteen or fifteen thousand. The episcopal church is handsomely built and adorned, and the congregation said to be about a thousand in number. Their church furniture and some pieces of plate were given them by King William and Queen Mary, and their organ by Thomas Brattle, esquire. There is also in this church a magnificent seat for the governor, who comes thither when he happens to be of the church of England. Boston is the most flourishing town for trade in English America, and there are several hundred sail of ships, brigantines, and other vessels, annually loaded here with timber, beef, pork, fish, and other commodities, for Europe or the American islands : their merchants and tradesmen are a polite sort of people, many of them having travelled into Europe, or conversed with foreigners of several nations at home : their houses are elegantly furnished, and their tables as well served as those of the merchants and tradesmen of London ; all manner of provisions being as plentiful as in any town in Old England.

A late writer tells us in relation to the fortrefs before-mentioned, that it is a beautiful castle, by far the finest piece of military architecture in British America ; being a quarry surrounded by a covered way, and joined with two lines of communication to the main battery,

battery, as also a line of communication from the main gate to a redoubt, to prevent any enemies landing; and the battery is situated so near to the channel, as to hinder ships coming up to the town, which must all come within pistol-shot of it. In time of peace there is but one company on duty in the castle; but in time of war, there are five hundred able bodied men, exempted from all other military duty, to attend the service of the castle at an hour's warning, when the signal is given from the night-house of the approach of an enemy. The castle thereupon makes a signal to the town; and if five ships or more appear in time of war, the neighbouring country is alarmed, by firing a beacon. In this city commonly the governor resides; here the general court and assembly meet, and almost all the public business of the province is here transacted. The number of houses is computed at four thousand four hundred; the number of people at about twenty-four thousand; and the shipping of this port is computed at between six and seven hundred. There are, besides this, several great towns and good ports and a multitude of small ones, in New England; but I have not room to enter into more particular accounts.

As to the number of people, writers differ extremely, and it is not easy to know which is in the right; but the following about twenty years ago was said to be the best authority; viz. that in the Massachusetts colony there were eighty thousand souls; in that of Connecticut, thirty thousand; and in Rhode Island, ten thousand; in the whole, one hundred and twenty thousand: but I am persuaded that, at present, they amount to one hundred and sixty thousand at least.

The commerce of these colonies is very considerable, and extends itself over all America, and into some parts of Europe; they furnish our sugar-colonies with fish, cattle, boards, hoops, pipe-staves, bark, skins, butter, cheese, oil, tallow, corn, apples, turpentine, &c. and this in such vast abundance, that it is computed the island of Barbadoes alone takes off to the value of two hundred thousand pounds every year; they deal besides with the other sugar-colonies, sometimes with the French, largely with the Spaniards, and they ship off prodigious quantities of fish to Italy, Spain, and Portugal. They take from us all kinds of mercery goods, linen, stockings, shoes, sail-cloth, cordage, haberdashery ware, and a vast many other things; in return they build a prodigious number of ships, and export a vast quantity of masts, plank, and yards, for the royal navy; pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, furs, oil, whale-fins, logwood, and other commodities.

The observations made by the famous Sir Josiah Child, in reference to this colony, are very well worthy our notice, as they will lead us to form the truest judgment possible, as to that important point, what the profit is which results to this kingdom, from our plantations in New England; upon which he reasons in the following manner: "1st. All our American plantations, except the New England, produce commodities of different natures, as sugar, tobacco, cocoa, wool, ginger, sundry sorts of dyeing woods, &c.: whereas New England produces generally the same we have here; viz. corn and cattle; some quantity of fish they do likewise kill, but that is taken and cured altogether by their own inhabitants, which prejudices our Newfoundland trade; where, as has been said, very few are, or ought, according to prudence, to be employed in these fisheries but the inhabitants of Old England. The other commodities we have from them are some few great masts, furs, and train oil, of which the yearly value amounts to very little; the much greater value of returns from thence being made in sugar, cotton, wool, tobacco, and such like commodities, which they first receive from some other of His Majesty's plantations, in barter, for dry cod-fish, salt, mackarel, beef, pork, bread, beans, flour, pease, &c. which they supply Barbadoes,

Jamaica,

Jamaica, &c. with, to the diminution of the vent of those commodities from this kingdom; the great experience of which, in our own West India plantations, would soon be found in the advantage of the value of our lands in England, were it not for the vast and almost incredible supplies those colonies have from New England.

“ 2dly. The people of New England, by virtue of their primitive charters, being not so strictly tied to the observation of the laws of this kingdom, do sometimes assume the liberty of trading, contrary to the act of navigation; by reason of which many of our American commodities, especially tobacco and sugar, are transported in New English shipping, directly into Spain, and other foreign countries, without being landed in England, or paying any duty to His Majesty; which is not only a loss to the King, and prejudice to the navigation of Old England, but also a total exclusion of the Old English merchant from the vent of those commodities in those ports where the New English vessels trade; because there being no custom on those commodities in New England, and a great custom paid on them in Old England; it must necessarily follow that the New English merchant will be able to afford his commodity much cheaper than the Old English merchant; and those that can sell cheapest, will infallibly engross the whole trade sooner or later.

“ 3dly. Of all the American plantations, His Majesty has none so apt for the building of shipping as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of that people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries; and, in my poor opinion, there is nothing more prejudicial, and in prospect more dangerous, to any mother-kingdom, than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations, and provinces.

“ 4thly. The people that evacuate from us to Barbadoes and the other West India plantations, as was before hinted, do commonly work one English to ten or eight blacks; and if we kept the trade of our said plantations entirely to England, England would have no less inhabitants, but rather an increase of people, by such evacuation, because that one Englishman, with ten blacks that work with him, accounting what they eat, use, and wear, would make employment for four men in England, as was said before; whereas, peradventure, of ten men that issue from us to New England or Ireland, what we send to or receive from them does not employ one man in England.”

But with great submission to so knowing a man and so able a judge as he was in these matters, what he has delivered upon this subject, though hitherto received with general approbation, is liable to many objections, which, being duly considered, will give the state and utility of this colony another aspect. For with respect to his first head of objections, it is not the fault of New England that they have not a staple commodity, as well as the sugar and tobacco plantations, but it is our own; since we might be furnished from thence with as great plenty, and in as great perfection, as from any part of the Baltic, with all the naval stores, which are so necessary, and for which we actually pay yearly a vast sum of ready money. It is therefore very unjust to call New England a useless province, because we will not make use of her commodities, which we might command for our own manufactures, at our own time and on our own terms, but rather pay our money for them to foreigners, who, whenever an opportunity offers, never fail to force their own terms upon us. As to the provisions furnished to our sugar colonies by the people of New England, it is so far from being a disadvantage to the nation, that it is a very great convenience; for without it they could not possibly subsist. This, at first sight, may seem a very bold assertion, but I am very confident that it is true; for in time of peace, if the sugar colonies were to draw

draw all their provisions from hence, it would make their commodity much dearer, and consequently enable foreigners to beat us out of that trade entirely, and in time of war the people in those colonies would be in danger of starving, as the inhabitants of the French sugar islands generally are; to avoid which inconveniency, they are now labouring to render Louisiana as useful to their sugar colonies, as New England is to ours: and after all, what the New England people get by this trade comes hither. To this we may add, that if we had not settled New England the French certainly would; the consequences of which may be more easily conceived than described.

The second objection admits of the same answer. We have the benefit of all the trade the people in this colony carry on in Europe, as well as America; and while we have this certain advantage, there seems to be no just cause for our disturbing ourselves with the thoughts of the advantages that might be gained if this trade ran in another channel; since these are uncertainties, as to which, however, our government has already taken all the precautions that are possible, or at least that are practicable, without running into greater inconveniences than those they are calculated to guard against. The breeding of seamen and the building of ships are not found by experience to be attended with the inconveniences that were feared from them; but, on the contrary, have had many advantageous consequences, both in time of war and of peace. The fourth objection, which seems to have the greatest weight of any, we know now by experience has in reality no weight at all; for without having colonies composed entirely of white people, it would be impossible for us to defend our other colonies against our enemies in America; and, as we shall shew hereafter in speaking of Georgia, instead of repining at the want of negroes in New England, we ought rather to wish that there were fewer negroes elsewhere. The reader will easily perceive that I do not affect to contradict this great author, I only express the reasons why his arguments do not convince me, and, from the lights of experience shew that it is not impossible even for the greatest men to be mistaken.

Sir Josiah Child saw this himself, as appears by the manner in which he finishes his remarks, which I look upon to be one of the finest passages in his whole work. "To conclude," says he, "and to do right to that most industrious English colony, I must confess, that though we lose by their unlimited trade with our foreign plantations, yet we are very great gainers by their direct trade to and from Old England. Our yearly exportations of English manufactures, malt, and other goods, from hence thither, amounting, in my opinion, to ten times the value of what is imported from thence; which calculation I do not make at random, but upon mature consideration, and peradventure, upon as much experience of this very trade, as any other person will pretend to do; and, therefore, whenever a reformation of our correspondency in trade with that people shall be thought on, it will, in my poor judgment, require great tenderness and very serious circumspection."

I shall not dwell much longer upon this subject, or pretend to give the reader any calculation of the value of those advantages which from this colony are derived to Great Britain, because I am sensible that though the thing may be practicable in itself, yet sufficient informations are not hitherto fallen into my power; I desire therefore to leave only these three remarks with the ingenious and impartial reader: the first is, that we have it in our power to bring from this colony all the naval stores that we now bring from the Baltic; which, whenever it is thoroughly considered by our parliament, will produce some law, which cannot fail of rendering this colony twice as beneficial to the nation as it has hitherto been, or could be till enabled by such a law. In the second place I must observe, that as we derive a great part of our sugars from the assistance
given

given to the colonies which produce them by New England, so this part of their produce ought to be placed to the New England account. I am to remark lastly, that the complaints which have been made of the inhabitants of this colony dealing in goods, and employing themselves in manufactures which interfere with those of Great Britain, is a complaint which, though well founded, is ill applied; for though it be true that this may be an injury to us, yet the fault lies in ourselves, and not in the people of New England, who only raise and manufacture for themselves what they cannot purchase from us; so that not content with having their all, (for, as we have shewn, the whole balance of their trade comes hither) we seem to be angry that they endeavour to supply themselves with what we could sell, and they want wherewithal to purchase; which want, however, might be removed by taking their naval stores. But it is now fit that we should give a short view of the plantation of our next colony, which though we cannot call it one of the most profitable, yet it must be allowed one of the most pleasant of our plantations.

10. The Islands of Bermudas were discovered by one John Bermudas, a Spaniard; after which they were frequently touched at by his countrymen in their passage to the West Indies, but were quite unknown to us till the year 1593, when one Henry May was shipwrecked upon them in a French vessel, whose report made them very famous; but they became more so by the like misfortune of Sir George Summers, and Sir Thomas Gates, in their passage to Virginia in 1609, of which we have before given a particular account, as well as of his being sent thither a second time to fetch hogs, it was with great difficulty he found these islands, and not long after he breathed his last in them, being upwards of threescore, and much fatigued for many months before. It was from him their name was changed to Summers's Islands, which our mariners call the Summer Islands; a name they very well deserve for their pleasantness and fertility. Sir George directed his men to return to Virginia with black hogs for the relief of that colony, but they resolved otherwise after his death; and storing their cedar ship with such provisions as they had, they set sail for England, where they arrived at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, having Sir George Summers's corpse on board, only the heart and bowels they left at Bermudas, where Captain Butler, twelve years afterwards, built a handsome monument over them.

These men, at their return, gave such an account of the country to the Virginia Company, that they thought it worth their while to establish a correspondence between England and Bermudas; accordingly they sold these islands to one hundred and twenty persons of the same society, who obtained a charter from King James, and became the proprietors of them. When Sir George Summers was first here, two of his men staid behind, having committed some crime for which they would have been put to death. They were still there when Sir George returned, and had ever since his departure, supported themselves on the productions of the place, and built them a hut, and took possession of St. George's Island. These two men, whose names were Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, staid also behind Sir George's second company, of whom they persuaded one Edward Chard to remain with them: and now Carter, Waters, and Chard, were sole lords of the country, but soon fell out among themselves; Chard and Waters were coming to a pitched battle; but Carter, though he hated them both, yet not liking to be left alone, prevented it, by threatening to declare against the man who struck first. At last necessity made them good friends, and they joined together in making discoveries, in one of which expeditions they found the largest piece of ambergrease among the rocks that ever was seen, weighing eighty pounds, besides other smaller pieces. This treasure made them almost mad; they grew

grew giddy with the thoughts of it ; and, that they might have an opportunity to make use of it, resolved on the most desperate attempt that men could run upon, which was to build a boat after the best manner they could, to sail to Virginia or Newfoundland, according as wind and weather should present.

But before they could put their project in execution, a ship arrived from England ; for Captain Mathew Summers, Sir George's brother, had promised to come to them, or send a vessel to their relief. The ship they discovered standing in with the shore was the Plough, which had sixty persons aboard, sent by the new Bermudas Company to make a settlement, of which Mr. Richard Moor was governor, who was an honest industrious person. He pitched upon a plain in St. George's Island to settle on, and there first built himself a house, or rather a cabin, for the building was only of palmeto leaves ; yet he made it large enough for him, his wife, and family ; and the rest of the adventurers following his example, it became a sort of a town, which in time grew to a considerable bigness, and is now St. George's Town, one of the strongest and best built in our American colonies ; for all the houses are of cedar, and all the forts of hewn stone. This man proved an excellent governor in every respect ; and in the year 1614 disappointed the Spaniards in a design they had formed of landing upon and conquering these islands.

He was succeeded by Captain Daniel Tucker, who was a person of better education and more experience in the world who took upon him to establish a regular form of government ; to distinguish and trace out plantations ; to oblige every man to build uniformly in the town, and to plant regularly in the country ; by which method the islands were very much improved, and the exportations for England increased ; he likewise established a tolerable militia, and put the islands in such a posture of defence as, together with their situation, put it out of the power of any of their enemies to disembark such a force as might hurt them. But the severity of his government was so grievous to some licentious persons, that five of them executed as desperate a design to escape him, as Waters and his companions had projected to get away from the island. They knew the governor would not give them leave to go off, and therefore invented this contrivance to effect it : —Hearing Captain Tucker had a great desire to go a fishing out at sea, but was afraid to do it, because several fisher-boats had been driven off by the weather and the men perished, they proposed to him to build a boat of two or three tons, with a deck, and so fitted that she should live in all weathers. The governor consenting to it, they fell to building in a private place, pretending it was convenient for getting timber and launching the boat. They finished it sooner than was expected ; and the governor sent hands to fetch it, intending to go in it aboard a ship which he was then dispatching for England. When his men came to the place, neither the boat nor the builders were to be found ; all that they could hear of them was that the boat being finished the night before, those that built it went off to sea in it, to try how it would sail. At last they found, by some letters they left behind them, that they were gone for England ; and the story of their adventure is told us in this manner.

They borrowed a compass-dial of a neighbour, on some pretence or other, and went on board the ship bound for England, where they trucked with the seamen such things as they had for provisions. One of them, at parting, told the mariners, that though they were forbidden to go with them, yet they hoped to be in England before them. At which the master of the ship laughed, and away these fearless adventurers sailed, with a fair wind and weather for one and twenty days ; they then met with a storm, which

which reduced them to extremity for eight and forty hours, and obliging them to bear up afore it drove them a little out of their course to the westward; but the wind coming fair again, and continuing so ten days, they went on cheerfully. In that time they met with a French privateer, where they went aboard to beg some relief; but instead of helping they plundered them of the little they had, took away even their instrument of navigation, and turned them adrift. In this miserable condition they sailed on, growing every day weaker and weaker; their provisions were almost spent, their fire-wood quite gone, not a drop of fresh water left, nor food for above a day, when at last, in the very hour they expected to perish, they made land to their unspeakable joy. This land was Ireland, where they went ashore in the county of Cork, and were nobly entertained by the Earl of Thomond, to whom they related their voyage, which had then lasted forty-two days.

There were but five persons concerned, of whom there was one Mr. James Barker, a gentleman, Richard Saunders who contrived the design, William Goodwin, a ship-carpenter, who built the boat, and Henry Puet, a common sailer, who undertook to navigate this vessel. Both these stories may seem a little beside our present purpose, but I have inserted them as belonging more immediately to a Collection of Voyages, and because I look upon both these incidents to be very well worth preserving. Captain Tucker resigned, in the year 1619, to Captain Butler, who arrived at that time with four good ships, in which he brought five hundred passengers, and there being as many English on the island, the colony began to make a considerable figure. This governor raised a noble monument over the remains of Sir George Summers that were left in the island, depositing them in the church in St. George's Town. He divided the islands into districts; and now the government by governor, council, and assembly, was established, which before had been only the governor and council. The laws of the country were also settled, as near as the circumstances and conveniences of the place would admit, to the laws of England; as is done in all the colonies in America. After bringing down the history of these islands to their becoming a regular and settled colony, I am next to give an account of the islands themselves, in order to shew the value of them.

11. There are some who would persuade us, that these islands have received their name from the vast quantity of black hogs found upon them: Bermudas, in the old Spanish tongue, signifying a black hog; but though this derivation be plausible, yet the fact upon which it is founded is most certainly false; for when the Spaniards first discovered them there was not a single hog upon these or perhaps upon any other island whatever; neither is it well known upon what part the Spaniards landed. These islands lie very contiguous to each other; but authors differ so much as to the number of them, that it is very difficult to speak of them with certainty; for some say there are but three hundred, others affirm there are more than five hundred. They lie in the latitude of 32 degrees 30 minutes north, and in 35 degrees of western longitude, at a vast distance from the continent, since the nearest land, which is Cape Hatteras in Carolina, lies at least two hundred and fifty leagues to the west of them, and they are above sixteen hundred leagues from England. The air here has always been thought extremely wholesome, and the country wonderfully pleasant, insomuch that people were wont to remove hither from the other colonies, in order to recover their broken constitution. The heat in summer is very supportable, and with respect to winter, they have really none; nay, some go so far as to affirm, that there is but one season in the island of Bermudas, and this is a perpetual spring; which, however, may be in some measure

measure ascribed to the soil, which though it be thin is very rich and very fruitful, though remarkably stony. The earth is of several colours, brown, white, and red; the first is the best, and the last the worst. Two or three feet under the mould they find a white hard body, which the inhabitants call the rock, but which seems more to resemble chalk, or a pumice-stone, through which the roots of their trees force a passage; and a kind of clay is generally found under it.

Maize, or Indian corn, which is the main support of the people here, is twice reaped; for what they sow in March they cut in July, in a fortnight after they sow again, and reap in December. They have all the plants peculiar to the West Indies, and all kinds of herbs, roots, flowers, and trees, brought from Europe, thrive to perfection. They have some tobacco, but it is of an indifferent sort, and therefore does not yield them any great profit; but certainly, with a little care, they might be able to produce any kind of tobacco, or other vegetables that turns to account almost in any climate. They have palmetos, a kind of wild palm, that is extremely useful, the leaves being eight or ten feet long, and near as broad, with which they cover or thatch their houses; it produces a very luscious fruit, which in shape, size, and colour resembles a damson. Laurel, olive, mulberry, and date trees, are very common; and their forests abound with variety of odoriferous woods, some black, some of a yellow, and some of a red colour: the berries of these trees have the stiptic quality of a floe, and are much used by the English to cure the flux, which they frequently get by eating the luscious palm-berries too greedily. But amongst a multitude of shrubs and trees peculiar to these islands, and equally valuable for their timber and fruit, there are two which, though found in other parts of the world, have a peculiar excellence here; the first is their orange, which in point of size, scent and flavour, far exceeds any either in the West or East Indies: the second is their cedar, which, from the nature of the soil wherein it grows, is firmer and more durable than any of its kind that we are acquainted with; answers in every respect to oak-timber, and is found of extraordinary use in ship-building, so that the best sloops, brigantines, and other small vessels, both for service and sailing, which are in use throughout the West Indies, are built at Bermudas.

They have likewise two very singular plants, one useful the other noxious, but both so remarkable as to deserve particular notice; the first is called the Summer Island redwood, the berry of which is as red as the prickly-pear, giving also such a tincture; out of which berry come first worms, which afterwards turn into flies, sometimes bigger than the cochineal fly, and a medicinal virtue much exceeding it. The poison-weed is the other strange plant, which grows much in the same manner as our ivy, and, if we may depend upon a gentleman who lived long in these islands, and sent an account of what was remarkable in them to the Royal Society, there is not a more surprising production than this in nature: he says he had seen a man so infected by it as to have all the skin of his face peel off, though he passed by without touching it, and yet he affirms that he had chewed it in his mouth without feeling any inconvenience, whence he infers that it is not hurtful alike to all constitutions. In this all who have been upon these islands agree, that this weed is very prejudicial, but then they agree likewise that there is nothing venomous besides in any of these islands.

As for animals, there were none in Bermudas but hogs, insects, and birds, when Sir George Summers was ship-wrecked there: he found out that there were some hogs in the island, by sending out two or three of his own to feed, and when they rambled home, a huge wild boar followed them, and being killed was found to be excellent meat: the hogs they killed afterwards were found to be all black, and from thence

it is concluded that the Spaniards had left them there to breed, because they were of the same kind with them they carried to the continent of America: they now fat them at Bermudas with palm and cedar berries; but their number is very much decreased.

These islands abound in more and greater variety of fowl than any in America. There are hawks of all sorts, herons, bitterns, ospreys, cormorants, baldcoots, moorhens, swans, teal, snipe, duck, and wigeons; bats and owls are also very common here, with multitudes of small birds; as wood-peckers, sparrows, &c. The English, at their first coming found a sort of fowl here they called cowkoes, which bred in the holes of the rocks, and in burrows like rabbits, and were so numerous and gentle, that they were taken by hand. They are now almost destroyed, being very easy to be caught. This bird is of the bigness of a sea-mew. There are also the tropic-bird, and the pemlico, seldom seen by day, and when it is, held to be the unwelcome foreteller of a storm.

Fifth there is as plenty as fowl, of which there are so many sorts that authors have not yet found out names for them. They have of the scaly and the shelly kind; the whale and sword-fish, and the thresher; but particularly the tortoise abounds to a wonder, and is as good and great, of the sort, as any in the world. Whale-fishing has been attempted, but without success. The whales about Bermudas are found only in the months of February, March, and April; the female whales have abundance of milk, which the young ones suck out of the teats that grow by her navel; they have no teeth, but feed on grass growing on the rocks at the bottom during these three months, and at no other season of the year; when this is consumed and gone, the whales go. There have been spermaceti whales driven upon the shore, which spermaceti, as they call it, lies all over the bodies of these whales: these have divers teeth, which may be about as big as a man's wrist. Ambergrease and spermaceti have been found here in great quantities, and pearl: all which are almost as rare here now as elsewhere; which is a little wonderful.

The insects in these islands are, generally speaking, the same as before mentioned in other plantations, except it be the spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other country in the world, and so adorned with beautiful colours, that it takes off very much, if it does not entirely remove, that distaste which otherwise the sight of creatures of this kind, and of so enormous a size, would naturally occasion. One of these spiders, with its legs extended, would take up a space equal to the breadth of a man's hand. Their bodies are composed of two parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in shape or size, to a pigeon's egg. On their backs they have an orifice, which serves, as well as in some kinds of hogs, for a navel; their mouths are covered with a kind of grey hairs, intermixed sometimes with bright red, and on each side of their mouths they have a kind of crooked tooth, of a fine polished substance, extremely hard, and of a bright shining black, and therefore they are often set in silver or gold for tooth-picks. When these creatures grow old, they are covered all over with a kind of dark brown or black down, smooth, soft, and shining like velvet; on the flat part they have their ten legs, five on each side, each of which has four joints and two small claws at the ends. They cast their skins every year, together with those hard teeth-like substances before-mentioned; they live upon flies and gnats, in catching of which they shew great cunning and no less agility. Their webs, which are very large, they spirt into the air, by which means they are lodged upon trees at some distance, and then run along the threads, and weave them so strong, that birds of the size of a thrush are sometimes caught in them.

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There is scarce an eighth part of these islands inhabited, and all but St. George's, St. David's, and Cooper's Isles, have only a few houses scattered up and down; they all together make the figure of a sheep-hook, and are within the circuit of six or seven leagues at most. There are none of them of any considerable bigness, yet some much bigger than others; as time and the sea continually washing upon them, have worn them away in different proportions. The main or great island of all is called St. George's, and is about sixteen miles in length, from east-north-east to west-south-west; it is not a league over in the broadest place, but is fortified by nature all round, the rocks every way extending themselves a great way into the sea. To natural strength, especially towards the eastward, where it is most exposed, the inhabitants have added that of forts, batteries, parapets, and lines; the cannon of the forts and batteries being so well disposed as to command the several channels and inlets into the sea. There are no more than two places where shipping may safely come in, and it is not easy for a man to find those places out; the rocks lie so thick in such a manner, and some so undiscovered, that without a good pilot from the shore, a vessel of ten tons could not find the way into those harbours, which being once known the biggest ships in the world may enter. These two havens are so fortified, that if an enemy should attempt either, he might easily be kept out. The rocks, at most places, appear at low water; it ebbs and flows there not above five feet; the very shore itself is, for the most part, a rock, and it is impossible to find out any islands better guarded by rocks than these; indeed they are all of them so environed with them, that they seem to threaten all ships who venture on that coast with present destruction, and so many have been shipwrecked upon them, that the Spaniards gave them the name of *Los Diabolos*, the Devil's Islands; this place having been fatal to them and all nations.

The town of St. George stands at the bottom of the haven of the same name, covered by no less than six or seven forts and batteries, as King's Castle, Charles Fort, Pembroke Fort, Cavendish Fort, Davie's Fort, Warwick Fort, and Sandy's Fort, mounted with above seventy pieces of cannon; and they are so disposed that they can be all brought to bear upon any ship before she can make her entrance. In this town there is a fair church with a fine library, for which the inhabitants are indebted to Dr. Thomas Bray. There are near a thousand houses in it handsomely built, and a state-house for the meeting of the governor, council, and assembly. Besides the town and division of St. George, there are eight tribes, Hamilton's tribe, Smith's tribe, Devonshire's tribe, Pembroke's tribe, Paget's tribe, Warwick's tribe, Southampton's tribe, and Sandy's tribe, of which Devonshire in the north, and Southampton in the south, are parishes, have each a church and a particular library. In the whole island there are plantations of oranges, mulberries, and other productions of the country, which render it a very delightful prospect. There is a haven in Southampton tribe or district which is also called Southampton, and other harbours, as the Great Sound, Harrington's inlet in Hamilton's tribe, Paget's port in Paget's tribe, and others. There are no parish churches in any of the lesser islands, and all the inhabitants are ranged under one or the other of the eight tribes. The number of people in the whole who inhabit these islands has been computed to be nine thousand, and it is thought they do not much increase, many of the younger sort removing, for the sake of making their fortunes, into other colonies.

The government is like that of Virginia; the crown appointing both a governor and council, but the people, by their representatives, compose the assembly; they have fewer bye-laws than any of our other settlements, which we impute to the smallness of
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their trade ; for this colony produces no considerable commodity by which the inhabitants may be enriched ; and their commerce consists chiefly in timber and provisions, which they send to the other parts of America that stand in need of them, and some tobacco imported to England ; several families retired thither formerly, on account of their religion or health, from England, and carried considerable effects with them. The building of ships and sloops is the most advantageous branch of their trade ; and the people of Bermudas seem to content themselves with the pleasure and plenty of their country, with a safe and quiet retreat from the troubles and cares of the other part of the world, without any ambition to enrich themselves ; and if they had any such desire, it is to be questioned whether they have any opportunity of gratifying it : be that as it will, the inhabitants have constantly maintained a most excellent reputation ; infomuch that I knew a very ingenious gentleman, as well acquainted with this and our other plantations as thirty years trading to them, all could render him, who was wont to say that Bermudas was the finest country, and inhabited by the best people he ever knew.

It was this report of the place and people that induced the Reverend Dean Berkley, who is since become, very worthily, a bishop of our church, to think of erecting an academy there for promoting useful learning and true religion in the West Indies ; and the society for propagation of the gospel had so good an opinion of the proposal made them by the bishop of erecting a college or seminary at Bermudas, that they assisted him in procuring a patent for it from King George I., and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. And the Doctor, with three fellows of Trinity College, in Dublin, viz. the Reverend Mr. William Thompson, Jonathan Rogers, and James King, masters of art, with several of the Doctor's relations, who were people of fortune, embarked for Bermudas, in order to lay the foundation of the intended college ; but they were unfortunately driven by a storm to Long Island, in the province of New York ; from whence the Doctor, with his companions, visited Boston and several other great towns in New England, where they preached, and performed other parts of their function. But the design of erecting a college was laid aside, the expence appearing larger than it had been first calculated, and many of those who had promised subscriptions failing in their performance ; so that Dr. Berkley found himself obliged to return home, and was not long after promoted to the see of Cloyne, in the kingdom of Ireland, which he still enjoys.

There remains nothing farther to be said of this plantation, which, though it has flourished exceedingly, and is still in a very good condition, yet has no great trade with Great Britain, at least that we can obtain any account of, though undoubtedly we receive very considerable advantages from thence annually, as the people make use of a considerable quantity of our goods, are clothed with our manufactures, and employ tools sent from thence in all kinds of work. There might perhaps, if due encouragement was given, be a possibility of raising several rich commodities in this country, but more particularly two, for which it seems fitter than any of our plantations, viz. cochineal and silk ; and with this view, as I have been informed, a very worthy merchant of this city has collected, digested, and printed the best accounts that are to be met with on these heads, and also with respect to indigo, and has sent them to be distributed at his own expence in Carolina and the Bermudas Islands, which is an instance of public spirit that deserves to be mentioned with honour, and it is hoped may be likewise thought worthy of imitation. A very few attempts of this kind, supported with subscriptions inferior to those made for some diversions, might produce immense public

public advantages to this nation, and prove the means of making multitudes of people happy.

12. All the miscarriages that had happened in attempting discoveries to the north-east and north-west for a new passage to the Indies, could not so far discourage the merchants of England as to oblige them to lay aside their designs of that sort; and therefore when any opportunity offered they never failed to lay hold of it, in hopes that some time or other they might accomplish one or both of these great projects. It was with this view that they fitted out Captain Henry Hudson in 1607, who undertook to sail directly north, which he did to the height of 81 degrees 30 minutes, on the coast of Groenland, where he was on the 16th of July, the weather being pretty warm. His scheme, it seems, was to have passed round that great tract of country which the Danes call Groenland, and falling into Davis's Streights, have returned that way home. After being disappointed in this, he undertook two voyages for the discovery of a north-east passage, in which his conduct was very good, though his success no better than that of those who went before him; upon which he resolved to make an attempt towards the north-west. He sailed on this voyage April the 17th, 1610; and thus Mr. Pricket describes the principal events in that undertaking:—

“ We continued steering north-west; on the 8th of July we raised land to the south-west, covered with snow, which our master named Desire Provokes; lying in the latitude of 60 degrees. Here we heard the noise of a great overfall of a tide that came out of the land, and were now sensible that we had been embayed before; and we were now so well acquainted with the ice, that in foggy or foul weather we sought out the broadest island of ice, and there anchoring, we went out and sported upon the ice, and filled water that stood in ponds upon the ice very sweet and good, being now in the tides-way, the ice opened, by being first carried one way and then another, whereas in bays it is immoveable; and in that bay where we had been so troubled with ice, we saw many of those mountains of ice a-ground in sixty or seventy fathom water. We still plied to westward as the ice would give us leave, and fearing a storm we found an harbour at the west end of an island, whereunto we went at a full sea, over a rock which had then two fathom and a half of water upon it, and the next morning was two fathoms above water. Our master named it The Island of God's Mercies. The water flows here better than four fathoms, and the floods come from the north, flowing eight the change day, latitude 62° 9'. Then plying to south-west we were on the 16th in the latitude of 58° 50', but found ourselves embayed and much pestered with ice; whereupon we stood to the south-west until we saw the land, which our master named Hold with Hope; and being gotten again into a clear sea, our master stood to the west along the south shore, and raised three capes or head-lands, lying one beyond another, which he named Cape Henry, Cape James, and Queen Anne's Foreland; we also raised a high hill, which he named Mount Charles. We passed on in sight of the south shore until we raised a fair head-land, (which our master took to be part of the main north land, but is an island,) and named it Deep's Cape, and the land on the south side now falling away to the south makes another cape or head-land, which our master called Worfenham's Cape.

“ The master sent me, the carpenter, and some others, ashore near Deep's Cape; we there saw some deer, twelve or sixteen in a herd, but could not come within shot of them; we found plenty of sorrel and scurvy-grass, and saw some round hills of stones like to grass-cocks; and when we came to them I turned off the uppermost stone, and found them hollow within, and full of fowls hanged by their necks; we turned back
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and told the master what we had seen, and what refreshment might be had ; intreating him to stay a day or two in this place, but he was not pleased with the motion, nor could be persuaded to stay. Then standing southward we lost sight of the main land that we had all this while followed, and came into shallow water, broken ground, and rocks, and passed down so far southward till we had land on both sides, and the water shoaling apace we came to an anchor. From hence we stood back again towards the north ; and one day a debate arising concerning our coming into this bay, and how we should get out again, the master took occasion to revive old matters, and to displace Robert Ivet his mate, and boatswain, for words spoken on the first great bay of ice, and made Robert Bilet his mate, and William Willson our boatswain.

“ We plied to and fro from the north to the south, and thence to the north again, till we came to the shoal-water, where we anchored in seven fathom, and there lay eight days ; in all which time we could not get one hour to weigh our anchor ; but the eighth day the wind beginning to cease, our master would have the anchors up again against the minds of all that knew what belonged thereunto ; so to it we went, and when we had brought it a-peak, a sea took her, and cast us all off from the capstern, and hurt many of us ; here we lost our anchor, and if the carpenter had not been nimble we had lost our cable too ; but he fearing such a matter, was ready with his ax, and so cut it from thence. We stood to the south and divers courses, until we came to a bay on the north shore, where we anchored. While we lay here we saw a ledge of rocks to the southward, about a league long, which were covered at full sea ; for a strong tide set in here. At midnight we weighed, and stood to go out as we came in, and had not gone long before the carpenter told the master that if he kept that course we should be upon the rocks ; the master conceived that he was past them, when presently we ran on them, and there stuck fast twelve hours, but by the mercy of God we got off unhurt. We stood to the east and anchored in a bay ; here the master sent me and the carpenter in a boat to seek a place to winter in, and it was time, the days being long and cold, and the earth being covered with snow, having spent three months, to no purpose, and it being now the last day of October.

“ On the first of November we found a place whereunto we brought our ship, and haled her aground ; on the 10th we were frozen in, and now it concerned us to take care of what we had, and so to spend, that we might have wherewith to keep us alive, until we should come at the capes where the fowl breed ; for there were all the hopes we had of finding subsistence to bring us home. Our master therefore appointed a reward to them that killed boat-fish or fowl. We were victualled for six months, in good proportion, and of that which was good ; and if our master would have had more he might have been supplied at home and in other places ; and it is strange he did not prevent the hunger we endured, which occasioned the overthrow of himself and many other honest men.”

It appears very clearly from this relation, which is indeed the only one we have of this famous voyage ; concerning which it is not easy to determine if it was most for the advantage of this nation or ruinous to the brave man who undertook it ; that he was resolved to strike out something new, and not to waste his time in retracing other people's footsteps ; and therefore when he came to the mouth of Davis's Straights, he continued steering directly west, and then as the coast directed him through those straits that since bear his name, till he doubled Cape Worfenham, and then he sailed down the west coast of New Britain to the very bottom of the bay, where he made choice of a place to winter in, that was very near as far south as any part of the island

of Great Britain, and at the very back of the French settlements in Canada. Captain Hudson was a very good judge of the importance and consequences of his discovery, which induced him to winter there, in hopes of performing something very considerable the next season, which very probably he would have done if his men had not mutinied, and consigned him over to the savages to be murdered.

The relation we have of his voyage from Pricket, is chiefly calculated to give an account of this mutiny ; but as it is more to our purpose to come at as good an account as we can of the voyage itself, we shall endeavour to pick out of it what relates to that matter, and then give a short relation of that accident which destroyed Captain Hudson and all his hopes. “ It would be tedious (says he) to relate the hardships we endured whilst we wintered in this place ; the cold was so extreme that it lamed most of our company ; but I must not forget God’s great mercy to us in sending such store of white partridges during the first three months, that we killed above one hundred dozen, besides other fowl of sundry sorts.

“ The spring approaching the partridges left us, and were succeeded by other fowl ; as swans, geese, ducks, and teal, but hard to come by ; they came from the south and flew to the north ; but if they be taken short by a northerly wind, then they fall, and stay till the wind serves them, and then fly to the northward. As the summer came on the fowls were gone, and few or none to be seen. Then we searched the woods, hills, and vallies, for any thing that might serve for food, though ever so vile ; the frogs (in the time of their engendering, as loathsome as toads) were not spared, nor the moss that grew on the ground ; but amongst divers sorts of vegetables, Thomas Woodhouse brought home a bud of a tree full of a turpentine substance ; of this our surgeon made a decoction to drink, and applied the buds hot to such as were troubled with aches in any part of their bodies ; and I must confess I received thereby present ease of my pain. As soon as the ice began to break out of the bays, a savage came to our ship, being the first we had seen in all this time ; our master entertained him well, promising to himself great matters by his means, and therefore would have to his own use all the knives and hatchets that every man had, but received none except from John King the carpenter, and myself. To this savage our master gave a knife, a looking-glass, and buttons ; who received them thankfully, and made signs that after he had slept he would come again, as he did. When he came again he drew after him a sledge, and upon it two deer-skins and two beaver-skins ; he laid the knife upon one of the beaver-skins, and his glass and buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the master, who received them ; and the savage took those things the master had given him, and put them into his scrip ; then the master shewed him an hatchet, for which he would have given the master one of his deer-skins ; but the master would have them both, and so he had, but not willingly.

“ After many signs of people to the south and to the north, and that after so many sleeps he would come again, he went his way ; but never came more. The sound being now clear of ice, so that our boat could go from one place to another, Wilson, Green, and five more, were ordered to go a fishing with our net. They caught the first day five hundred fishes as big as large herrings, which put us all in good hopes to have our wants supplied ; but those were the most that ever they caught in one day, and many days they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, Green, Wilson, and some others plotted to take the net, and the shallop which the carpenter had newly set up, and so to shift for themselves ; but the shallop being ready, our master would go in it himself to the south and south-west, to see if he could meet with people ;

for that way we could see the woods burning : so taking with him as much provision as would serve for eight or nine days, he went towards the south, and set no time for his return ; because he was persuaded if he could meet with people he should have flesh of them, and that good store ; but he returned worse than he went forth ; for although he was so near them as to see them set the woods on fire, yet could he not by any means come to the speech of them.

“ Being come on board, he fitted all things for his return ; and first delivered all the bread out of the bread-room, which came to a pound a piece for every man’s share ; and delivered also a bill of return, willing them to have that to shew, if it should please God they should come home, and wept when he gave it to them : but to help us to some relief in this poor estate, our boat went to work on Friday morning, and staid till Sunday noon, and brought fourscore small fishes ; a poor relief for so many hungry bellies. Then we weighed, and stood out of our wintering-place, and anchored without at the mouth of the bay : where, our bread being gone, what store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were five, at which time the company grudged, because by their reckoning there should have been nine, but those that were left were equally divided by the master, although he was advised to the contrary, because there were some who could not govern themselves.”

It was this resolution of the master’s, to make all fare alike for the sake of prosecuting the voyage with effect, than which no man was more like to do it than himself, that drew upon him his destruction ; for his old mate, one Green, and some other people in the ship, resolving to lessen the number of hands, and so get all the provisions that were left to themselves, most barbarously contrived to turn Captain Hudson, the carpenter, and all the sick men, out of the ship ; after which they determined to make the best of their way for England. This they performed the 19th of June, 1611, by forcing Captain Hudson and eight more into the shallop without provisions, though most of them were taken sick out of bed, who after that time were never heard of, but were either drowned, starved, or murdered by the savages : neither did the leaders of this mutiny escape much better ; for being obliged to land frequently on the desert coast, in order to obtain some subsistence, they fell there into a fray with the savages, in which Green and some others were killed ; so that very few, and those too in a miserable condition, returned to England, where Pricket wrote that account of the voyage for his own justification, from which we have made these extracts.

At first there fell great imputations upon this man, because he administered the oath to the conspirators ; but upon an enquiry it appeared very clearly, that this oath contained nothing in it contrary to the duty of the seamen ; and that the true reason why they preserved him was, because that being servant to Sir Dudley Diggs, who was a man of great power and reputation, they were in hopes he would interpose and save their lives, which they ought to have forfeited as pirates. Upon this imperfect account of Hudson’s Bay, several persons who had been engaged already in expeditions for the discovery of a north-west passage, began to hope that now they had a fairer prospect than ever of bringing this project to bear, in case they could find any able mariner who would undertake to prosecute the discoveries made by Hudson.

His Royal Highness Henry Prince of Wales was the great patron of learning and virtue at that time ; and being applied to by the persons concerned in this project, he resolved to send one Captain Button, his own servant, a man of great abilities, courage, and experience, and having the countenance of so great a person, was most likely to maintain discipline amongst his seamen. Accordingly, in the year 1611, he sailed on
this

this expedition, in which he passed Hudson's Streights, and leaving Hudson's Bay to the south sailed above two hundred leagues to the north-west, through a sea above eighty fathoms deep, and discovered a great continent called by him New Wales; where, after much misery and sickness, wintering at Port Nelson, he carefully searched all the bay, from him called Button's Bay, back again, almost to Digg's Island. He discovered the great island called Cary's Swans-nest. He lost many of his men during his stay in the river called Port Nelson, in fifty-seven degrees ten minutes north latitude, though he kept three fires in his ship all winter, and had great store of white partridges and other fowl, besides deer, bears, and foxes. Upon his return from this voyage he received the honour of knighthood, and great expectations were raised from his discoveries, which had certainly been prosecuted with effect, if Prince Henry had not died soon after.

It was a great pity that Sir Thomas Button, who was certainly a very understanding man, formed private views of his own from the knowledge he obtained in his voyage; which were of such a nature, that he affirmed he had convinced his master, King James, that there was a passage this way into the South Seas. The reasons upon which this opinion was founded, as well as notes of his voyage, he promised to give to Mr. Briggs, the famous mathematician, who had turned his thoughts much upon this subject, but never did; which was the reason that all the expeditions undertaken on that side afterwards failed; but, however, we have sufficient grounds to affirm, from the knowledge derived to us from another quarter, that the discoveries of Sir Thomas Button, if prosecuted, might have proved highly advantageous to this nation, notwithstanding the seeming rigour of the climate, and barrenness of the country.

The French were in possession of Fort Bourbon, which we call New York Fort, upon St. Theresa, the eastern branch of Nelson River, from the year 1697 to 1714. Monsieur Jeremie, who was lieutenant there from 1697 to 1708, and afterwards governor till he gave it up in 1714 to us, gives a very particular account of that river and the adjoining countries, great part of which he affirms to be of his own knowledge, having travelled a great way south-west into the country, among the rivers and lakes. The Danish, or Churchill's River, upon which the Hudson's Bay Company have lately built a strong stone fort, he says, is situated in fifty-nine degrees north latitude, and is about five hundred paces wide at the entrance for about a quarter of a league, and very deep; but within it is much broader, and navigable into the country a hundred and fifty leagues; there is but little wood upon the river near the bay, except in the islands. At a hundred and fifty leagues distance is a chain of high mountains, with great cataracts and falls of water; but beyond these it is again navigable, and has a communication with a river, called the River of Stags. Fifteen leagues northward of this river is the river of Loup Marine, or River of Seals. Betwixt these rivers is found a kind of ox, called the musk ox, which smells at some time of the year so strong of musk that it cannot be eat: they have very fine wool, which is longer than that of the Barbary sheep: they are smaller than French oxen, with very crooked horns, which turn round like ram's-horns, and are so long that they weigh sometimes sixty pounds; they have short legs, and their wool trails upon the ground: they are not numerous.

This river comes from a nation he calls Platcotez de Chiens, who makes war against the Savanna Indians, who traded with the French. In that country they have a large copper mine so fine, that without smelting it they make copper of it, by beating it betwixt two stones: he saw a great deal of it, which their Indians got when they went to war against that nation. This nation has a sweet humane aspect, but their country is

not good. They have no beaver, but live by fishing, and a kind of deer they call cariboux (rein-deer); the hares grow white in winter, and recover their colour in spring; they have very large ears, and are always black; their skins in winter are very pretty, of fine long hair, which does not fall, so that they make very fine muffs. He says he can say nothing positively in going farther northward, but only that their savages reported that in the bottom of the northern bay there is a strait, where they can easily discover land on the other side: they had never gone to the end of that strait; they say there is ice there all the year, which is drove by the wind, sometimes one way, sometimes another. According to all appearance this arm of the sea has a communication with the Western Ocean; and what makes it more probable is, that when the winds come from the northern quarter, the sea is discharged by that strait in such abundance, into Hudson's Bay, as to raise the water ten feet above the ordinary tides; inasmuch that when they find the waters rise, ships take shelter against these northerly winds. The savages say, that after travelling some months to west-south-west, they came to the sea, upon which they saw great vessels with men, who had beards and caps, who gather gold on the shore that is at the mouths of rivers. In passing to the southward from the Danish River, at sixty leagues distance, is the River Bourbon or Nelson, in latitude fifty-seven degrees.

There is nothing remarkable in the country betwixt those two rivers, but a great number of the deer, called cariboux, which being drove from the woods by a great number of muschetoos or midgets, come to the shore to refresh themselves; they are in herds of 10,000 together, and spread through a country forty or fifty leagues in extent. They might have as many of their skins as they pleased, and some have been dressed, which have been very fine. They have there all sorts of wild-fowl, as swans, bustards, geese, cranes, ducks, and those of the smaller kind in such great numbers that when they rise they darken the sky, and make so loud a noise that they can scarce hear each other speak. He says, that this may appear fabulous, but affirms he says nothing but what he saw himself, for he would not trust to the report of others, but went himself to almost every place he mentions. The River St. Theresa, upon which they built Fort Bourbon, is a branch of Nelson River, by which the natives come down to trade. This river is of so great extent that it passes through many great lakes; the first is 150 leagues from the entrance of the river, and is 100 leagues in circuit; the natives call it the Lake of Ports (or rather Forests). On the north side a river discharges itself, called the Rapid River: this takes its rise from a lake 300 leagues from the first, which they call Michimipi, or the Great Waters; because, in effect, it is the greatest and deepest lake, being 600 leagues in circumference, and receives into it many rivers, some of which have a communication with the Danish River, and others with the Plascotez de Chiens; about this lake and along these rivers are many Indians, who call themselves the Nation of the Great Waters, or of Assinibowls; it is to be remarked, that these are as humane and affable, as the Eskimaux are fierce and barbarous, as are also all other nations along Hudson's Bay. At the extremity of the Lake of Forests the River Bourbon continues its course, and comes from another lake, called the Junction of the two Seas, because the land almost meets in the middle of the lake; the east side of this lake is a country full of thick forests, in which are great numbers of beavers and elks. Here begins the country of the Christinaux.

This is in a much more temperate climate. The west side is full of fine meadows, filled with wild oxen. The Assinibowls live here: the lake is 400 leagues in circumference, and 200 from the other lake: 100 leagues farther west-south-west along this river

river is another lake, which they call Ounipigouchih, or the Little Sea; it is almost the same country and climate with the other, inhabited by the same Indians, the Affinibowls, the Christinaux, and Souteurs; it is 300 leagues in circumference; at the further end is a river, which comes from Tacamiouen, which is not so great as the other; it is into this lake that the River of Stags is discharged, which is of such a length that the natives have not yet discovered its source; from this river they can go to another, which runs westward, but all the rest run either into the bay or river of Canada. He endeavoured to send the natives to discover if it went to the westward sea, but their enemies lying in the way prevented them; however, they brought some of them prisoners, who said they also were at war with another nation farther west; these said they had neighbours with beards, who lived in stone-houses and forts, that they were not clothed like them; that they had white kettles; and shewing them a silver cup, they said it was of that metal; they said they tilled their land with tools of that metal. According to their description it was maize they cultivated.

The intendant of Canada was very desirous to discover these countries from thence; but it is much easier from Fort Bourbon, as it is shorter; and though a fine country full of beasts and wild fowl, besides fruit, which grow wild, as plums, apples, and grapes, and great variety of smaller fruit. On the south-west side of this lake, Tacamiouen, is a river which comes from another, called the Lake of Dogs, which is not far from the superior lake. The River St. Theresa is but half a league wide where the fort is built; two leagues higher is Fort Philippeaux, built for a retreat; there the river begins to be interspersed with islands; twenty leagues above the fort the river divides into two branches, one which comes from the north-west side communicates with Nelson or Bourbon River, by which the natives come down to trade by the means of a land carriage from the Lake of Forests to this river. Twenty leagues above the first fork there is another that comes from the south-east, which the natives call Guicomatouang, or the Great Fork. This has a communication with the River St. Huiles; the western branch, though still called St. Theresa, is but of a small extent, coming from its source by several small brooks, in each of which are great numbers of lynx, beavers, martins, and others of smaller furs. Betwixt the two forts is a small river, called Egaree, from whence they get their wood for firing, it being scarce at the fort. Near the mouth of the river is another small one they call Gargouffe; there comes in at high water a great number of porpoises. The river being narrow here, there might be a good fishing, where they might make above six hundred barrels of oil annually.

From this river of St. Huiles, or New Severn, is 100 leagues south-east. It is situated in latitude 56 degrees; the entrance is but shallow, only capable of vessels of sixty tons; here might be made good houses, for wood is very plenty here; and there are great numbers of beavers higher up the river. As to the climate of Fort Bourbon, it being in latitude 57 degrees, is very cold in winter, which begins about Michaelmas and ends in May. The sun sets about three, and rises about nine in the winter. When the days grow a little longer, and the cold is more temperate, the sportsmen kill as many partridges and hares as they please. One year, when they had eighty men in garrison, they had the curiosity to reckon the number, which amounted to ninety thousand partridges, and twenty-five thousand hares. At the end of April, the geese, bustards, and ducks, return in such numbers, that they kill as many as they please; they also take great numbers of cariboux, or rein-deer; in March and April they come from the north to the south, and extend then along the river sixty leagues: they go again northward in July and August; the roads they make in the snow are as well padded,

padded, and cross each other as often as the streets at Paris. The natives make hedges with the branches of trees, and leave openings, in which they fix snares, and thus take numbers of them: when they swim the rivers, in returning northwards, the natives kill them in canoes with lances, as many as they please. In summer they have the pleasure of fishing, and with nets take pike, trout, and carp, and a white fish something like a herring, by much the best fish in the world: they preserve those for their winter provision, by putting them in snow, or freezing them, as also the flesh they would preserve. They keep thus also geese, ducks, and bustards, which they roast with the hares and partridges they kill in winter. So that, though it be a cold climate, there is good living there, by getting bread and wine from Europe.

Though the summer be short they had a garden, and good coleworts, with salads and small herbs, which they put in their soups in winter. He had one hundred and twenty thousand livres profit out of eight thousand sent him in goods in one season; they have also bears, elks, and all sorts of beasts, whose skins and furs are valued in France; and, according to him it is one of the most profitable posts in North America, considering the expence. Thus far this French writer, from whom we have borrowed a very clear and copious account of the advantages that might have accrued to us, if our original discovery of Hudson's Bay had been properly considered.

But there were, and will be always, a race of people decrying those projects they want courage to attempt; and who, by ridiculing the pains taken to visit the frozen climates and barren countries, hinder those improvements which might otherwise follow from such kind of expeditions. But they ought to consider before they run down such attempts, that we have numbers of poor people here who want employment, and for whom employments ought to be found; that if this be not done, they will either starve to our shame, or strike out ways of living at our expence; whereas, if they were thus employed, they would both maintain themselves and benefit the public: besides there is this advantage that attends northern expeditions and discoveries, that they breed a race of hardy and useful seamen, who are nearer at hand, and consequently more capable of serving their country upon any emergency than such as are employed in other branches of navigation. As to the supposed difficulties that are to be in this way encountered, it is a shame to hear them mentioned amongst people who pretend to maritime power.

If men are afraid of ice, cold, and rocks, they must relinquish all thoughts of being great at sea, and leave it to those who can not only endure but even despise such hardships: the Dutch, the Danes, and the Hamburgers, sail every year on the whale fishery, near 20 degrees farther north than the bottom of Hudson's Bay; and the French from Canada travel through and live in these very countries of which we are speaking, with as much ease as the savages themselves; and, indeed, why should they not, or why should we imagine that one man, or one race of men, can do more than another? Our ancestors were of this opinion, or at least they thought that if such a race of men there were, they might be found in this island: and here, if properly encouraged and due regard shewn to their virtue, they will be always found, for it is not the people but their governors that alter, and therefore we have a right to blame those who took so little notice of what Sir Thomas Button performed, and so little attended to what might be made of these countries, as we certainly ought to commend such as contrived or promoted the law lately passed for encouraging private persons to attempt once more the discovery of a north-west passage, by securing to them a reward from the public, which, without doubt, they will justly deserve.

13. The next thing that occurs in order of time, is the asserting our right to that part of the continent of America which lies north from New England, and which is now called Nova Scotia, but was then looked upon as part of North Virginia, and as such within the charter of the Western Company, who gave strict orders to those in their service to prevent foreign nations settling in their limits; by which means this country, of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which is of so great consequence in itself, and for the security of our other plantations on the main, was preserved. The bounds of this province are the ocean to the north, Cape Breton Island, and the Bay of St. Laurence to the east, Canada to the west, and New England to the south; it lies from 43 to 51 degrees north latitude, and from the river St. Croix, the nearest to New Hampshire, to the great river of St. Laurence, has almost six hundred miles of coast, but most of it uninhabited and desert, the Indians themselves making little or no use of it.

Sir Samuel Argall, then governor of Virginia, made a sort of cruizing voyage round the coast northwards, as far as Cape Cod in New England, in the year 1618, five or six years before the English, who intended to settle, arrived in that country. The Indians informed him that some white men, like himself, were come to inhabit to the northward of them. Sir Samuel Argall, who took all that country, as far as it had been discovered by Cabot, to belong to the Virginia Company his employers, sailed thither, found a settlement and a ship riding before it, which belonged to some Frenchmen: Argall drew so close to it, that, with his small arms, he beat all the men from the deck, so that they could not use their guns, their ship having but one deck; among others there were two Jesuits aboard, one of which endeavoured to fire off one of their cannon, and was shot. Argall having taken the ship, landed his men, marched to and summoned the fort to surrender: the French asked time to consider of it, which was denied, upon which they got privately away and fled into the woods. The English entered it, and lodged there that night, and the next day the French came and yielded to Sir Samuel, cancelling the patents that had been granted them for their settlement by the French King. Sir Samuel permitted such of the French as were so disposed to take passage for Europe in the fishing ships, and took the rest with him to Virginia, according to their choice.

The French had another settlement at a place they called Port Royal, on a bay on the south-west coast of Acadia, which the two Jesuits had left out of pique to their governor M. Biencourt; and, with these Frenchmen separated from the others. Father Biard, the surviving Jesuit, out of malice to Biencourt, informed Sir Samuel of the settlement at Port Royal, and the ease with which he might reduce it, which he found to be true; and, on the surrender of the French, he did no damage to their houses, their barns, and mills, but obliged them to quit the country they had sowed and reaped; and those of them that did not care to return home, removed to the river of St. Lawrence, where now is the capital of Canada or New France.

When Sir Ferdinand Gorges was president of the New England Company, he proposed to Sir William Alexander to procure a particular grant for the land to the northward of their patent, which was easily obtained of King James I. and a year after, 1622, Sir William, and some others whom he had got to be concerned with him, sent a ship with passengers to plant and settle there. Newfoundland was then very well known on account of the fishery, and the ship being late in her voyage the master put in and wintered there. The next year they set sail, and made the promontory at the north shore of Cape Breton Island: they coasted it along till they came to Cape Sable in Acadia, where they found three good harbours, and went ashore at one of them, which

which they called Luke's Bay; in which was a large river that had eight fathoms water at ebb. This ship failed up one of these, and according to the accounts that were published by those that were to be sharers in the patent, this country is described as a kind of paradise; with a view, no doubt, to have engaged people to go over thither to settle, to which end Sir William Alexander, the original proprietor, afterwards created Earl of Sterling, wrote and published a book, and his sovereign King James created a new order, called the Knights of Nova Scotia, to facilitate this plantation.

But, notwithstanding all the care that was taken of it, this project proved abortive, and, which is very extraordinary, modern authors have taught us to condemn and censure such as foresaw the consequence and importance of this country to the British nation, when unsettled and unimproved, and to treat as weak and pusillanimous the conduct of those times, when in full peace the French were, by force of arms, compelled to quit a country, which, though settled by them, was discovered by us; and from these fugitives it was that the more northern settlement of the French took birth. The expedition of Sir Samuel Argall was certainly both a vigorous and a right measure; and the grant to Sir William Alexander was a very sensible thing, though the design of it is now not well understood, or rather forgot; and therefore, though it may take up some room, I shall endeavour to revive and explain it. It was suggested to King James that the tract of country on the continent of North America, belonging to his crown, being very large, and not likely to be planted in any reasonable space of time by the English, it would be a very wise and prudent measure to grant under the great seal of Scotland a part of it to his subjects of that kingdom, upon a supposition that it would be more beneficial for them and more for the interest of the united kingdoms if they went over and settled there, than if, as to that time they had frequently done, they transported themselves to Poland, Sweden, and Russia, in which countries there were at that time many thousand Scotch families.

Such was the original scheme of settling and planting Nova Scotia; and if the courtiers of those times made a job of this, and thereby defeated the scheme; however this may reflect on their memories, it ought to draw no sort of odium on the project itself, which was very well and wisely laid, if it had been as honestly and wisely executed. There was afterwards another grant made of the northern part of this country, to Sir David Kirk, from whom the French King bought it, or at least contracted to give him five thousand pounds for it; a very plain proof that even the French acknowledged the right by which he held it; and a French nobleman likewise bought, many years after that, Sir William Alexander's property. It may be enquired why the crown of England did not interpose and prevent these sales, as might no doubt have been done; and the plain answer to this is, that the French protestants being principally concerned in these settlements, the crown had a tenderness for them.

But Oliver Cromwell sent Major Sedgwick to dislodge the French from Port Royal, which he did; and though the Protector afterwards consented that a French proprietor should enjoy the country, yet it was upon condition that he should make out this right by purchase from the Earl of Sterling; which he afterwards did, and then sold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor at the Restoration: after which the French settled there again, and remained there in quiet possession till the year 1690, when they were dispossessed by Sir William Phips, then governor of New England; but it was afterwards given up again to the French by King William's treaty of Rylwick. It is not, however, to be understood that either King Charles II. or King William III., by their respective treaties with France, gave up the claim of this

nation to that country, nor did the French so understand it, but only permitted that possession, because, as the circumstances of things then stood, they were unwilling to contest it. In all these changes, however, the island of Cape Breton followed the fate of Nova Scotia, and both continued in the hands of the French till the year 1710, when Governor Nicholson made himself master of Port Royal, which was become a place of very great importance in many respects, more especially in this, that it gave the French an opportunity of disturbing and distressing our trade to such a degree, that it was very properly styled the Dunkirk of America.

We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking this place was looked upon as a very remarkable service, or that the Queen should bestow her name upon it to shew that she never meant to part with it. Upon the same principle, Colonel Nicholson, upon his return to England, had a commission granted him to be governor of Nova Scotia and of Annapolis Royal, and commander of all Her Majesty's forces there and in Newfoundland. While things were in this situation, a negociation for peace was set on foot, which afterwards produced one that has since made a great deal of noise, more especially with regard to the stipulations therein, in reference to this province; and therefore it is requisite for us to see what relates to Nova Scotia in the Utrecht treaty, the words of which, in the twelfth article, are, "All Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with all ancient boundaries, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis, and all other things in these parts which depend on lands and islands, together with the dominion, property, possession of the said islands, lands, and all rights whatsoever, by treaties or by any other way obtained," &c. To which the French King added the exclusion of the subjects of France from fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia, and within thirty leagues, beginning from Cape Sable and stretching along to the south-west; there is no doubt but this article, as it is worded, contains the restitution of Cape Breton, which ought to have gone along with Nova Scotia, as it had hitherto done; neither is this a bare conjecture, or my particular notion, but the general sentiment of such as were best acquainted with this affair, and with the negociation that concerned it; which induced the Queen, in her instructions to the late Duke of Shrewsbury, when he went ambassador to France, to declare that she looked upon Cape Breton to belong to her, and reckoned that island a part of the ancient territory of Nova Scotia. But notwithstanding this article in the Queen's instructions, the French were suffered to keep Cape Breton, but, most undoubtedly, this gave them no right to it.

I am very far from thinking that in this case, I mean in the case of plantations, possession is the only or even the best right, because such a doctrine might confer right upon pirates. The best claim of civilized nations, with respect to new countries, was always allowed to be the first discovery. This right is that on which is founded our title, and very justly; for we have certainly discovered all the countries that border on Davis's Straits, Hudson's Bay, and so forwards to the limits of Georgia; and this right being in the crown of England, and inherited with the crown of England, could never be granted away, yielded to a foreign power, or otherwise transferred, without the consent of parliament; though the temporary possession might. For, in those treaties by which Acadia was left to France, the crown only stipulated not to deprive the French of their possession, during the continuance of the peace, but the right still remained in us, and must always remain in us.

We have before shewn that the French acknowledged this, as appears by the King of France's purchasing under our title; nor was it ever disputed till the treaty of Utrecht, that the island of Cape Breton belonged to Nova Scotia, nor could it be dis-

puted, because the very charter which established Nova Scotia as a distinct province, included the island of Cape Breton in express words. We may add to this, that our title to Labrador or New Britain is unquestionable, of which country Nova Scotia was a part, till separated by the charter; and our claim to Newfoundland has been always maintained, as we shewed in the former section: so that on the whole it may be justly affirmed, that our right to the island of Cape Breton is as clear and as unquestionable as that of any European nation to any of its English settlements in America, or elsewhere. But if it should be demanded of what use this reasoning is, I answer, that having now recovered the possession of that island to which we had always a right, and out of which we were cheated at the treaty of Utrecht, the French have no colour to demand the restitution of it; nor is the case the same now that it was when King Charles II. concluded his treaty in 1666, when King William concluded the treaty of Ryfwick, in 1697, or when the treaty of Utrecht was made by Queen Anne, in 1712.

14. We gave a large account, in the former section, of the attempt made by that great man and good patriot Sir Walter Raleigh, to establish an English plantation in Guiana; and of his sending, after his return to England, a ship to prosecute that discovery; of which second voyage we have likewise a long account, published by Captain Keymish: but this design met with continual interruptions; or otherwise, Sir Walter himself tells us in his Apology, there had been, before the death of Queen Elizabeth, a sufficient number of English settled in that part of the world to have secured the possession of it for ever to this crown and nation. The very next year after Sir Walter's return, he was employed in the expedition to Cadiz: the two following years, his time was taken up in that which was called the Island Voyage. Then the great rebellion broke out in Ireland, which rendered Queen Elizabeth unwilling to encourage any private expeditions that required a considerable force; and this rebellion lasted till the Queen's death. Immediately after this, Sir Walter himself was imprisoned, and so continued for many years. Which very fairly accounts for this noble design remaining so long unpursued.

But things delayed are not always lost: the desire of settling Guiana revived in a few years after peace was restored; and, as I do not know it has ever yet been done, I shall give a succinct account of the several attempts made to carry this design into execution, to the time they were wholly given over, and the small interest we had in that part of the world surrendered up to the Dutch. In the year 1604, Captain Charles Leigh undertook a voyage to Guiana, at his own and his brother Sir Olive Leigh's charge: he had a bark of about fifty tons, called the Olive-Plant; and his company, about forty-six men and boys. They sailed from Woolwich the 21st of March, with a design to make a more complete discovery of the country of Guiana than had been yet done, and to fix an English colony there. On the 22d of May they came into the river of Wyapoco, in the latitude of 8 degrees 30 minutes to the north of the line, and the town of Wyapoco, which lies on the coast of Guiana, was the place in which they intended to take up their abode. Here the captain came to an agreement with the inhabitants, who received him very kindly, that they should allow him a good space of ground, and some houses for the present; in consideration of which he was to assist them against their inveterate enemies the Caribbees, who greatly distressed them.

This agreement was made by means of two of the natives of Guiana who had been in England and could speak some English; and for the better security of performance on the part of the savages, they consented to give five of their body, among whom
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were two persons of note, as pledges to be sent to England. Their first settlement was on part of the mountain that lies on the west side of the entrance of the river, to which they gave the name of Mount Howard. The captain might have lived here a very quiet life, and been very useful to his country too, had he not had a mutinous and discontented company. The next year after, he sent his ship to England, in the month of June, for fresh supplies of such things as he wanted, retaining thirty-five of his men and boys with him, to settle his small village, and thereby set this colony upon a better footing than it had till then been. They had some trade with the natives, as well round about their settlement, as farther up the river; and the chief merchandizes they obtained were wax, fine white feathers, tobacco, parrots, monkeys, green and black, cotton-yarn, and wool, sweet gums, red pepper, spleen and mafate stones; with several sorts of wood, roots, and berries, partly for medicine, and partly for dyeing; but the flux, and other distempers, carried off a good number of the company; and the captain being seized with it himself just as he was going on board for England, to fetch a complete loading of such things as were needful for his colony, died of it. It was by this unhappy stroke the whole undertaking was quashed, and every one shifted for himself; some returned to England in their own vessel, others in a French ship, and others in two Dutch ships, very much to the regret of the Indians, and to the no small loss of Sir Olive Leigh, and detriment of the English nation.

Sir Olive Leigh resolving to support his brother in the establishment of his colony at Guiana, before he had any account of his success, fitted out another ship called the Olive-Blossom, under Captain Catalin and Captain St. John, to carry him a fresh supply of men and necessaries. The ship set out from Woolwich for Wyapoco, the 14th of April, 1605; but, between contrary winds and currents, by the unskilfulness of the master, Mr. Richard Chambers, they were put so far to the leeward, that they despaired of ever recovering their intended port in any due time; and therefore they put in first at Barbadoes, and afterwards at the island of St. Lucia, designing from thence to return to England: however, examining their stores of provisions, and finding not near enough to serve so large a company as they were for so long a voyage, Captain St. John himself, with several of the passengers, to the number of sixty-seven, resolved rather to stay, and take their lot upon that island, than to run the hazard of their being starved at sea.

They soon made an acquaintance with the Indians, who furnished them, in exchange for trifles, with roots, fruits, and some fowls; and they every night had an opportunity, with very little trouble, of taking delicate tortoises upon the sands; so that they were in no want of food. They lived five or six weeks in little huts, or houses which they had built, without making any excursions into the country; but the captain seeing one day certain plates of metal upon the arms of some of the Indians, and being informed by one Brown, a refiner in their company, that they were at least three parts gold; and enquiring of the Indians from whence they had it, they pointed to a very high mountain, in the north-west part of the island. Upon this, the captain himself, with several of the chief of his men, went in quest of this golden mountain, the rest being appointed to keep guard at home, and assured they would return in a week's time. When this part of the company was gone, the other expected the Indians would have brought them provision as they used to do; but they heard nothing of them for three days together. They had, it seemed, observed when the captain went, followed him, and most barbarously cut him off with his whole company.

They were now intent upon making the same dispatch of their companions, and to this end had got one Augramart, a desperate savage, and captain of the island of

St. Vincent, to head them in this enterprize. To cover their design, however, they carried it fair to them, and visited them frequently; till one day Augramart, having dined with them, would have the English go with him to his quarters; where he promised to furnish them with whatever provisions they wanted. Mr. St. John, with seventeen others, accepted of the invitation; but instead of carrying them to their quarters, they led them into an ambush of five hundred savages; where, being surrounded, and attacked on every side with volleys of arrows, after doing all that men could do in their own defence, they were overpowered, and all slain but one John Nichols, who made his escape from this bloody slaughter, and was forced to hide himself in a wood, then swimming a lake, and so with great difficulty returned home, just time enough to give his companions the alarm; for it was not long before they appeared before their houses; yet letting fly their small pieces of ordnance they quickly marched off again. In two or three days time they returned, to the number of thirteen or fourteen hundred men; who, after having attacked their little fort and houses for seven days together, with little success, thought of throwing in fire with their arrows, which in a short time reduced the habitations of the English, and all they had, to a heap of ashes. They continued, however, to defend themselves in so brave a manner, that the Indians, seeing they could not accomplish their design against this handful of men, resolved at last to abandon the enterprize.

After their departure, some of the neighbouring savages were prevailed upon, for a reward of hatchets, knives, and beads, to furnish them with an old pitiful boat; this they fitted up as well as they could, and nineteen of them, the miserable remains of sixty-eight, of which twelve were wounded, ventured out to sea in her, without chart or compass, and having only four or five gallons of water, with a few plantains and potatoes, about twenty biscuits, and a little rice; and what was worse than all the rest, not one mariner among them. In this little boat they were so overladen that her gunnel lay almost even with the water: they lived at sea ten days, four of them being obliged by turns to keep scooping of the water. The tenth day, when all hopes began to fail them, they discovered land; but when they came upon it the land proved to be an uninhabited island, which afforded no manner of sustenance. In this miserable state they had no remedy, but to repair their boat again as well as they could, and to send five of their men to the continent to seek relief. After many difficulties these men came to an Indian town on the continent, called Tocoyo; from whence, after fifteen days absence, they carried succour to their miserable companions. They were now reduced to thirteen, who got together to a Spanish town, called Coro, where they were treated with great humanity; two more of them died; three of them went from thence to Carthagena, and were followed thither by two more; where they procured a passage to Spain; but what became of the rest does not any where appear.

One would have imagined, that such a series of misfortunes as had attended the attempts made for establishing this settlement, would have worn out all desire of running further hazards; but such was the credit of Sir Walter Raleigh, such the settled opinion of the vast riches to be found in this part of America, and such the remains of that spirit which prevailed through the whole nation in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that in the year 1609, a new attempt was made, at a much greater expence than the former, with the participation, at least, if not under the influence of Sir Walter Raleigh. This voyage was performed under the direction and command of Robert Harcourt, of Stanton-Harcourt, in the county of Oxford, esquire; and the vessels employed in it were, the *Rose*, a ship of eighty tons; the *Patience*, a ship of six-and-thirty tons; and the *Lilly* shallop, of nine tons. They set sail from Dartmouth the 29th of March, and arrived

arrived the 17th of May in the Bay of Wyapoco. It was not long before several canoes of Indians came to see what they were; and finding they were English, came on board them without any fear or ceremony: such an advantageous idea had Sir Walter Raleigh by his courteous behaviour imprinted in them of the English nation.

These people, who were very forward and ready to traffic with the English, were of the town called Caripo, on the east side of the hill, at the mouth of Wyapoco River. Their king, or chief, who had been many years in England, was then with Mr. Harcourt, and another of his countrymen came passenger with him, though he had not discovered his quality, till the joy of his subjects at the sight of him made him known. Among the Indians who came first on board was one who spoke the English tongue perfectly well, and was known to some of the ship's companies, having served Sir John Gilbert in England many years; and the Indian who accompanied the king or chief, having been fourteen years in England; these two were of singular service to the adventurers.

The first ceremonies being past, Mr. Harcourt acquainted them that the occasion of his coming among them was to settle a colony there, and to take possession of the country for the King of England, by virtue of their grant of it to Captain Leigh, and by some of their countrymen before to Sir Walter Raleigh; assuring them at the same time, that His Majesty intended no unjust usurpation over them, nor to treat them in any way like slaves and vassals; but only to be their friend and protector, and to deliver them from the insolencies and oppressions of the Caribbees. After some debate the Indians gave their consent that they might live among them, and promised to furnish them with houses, and all other necessaries, as far as they were able; but could not forbear expressing some dissidence in their performing their promises, since Sir Walter Raleigh had been so dilatory in accomplishing those he made them.

This being done they all went ashore, where they met the best reception the Indians could give them; and were dispersed up and down the town, on the side of a hill, while their ships rode at anchor at the foot of it. The great rains, which confined them near a month, being over, the captain set himself to discover the Golden Mountains, which had been the spurs to this undertaking; but their guide, who had promised such great things, failed in the performance of them and either had wilfully deceived them, or had been deceived himself; for when he came to the spot he had built his hopes upon, nothing was to be found: and yet they were convinced the country afforded gold, as well by the assurances given them by the natives, who shewed them certain images, which upon an essay appeared to contain at least one-third gold, as by ocular demonstration of great quantities of the white spar in which the gold is contained, and which they found to hold both gold and silver; but they had reason to believe these mines were too far up in the higher parts of Guiana, and perhaps too strongly guarded for them to hope they should be able to reach them. And, besides, they had then neither time nor power to search in the manner requisite for finding these mines.

This disappointment had like to have excited a mutiny among those who came out with no other view than to tumble at once into riches; but the captain, with great prudence and with no less conduct, prevented its running such a length; and to keep them employed, not only went himself up the river of Wyapoco upon discovery, but sent his brother with some others on the same errand to the river Arawary, and the country bordering upon it, which adjoins to the river of Amazons. He went also and took possession of the mountain Gomoribo, which is the utmost point of land to the northward in the Wyapoco. This he did, according to custom, by the ceremony of *Twig*
and.

and Turf, in the presence both of his own people and the Indians. After possession taken, the mountain was delivered over to an Indian, to hold and possess the same for himself and his heirs, of His Majesty James King of England, paying the yearly duty of a tenth part of the tobacco, cotton, wood, annotto, and all other commodities growing within the limits of the same. The attempt of the captain's brother, and Captain Harvey, in discovery of the River Arrawary, was attended with great difficulties and hazards; for the length they run by sea to this river was near one hundred leagues, through terrible breaks of flats and shoals. They went likewise fifty leagues up the river, and all this only with flat-bottomed canoes, something longer than the common Thames wherries, but not so broad.

The Indians they met with in this river plainly discovered they had never seen any Europeans before. It was long before they could be brought to any sort of trade or conversation with them, though they had other Indians in their company: but at last the sight of their toys wrought upon them, and induced them to exchange for provisions; a want of which however at last obliged them to return to Wyapoco. They took possession nevertheless of the country in form, as Mr. Harcourt had done of Gomoribo. Not long after this, Mr. Harcourt was obliged to return for England, purely for fear of wanting casks to contain sufficient beer and water for the voyage, the master having neglected to have his casks iron-bound before their departure, which occasioned many of them to burst their hoops in that hot country.

Mr. Harcourt left his brother to command in chief in his absence, to whom Captain Harvey was joined as assistant, and Mr. Gifford as his lieutenant, and with them he left fifty or sixty of his men. He departed the 18th of August; and Mr. Harcourt, in his way homewards, made several discoveries upon the coast, and in some of the rivers; returned to Ireland the 29th of November; and came from thence to England. Being come to London, by the favour of Prince Henry, he obtained a large patent for all that coast, called Guiana, together with the famous River of Amazons, to him and his heirs: but he was involved in so many troubles, that he was not able to supply his colony, and only sent over some few people, with eighteen Dutchmen, but to little purpose. Captain Harcourt, however, kept possession of that part of the country in which he was settled for full three years, in all which time he lost but six of his people.

The reader will observe, that we have now brought down the history of our expeditions to Guiana from 1595 to 1612, which is within five years of Sir Walter Raleigh's last embarkation. It is however certain, that some other voyages had been made to this country; for Sir Walter Raleigh, in his apology, says, that the Spaniards at St. Thomas's had, some years before his last attempt, murdered many English, under pretence of trading with them, and some of those who were thus murdered he mentions by name. He had suffered a very long imprisonment in the Tower of London, when, by the help of many friends, and perhaps by the laying out of a great deal of money, he procured his liberty, and therewith a commission to execute his last expedition to Guiana. In order to this, he turned into money the best part of his own fortune, which he employed in fitting out ships for this service. He engaged many of his best friends to do the same; and embarked several of them, and his own eldest son, on board the fleet; and all this from a persuasion that the country he was going to was very rich in gold, and if they could gain possession of it, would make all their fortunes.

The famous Count Gondomar, who was then the Spanish Ambassador here, and, as all the world knows, had a great influence over King James, did all that lay in his power

power to hinder this expedition ; and as he did not succeed therein, it very plainly proves that King James did not credit what he suggested to the prejudice of Sir Walter Raleigh. And indeed, what he gave out upon this subject, of Sir Walter's having no intention to make either discovery or settlement, but merely to engage in a piratical attempt upon the Spanish colonies in America, was absurd and ridiculous, since no man had ever a meaner opinion of such exploits, or had so fully exposed the folly of hoping for great riches from the plunder of Spanish towns than Sir Walter had done. But in all probability the Spanish minister had not so much in view the making these suggestions of his pass for truth, as obtaining, by this means, under colour of refuting this charge, a distinct account of Sir Walter's true design, and of the force with which he was to undertake it ; in which he had but too great success ; for Sir Walter giving the King a short but true scheme of what he intended, that very paper was delivered to the Spanish ambassador, and found its way to Guiana long before Sir Walter Raleigh.

The commission granted to this excellent man was very full, and free from limitations, which has been generally understood to be designed to his prejudice. But I must confess I see no reason for that opinion. On the contrary, I am persuaded that Sir Walter himself was well satisfied with his commission ; and that in respect to the law of the land, and the law of nations, it fully justified the design he went upon, and all that followed in the execution of it. Certain it is that the contents of his commission were no secrets, since by publishing them, he brought numbers at home and abroad to subscribe large sums towards the support of his undertaking ; which he could never have done if the form or words of that commission had been liable to exception. It was seven months after his commission was granted before his fleet was in condition to put to sea.

As to the strength of this fleet, it is clear from a survey taken by the order of the Earl of Nottingham, then lord high-admiral, that it consisted of seven sail, of several sizes. It appears that the first of them, or admiral, a fine ship, built by Raleigh himself, was named the *Destiny*, of four hundred and forty tons, and thirty-six pieces or more of ordnance, Sir Walter Raleigh general, and his son Walter captain, besides two hundred men, whereof fourscore were gentlemen volunteers and adventurers, most of them Sir Walter's relations ; which number was afterwards increased. Second, the *Jason* of London, two hundred and forty tons, and twenty-five pieces of ordnance, Captain John Pennington vice-admiral, eighty men, one gentleman, and no more. Third, the *Encounter*, one hundred and sixty tons, seventeen pieces of ordnance, Edward Hastings captain (no men more except the master mentioned) ; but he dying in the Indies, was succeeded in the command by Captain Whitney. Fourth, the *Thunder*, one hundred and fifty tons, twenty pieces of ordnance, Sir Warham Sentlegor captain, six gentlemen, sixty foldiers, ten landmen. Fifth, the *Flying-Joan*, one hundred and twenty tons, fourteen pieces of ordnance, John Chidley captain, twenty-five men. Sixth, the *Southampton*, eighty tons, and six pieces of ordnance, John Bayley captain, twenty-five mariners, two gentlemen. Seventh, the *Page*, a pinnace, twenty-five tons, three rabnets of brass, James Barker captain, and eight failors. But before Raleigh left the coast of England, he was joined by as many ships more ; so that this whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship.

But for this remaining part of his fleet he waited long, and it had been better if he had left them behind, for they proved a burthen to him, and some of them deserted the expedition. It was the beginning of July before he left the coast of England, and
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meeting with a storm, was obliged to put into Cork, from whence he sailed on the 19th of August following. He proceeded from thence to the Canaries, where, though insulted by the Spaniards, he committed no hostilities; but, on the contrary, behaved so well that he obtained a certificate thereof from the governor. After this his ships grew very sickly; and before he arrived at Trinidad, he had lost many of his men, and was himself dangerously ill. In this weak and low condition they arrived at the north cape of Wyapoco on the 11th of November.

The first thing he did after his arrival was, to endeavour to find out Leonard the Indian, who had been in England three or four years with him, but was removed so far up into the country there was no procuring him; therefore he stood away for Caliana, on the coast of Guiana, at the first discovery called Port-Howard, where the cazique was also his servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two years. There he arrived in a day or two, having passed the island noted for its multitude of birds and silk-bearing trees; and from thence sent for his servant, Harry the Indian, who with other caziques came and brought him great store of cassavi-bread, and roasted mullets, with plantains, pines, and pislachios. But Raleigh ventured not to eat of the pines, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a day or two's airing on the shore, in a tent which was there pitched for him. Then he also eat some armadillo and a little pork, and begun to gather strength. Here he also landed his sick men, and recovered many; and here he buried Captain Edward Hastings, (the Lord Huntingdon's brother) who died ten days, or more, before; and with him his serjeant-major Hart, and Captain Henry Snedale, the charge of whose ship Raleigh gave to his servant Captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he also set up his barges and shallops, which they brought from England in quarters, cleansed his ship, trimmed up his casks and supplied them with water, fixed up a forge, and made such iron works as they wanted. Thus on that shore and this river they employed and refreshed themselves for about three weeks, during which time Raleigh was very much caressed by the Indians, of his old acquaintance aforesaid, and other natives of this place, who furnished him daily with the best provisions that the country yielded, and offered him all kind of obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign Prince and Ruler, if he would abide and settle among them; so fresh continued his memory, and such impressions of homage and respect had his former behaviour still left upon them; which offer, he mentions with the greatest modesty and indifference, in the dispatch he sent soon after this to England.

On the 4th of December they left this river, and on the 5th came to the Triangle Islands, where Raleigh's ship ran on shore, and was with difficulty got off. Here they held a council to consider what they should do next, and as Sir Walter was extremely ill, and it was found impossible to carry the larger ships any higher, it was resolved that the five smaller vessels, with as many companies of foot, of fifty men each, should enter the river. According to this determination the fleet was divided; that is to say, Captain Whitney, in the Encounter; Woolaston, in the Confidence; King, in the Supply; Smith, in a prick; and Hall, in a caravel. The companies had for their leaders Captain Charles Parker and Captain North (brothers to the Lord Mounteagle and the Lord North), young Raleigh, Captain Thornhurst of Kent, Captain Pennington's Lieutenant, who seems to be another Hall, and Captain Chidley's lieutenant, Prideaux. Sir Warham St. Legar, Raleigh's lieutenant, who had the charge of these companies, fell sick at Caliana, so it was conferred on George Raleigh, Sir Walter's nephew, who had served with great commendation in the Low Countries; and Captain Keymish had the chief charge for their landing within the river; but Keymish having

laid down the plan of his intended attempt upon the mine, and undertaking to discover it with six or eight persons in Sir John Ferne's shallop; Raleigh, upon consideration, disliked that method of procedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his instructions to go to the mine, bring him a sample, and avoid fighting the Spaniards if possible.

With these instructions those five ships set forward, parting from Raleigh and the rest of the fleet at the islands aforesaid, with a month's provision, on the 10th of December. But when they found a new Spanish town, called St. Thomas, consisting of about one hundred and forty houses, though slightly built, with a chapel, a convent of Franciscans, and a garrison, erected on the main channel of Oronoco, about twenty miles distant from the place; where Antonio Berreo, the governor, taken by Raleigh in his first discovery and conquest here, endeavoured to plant; Keymish and the rest, thought themselves obliged, through fear of leaving the enemy between them and the boats, to deviate from their instructions, which enjoined them first to take a small party to make trial of the mine, under a shelter of their own camp, and then to deal with the town as it should give cause; so they concluded to land in one body and encamp between the mine and the town, whereby they themselves were nothing stronger, their boats were as much exposed, and the mine left untried, contrary to Raleigh's order.

For about three weeks after their departure, landing by night nearer the town, it seems, than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves by the river-side till the morning, they were, in the night time, set upon by the Spanish troops, apprized of their coming. This charge was so unexpected, and struck the common soldiers with such amazement, that had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made a head, and animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces: But the rest, by their example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous defence against the Spaniards, that they drove them to a retreat; till, in the warmth of their pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed, being assaulted by the governor himself, Don Diego Palameca, and four or five captains at the head of their companies; against whom Captain Walter Raleigh, a brave and sprightly young man, now twenty-three years of age, not waiting for the musketeers, rushed foremost at the head of a company of pikes, and, having killed one of the Spanish captains, was mortally wounded by another; but pressing still on with his sword upon Erinetta, probably the captain who had shot him, this Spaniard, with the butt end of his musket, felled him down to the ground; and after these words, "Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise," young Raleigh spoke no more: Hereupon John Plessington, his serjeant, thrust the Spanish captain through with his halbert. Two commanders more of the Spaniards were slain, one by John of Morocco, another of young Raleigh's company; and lastly the governor himself also lost his life in the engagement, which happened, as Cambden informs us, upon the 2d of January.

The leaders being all thus dispatched, and many of their soldiers, the rest dispersed; some took shelter about the market place, from whence they killed and wounded the English at pleasure, so as they saw no way left to be safe but by burning the town down about their ears, and driving them into the woods and mountains, whence they still kept the English waking in perpetual alarms; others were more careful to defend their passages to their mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the town. Captain Keymish found the passages, leading to the mine he had in his eye, very difficult, and the rivers so low, that he could not approach the banks, in most places near the mine, by a mile; and where he found an ascent, a volley

of muskets came from the woods, and at one time flew two of the rowers, hurt six others, and wounded Captain Thornhurst in the head. Keymish seeing so much hazard in attempting to find the mine, the passage to it being full of thick and unpassable woods; and thinking the English, who were left at St. Thomas's, would not be able to defend it, especially if the enemy should be recruited, the country being all in alarm, he gave over the enterprize and returned. Besides the difficulty of finding the mine, he pretended, that if he had found it, he had not a man to work it; and, being a great way up in the land, men would have been got thither with great danger and difficulty; but this should have been thought of before, and it was ill advised to take so much pains, and run so much hazard, to get and possess that, which when they had it they could not make use of; so that which Keymish pleaded, when he returned, for an excuse, reflected upon him as a great miscarriage.

Sir Walter very much blamed him for it, and, among other things, told him if he had but brought one hundred weight of the ore, though with the loss of one hundred men, it would have given the king satisfaction, and preserved his reputation; and besides, would have given the nation encouragement to have returned the next year with a greater force, and have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belonged. As soon as they returned to St. Thomas's, the English pillaged the town, carried away the best and most portable things, and the enemy not daring to appear for the redemption of it, they set it on fire, leaving behind them an infinite mass of treasure, which, either for want of knowledge or power, they could not attain. Sir Walter, upon the news of his son's death, and Keymish's return, finding himself disappointed thereby of his hopes, was perplexed to the very soul, and threatened Keymish with the king's indignation, telling him he had undone him, and wounded his credit with his majesty past recovery. This had such an effect upon him, that it threw him into despair, and a few days after he made away with himself. Some say he retired immediately into his cabin and shot himself, with a pistol, into the body; but that being too slow for his fury, desperately thrust a large knife into the same wound up to the hilt.

These accounts may be said both to be true, for, after Sir Walter's first reproof, he went away discontented, and continued so several days. He came then a second time with his excuses, and shewed him a letter which he had written to the Earl of Arundel, in his own justification, praying Sir Walter to allow of his reasons, which he refusing, and telling him he would not favour or colour his folly; upon that he retired into his cabin, and immediately committed the fact. The design being thus defeated, the ships leaky, victuals failing, and, above all, having missed those golden showers they gaped after, some of the men began to mutiny against their general, while others were for him; some would have him go home, others stay; the major part forced him not to go home, but with their consent, and yet his ships slipped away one after another, till from ten they were reduced to four, and those on board would do just what they list; some would go to Italy, some for France, and some few for England. When they arrived at Kinsale in Ireland, Sir Walter, it is pretended, would have persuaded them to go with him to France; but instead of listening to this proposal they carried him, against his will, to Plymouth, where he was arrested by Sir Lewis Stukely his kinsman, by the king's order, and conveyed to the tower of London.

All the world knows what followed afterwards, when, under colour of his former judgment, Sir Walter was put to death on the 29th of October 1618; an action so black and base, so mean, so unworthy of a government, and so utterly inexcusable, that one really wants words to express the foulness of the action; but with regard to the cause of his death, or rather with respect to the manner of it, I differ somewhat in my judgment

judgment from most of those who have written about it; and therefore I shall take the liberty of explaining myself upon it, in as few words as I can. It is very certain that King James was very well satisfied that the first judgment against Sir Walter Raleigh, at Winchester, was very ill founded; and of this Raleigh himself was so sensible that he neglected obtaining a pardon before he left England, which he might have obtained for 700 l. When he came back it was resolved to sacrifice him to the Spanish match, to the fears of King James, and the jealousies of his ministers; and in order to this, without doubt, it was intended a new prosecution should commence; and in that case there is the greatest reason in the world to believe no jury would have found him guilty; but Sir Walter Raleigh, from an eagerness to defend himself, wrote an apology, in which he most clearly proved that Guiana belonged to the crown of England; that his going thither was no breach of treaty; that the Spaniards in America always behaved towards the English as enemies, and consequently ought not to be considered as allies; that his whole design was betrayed to them from the beginning, which occasioned their sending forces into those parts, and all the blood-shed that afterwards happened; that even in respect to this the Spaniards were aggressors; and that, throughout the whole expedition, he had done nothing but what he was warranted to do by his commission. This it was that drove the ministry from their first purpose, and forced them upon that measure, which they afterwards took, of calling him down to his former judgment, contrary to law, reason, justice, and the king's own sense of the thing, as he afterwards testified under his hand.

But, however, though by this barbarous measure our great discoverer lost his head, yet the title of the crown of England to his discovery remained absolutely unimpeached, as appears clearly by King James's granting a new commission to Captain Roger North for settling in Guiana a year after Raleigh's death; which, however, he afterwards recalled by a proclamation, and sent the Lord North, who was at the expence of that expedition, to the fleet, for making too much dispatch in it. Such a fluctuation of councils there must always be, where a foreign interest is regarded, as the case was then, when the politics of Britain were dictated by Spain. Yet even this did not put an end to all thoughts of maintaining the rights of the crown of England to this valuable country, where the people still remembered and enquired after Sir Walter when he had been many years in his grave.

The accounts we have, however, of these expeditions, are so imperfect, that we can say very little with certainty till after the Restoration; when the Lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, obtained a grant from King Charles II. of this country, and actually made a considerable settlement on the river of Surinam, where they might have continued much longer than they did if it had not been for their own indiscretion: for when the first Dutch war broke out, in which the French took part with the Republic against us, both these nations would have consented to a neutrality in those parts; but our people were bent upon a war which turned to their ruin: for the coast of Guiana, from Cape Orange to near the river Oronoco, was, about the year 1666, possessed by three European nations: the Dutch were about the river Aproague; the French had the island of Cayenne, and the rivers of Ovia, Corrou, and Sinamary; this last is about twenty-five leagues north-west from Cayenne, and fifty-three east from Surinam; and the English had a small colony and redoubt on the river Maronny; their chief settlement being then at Surinam river, which is so good and deep that ships of three hundred tons run twenty leagues up it. The Zealanders were possessed of the river Berbiche, and had repulsed the English, who attacked them there, with considerable loss.

The same year, 1666, the States of Zealand being provoked^{*} at the English having invaded and taken from them all the lands they had been possessed of in America except the river Berbiche, sent thither Commadore Creiffen, with four men of war and three hundred men to attack Surinam. He sailed from Zealand at the latter end of January; arrived at Cayenne in March; went thence for Surinam; sailed up the river under English colours, and came to the fort of Paramorbo, three leagues up the river; without being taken for an enemy; but being discovered there for want of signals, the fort began to fire on his ships, which he answered with broadsides from all the vessels, and immediately landed his forces. The English, who had lived long in profound security, found themselves too weak, and the fort in no posture of defence on the land-side, and their habitations being dispersed along the river for thirty leagues up, the fort could not be succoured but by water, where the Zealanders were masters: upon which consideration they surrendered it, capitulating for the inhabitants of the river of Surinam and those of Kamomioque; stipulating that all those who should take the oath of fidelity to the States of Zealand should enjoy their estates peaceably; the habitations of such as absented themselves, and those belonging to the Lord Willoughby, should be forfeited to the said States; all foreigners who had no estates there should remain prisoners of war; and all the English to be obliged to deliver up their arms. When the capitulation was executed, Creiffen put aboard a fly-boat he had taken in the river, the most valuable part of the booty he found in the places that were confiscated, and the prisoners aboard a man of war; and after causing the fort to be repaired and put into a posture of defence, and leaving it in the hands of Sieur de Rome with one hundred and fifty men, he sailed for the islands.

Afterwards, when the peace was made at Breda, it was agreed that the Dutch should keep Surinam, and that in return we should keep New York, which was then called the New Netherlands. Thus we have traced this point fairly, from beginning to ending; from the first settlement, nay from the very first thoughts of a settlement, to the giving up of all the settlements we then had, and which might be styled the legacy of Raleigh to this nation, into the hands of the Dutch. It may not be amiss, however, before I quit the subject, to observe that the Dutch have succeeded very happily in a plantation that was not very beneficial to us; and that if ever we should be inclined to try our fortunes again upon this coast, for without question our cession of Surinam does not preclude us from visiting the rest of Guiana; if this, I say, should ever be attempted, it must be either by the South Sea Company or under their licence, since all this great country, as well as many other valuable places, lie within their charter, which covers them from all the rest of this nation, and leaves them open only to all the world besides.

15. We are now to pass to the mother-colony of that which we mentioned last, the famous island of Barbadoes, which may be justly esteemed the fairest, best peopled, and best cultivated spot of ground, not in America only, but in the whole known world: when or by whom it was first discovered is a point not easily settled, and, in my judgment cannot be determined at all farther than by conjecture. The Portuguese were certainly the first discoverers of Brazil, and it is not very probable that they should make many voyages thither, or at least should establish a regular commerce with that country without falling in with this island, which lies so much in the way. It is the more probable that they were the first discoverers, from the name by which this country has been always known; Barbadoes having apparently a Portuguese termination, but what it signifies is very doubtful. Some say the island was so called from its barbarous inhabitants; to prove which they should have shewn us that it was inhabited at all,

which in those times undoubtedly it was not; but, however, it is not impossible that the thing might be so, since the Caribbees certainly visited that island from St. Vincent, which is within sight, and the Portuguese might possibly land when they were upon it, and fright them off this island, whence they might from these people give it the name of Barbadoes, which it has still retained, and is so called, without any variation, at least that I know of, in all the languages of Europe.

The first Englishmen that landed here, it is said, were some of Sir William Curteen's seamen, that were cruising in these seas in the latter end of the reign of King James I. who reporting, at their return to England, that the soil was fruitful, some adventurers went thither with intent to plant it; but finding the island covered with wood, and scarce any other animals upon it than hogs, it did not answer their expectations a great while. The property of this island was afterwards granted by King Charles I. to James Earl of Carlisle, in the first year of his reign; of whom several adventurers purchasing shares, transported themselves thither, and first fell to planting tobacco; which not thriving here as they expected, they proceeded to try cotton and indigo, which yielded them a considerable profit; but they made little sugar till 1647, when Colonel Modiford, Colonel Drax, Colonel Walrond, and several other cavaliers, finding there was no living with any satisfaction in England under the Usurper, converted their estates into money, and transported themselves to Barbadoes with such machines and implements as were proper to carry on sugar-works there. Colonel Drax, it is said, in a few years acquired an estate of seven or eight thousand pounds per annum, and married the Earl of Carlisle's daughter, then proprietor of the island; and the adventurers fixing their principal settlement on the great bay in the south-west part of the island, gave it the name of Carlisle bay, in honour of their proprietor, which it still retains.

The island was afterwards divided into four circuits and eleven parishes, each parish being allowed to send two representatives to the General Assembly, and every parish had its church and an incumbent, with a handsome maintenance assigned him. In the year 1650 the white inhabitants of the island are said to have increased to between thirty and forty thousand, besides negroes, who were much more numerous, and frequently plotted the destruction of their masters; but their plots were constantly discovered, and the most terrible punishments inflicted on the ring-leaders; which did but increase the disaffection of the rest, and laid the foundation of fresh conspiracies. But notwithstanding the repeated plots of their slaves, never any plantation of so small an extent, arrived to that riches and grandeur as Barbadoes did, in the space of twenty or thirty years. The Rump apprehended this island of such consequence during their usurpation that they sent a strong squadron of men of war thither, anno 1651, under the command of Sir George Afcue, who compelled the Lord Willoughby, (appointed governor by King Charles II.) to surrender the island upon condition the royalists should remain in the possession of their estates and liberties, and Mr. Searl was appointed governor by them.

The Dutch war succeeding soon after, the colony was prohibited trading with the Hollanders, with whom they had principally trafficked hitherto; for the Dutch it seems constantly furnished the island with negroes till this time, and taught the Barbadians to plant, and manage their sugars to the best advantage, taking most of it off of their hands, with which they supplied themselves and the rest of Europe; but after the Usurpers's quarrel with the Dutch, the Barbadians were compelled, by an ordinance of parliament, to bring all their sugars directly to England, which was imitated by the Ministry after the restoration of King Charles II. and was the foundation of the act of navigation, which requires all the British colonies to bring their sugars and tobacco
directly

directly to England, and forbids their trading with foreigners in these, and some other, styled *enumerated* articles.

16. In the year 1661 King Charles II. purchased the property of this island of the Lord Kinow, heir to the Earl of Carlisle, and appointed the Lord Willoughby of Parham governor; ever since which, Barbadoes has been a regular government; and the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the support of the civil government of that island, and maintaining the forces and fortifications thereof; which duty (according to my information) amounts to ten thousand pounds a year; but instead of being applied to the purposes for which it was given, it is disposed of in pensions to courtiers, to the irreparable damage of that colony; no other island having laid so high a duty on their sugars. In the year 1664 De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, with a great fleet of men of war, treacherously attempted to surprise the island of Barbadoes, though England was then in full peace with Holland; but he was bravely beat off by the Barbadians, and obliged to abandon that enterprize.

In the year 1674 Sir Jonathan Atkins, being made governor, had orders to seize all the ships trading in Africa for negroes, that trade being granted to the Royal African Company about that time, exclusive of all others. And several ships belonging to the merchants of Barbadoes, bringing over negroes afterward, were condemned and forfeited, being denominated interlopers; which that colony complained of as a great grievance, the African Company setting what price they pleased upon their negroes; but this was not redressed till after the revolution, when that trade was laid open to all the subjects of England, paying ten per cent. towards the charge of their forts. The Barbadians also suffered great losses by a terrible hurricane which happened there on the 10th of August 1674, when three hundred houses were blown down, two hundred persons killed, most of their sugar-works and plantations spoiled; and all their wind-mills for grinding of canes were blown down, except those that were built of stone; eight ships also suffered shipwreck in the harbour; insomuch that the Barbadians were disabled from making much sugar the two succeeding years. Another calamity, with which the Barbadians were afflicted, was an epidemical distemper that several years raged in the island, differing very little from the plague. This began about the year 1691, and occasioned a great decrease amongst the white inhabitants, which they have not recovered from that day to this. It seems the Ministry of England, sending a squadron of men of war to Barbadoes, with a body of land forces on board, to protect the trade of the Caribbee islands, which had suffered very much by the depredations of the French privateers; the Barbadians, on their arrival, concerted an enterprize with the commanders against the French islands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, St. Christopher's, &c. and joining the king's forces with some of their own, formed a body of four or five thousand men, with which they made a descent on Guadaloupe and St. Christopher's, and ruined many French settlements, but did not make a conquest of them, as was expected; and what was still more unfortunate, the distemper above-mentioned broke out in the army, which the soldiers brought back to Barbadoes, and almost depopulated that island of white men. The king's ships also lost so many of their men that there were not hands enough to carry them home.

If we should pursue this history lower, it would not contribute very much to the information, entertainment, or satisfaction of the reader, because it would involve us in long and perplexed relations of the disputes between the inhabitants of this colony and their governors, appeals from both parties to the government at home, and other such-like tedious and disagreeable subjects. We will therefore content ourselves with observing, that till some very different method is taken from that which has been hitherto

in use for appointing governors in this and other colonies, so that men are now sent over with a view to repair their own fortunes, instead of enquiring into, and redressing, those grievances that affect the properties of the persons they are sent to govern; we can never hope to see the plantations flourish, or this country reap those advantages from them which otherwise she might. What is the nature of those advantages, and what their degree in respect to this noble island, justly esteemed the most valuable plantation for its size, that ever this nation possessed, shall be our next business to explain, by entering into a particular description of this island and its product.

17. The Island of Barbadoes is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 13 degrees north latitude, and 59 degrees of western longitude, being of a triangular form; about twenty-five miles in length from south to north, and fifteen in breadth from east to west, where broadest; it is a plain level country for the most part, with some small hills of an easy ascent, and scarce any wood upon it at present; it was covered with woods, indeed, when the English first sent colonies there, but they are all cut down to make room for plantations of sugar canes which take up almost the whole island at present, nothing else being cultivated in any great quantities. Their very corn, flesh, and fish, being imported for the most part from the northern colonies: there is scarce an harbour in the island, the best is that of Bridge Town in Carlisle-bay, on the south-west part of the island, and this lies open to the westward; however it is secure from the north east, which is the constant trade wind here, and blows from morning to evening, except their tornades and hurricanes, which happen usually about Midsummer, and in July and August, and blow from every quarter. The ships in the bay, at such times, are in the utmost danger of being wrecked on shore, if they cannot get out to sea, and therefore seldom attempt to ride out those storms.

The coast is defended on the east by rocks and shoals, from the invasion of an enemy; and on the west, where it is most exposed to a descent, breast-works and redoubts are erected for its security, but the repair of them is too much neglected. There is scarce a stream in the island that deserves the name of a river; however, we find two on the east-side, to which they have given the names of Scotland river, and Joseph's river; they have good water in their wells almost all over the island, and do not dig very deep for it; they have also large ponds and reservoirs, where they preserve rainwater. They have generally fine serene weather; their rains fall as in other parts of the torrid zone, chiefly when the sun is vertical; and after the rains are the proper seasons for planting; their heats are not so excessive as in the same latitude on the continent, being constantly refreshed by the sea breezes in the day-time, which increases as the sun advances, and abates as the sun declines. And they have this further satisfaction, that their days seldom exceed twelve hours; but there being no mountains on the island, there are no land-winds in the night as in Jamaica.

The only town of any consequence in the island, is that of Bridge Town or St. Michael's, situate in Carlisle-bay: it was formerly encompassed with a morass which rendered it unhealthy, but this has been drained in a great measure; however, the low situation makes the town still subject to inundations: it is said to contain a thousand or twelve hundred houses tolerably well built of brick or stone. They have commodious wharfs and keys for loading and unloading of goods, and three forts or castles of defence, which, if kept in repair, would render them no easy conquest. The chief produce and manufacture of the island, as has been intimated already, is sugar; of the molasses or dross whereof they make great quantities of rum. They have also some cotton, indigo, ginger, and pimento, and formerly tobacco was planted here in good quantities, but very little at present; forest trees they have scarce any left: their fruits

are oranges, limes, citrons, pomegranates, pine-apples, guavas, plaintains, cocoa-nuts, indian-figs, prickle-pears, melons, and almost all manner of roots and garden stuff, but very few flowers.

Their horses they import from New England, &c. and have a slight breed of their own: they have also some asses, cows, and sheep, but the last do not thrive here. They have a good number of hogs, the flesh whereof is the best meat that is eaten in those hot climates. Here are also good sea fish and poultry, but no fresh-water fish; and, in general, all manner of provision is very dear. There is no dining at an ordinary under a crown a-head; fresh meat is a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the rest are glad of salt-beef, pork, and fish, imported from the northern colonies; from whence also comes their wheat, flower, indian-corn, pease, beans, &c. They make bread also of the cassavi root, and the negroes feed on yams, potatoes, and other roots and fruits. The liquor drank by the gentry here, is chiefly Madeira wine, or wine and water, and great quantities of punch are drank by the vulgar. They have also strong beer imported from Old and New England, and liquors made of their maize and fruits as in Jamaica. The government here also resembles that of Jamaica, and the rest of our American islands, having the governor and council appointed by the crown, which, with the house of representatives, are vested with a legislative power, and make laws for the government of the island.

The number of white people are said to have been once forty thousand and upwards, and are computed to be near thirty thousand at present. The negroes, mulattoes, and mestive slaves, about an hundred thousand. Their militia consists of fifteen hundred horse, and three thousand foot, or thereabouts.

After this general representation of the present state of the island, it is requisite that we should proceed to a more close enquiry into the staple commodity of this island. We are to observe, that before the year 1626, the Portuguese supplied all Europe with sugar from their colonies in Brazil, to their immense profit; but the first settlers finding the soil to be fertile, and the producing of sugar advantageous, they encouraged more people to come over and plant the same commodity. This inducing the merchants at home to send over ships with provisions and other necessaries for those new planters, which their agents and factors exchanged with them for the produce of the country, and from thence a reciprocal trade and correspondence, was established between Great Britain and this island.

The growing success of this new sugar colony promoted the settlement of the others; and as the sugar plantations increased, more hands were required to carry on the works, than could, at that time, be spared from home. This gave birth to the Guinea trade, for supplying those colonies with negro slaves; and as the planters flourished and increased, so did their demands for all sorts of British manufactures, and such necessaries of life as they could not produce in those climates, which opened another scene of trade to the British merchants, to furnish these new colonies with wine from Madeira. These branches of trade were of the utmost advantage to Great Britain, inasmuch as they took no money out of the kingdom, but yearly brought in large sums for British manufactures carried out. The trade to this island was commonly open and free; for we find, that before the civil war in England, the Dutch ships came hither to purchase sugars, as well as the English. This freedom in trade made the country flourish, and made money plenty among the inhabitants. But since the restoration, several acts of parliament have been made to confine the trade of the sugar colonies to Great Britain, and British ships only; which restraints soon made London the chiefest mart in Europe for sugar; and as there was yearly more imported than was necessary for home

home consumption, the merchants exported the surplus to foreign markets, and by underselling the Portuguese, they in time beat them almost out of all their sugar trade to the northward of Cape Finisterre.

This trade of re-exporting sugars was carried on for many years with great success. Mr. Joshua Gee says that by this trade only such an increase of treasure and wealth was brought into this kingdom, as yearly added three or four hundred thousand pounds to the stock of the nation, which in thirty years time amounted to upwards of ten millions sterling. And a late author computes the clear profits, accruing to Great Britain from the sugar trade, and those other branches which chiefly depend upon those islands, to amount to more than one million a year. He tells us farther, that it appears by the custom-house in London, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the sugar colonies were a few years ago upwards of five hundred thousand pounds sterling every year; and their importations from those islands more than twelve hundred thousand pounds per annum. In these computations the author has taken no notice of the vast quantities of British manufactures yearly exported to Guinea and Madeira; but if they were to be added to the exportations of the sugar colonies, where the greatest part of their produce is taken off with an advantage to the British merchant, it would greatly augment the sum, and consequently enlarge the profits which our mother country receives from the sugar colonies, and the several branches of trade depending on them. I shall not take upon me to determine whether this gentleman's calculations are exact or not; but it is evident beyond dispute, that while the sugar trade flourished, both planters and merchants grew immensely rich, and the trade and navigation of Great Britain was carried on to a much greater height than it ever was before. And this great source of wealth and treasure to their mother country, arose from so small a beginning as a few families seeking shelter in a desolate island.

This shews what may be done by industry and trade rightly applied. Now if the trade and navigation of Great Britain have received such an addition from the sugar colonies, as added greatly to the riches and strength of the kingdom; and if Barbadoes has the honour to stand foremost in the sugar trade (as the first founder of it) how well has she deserved of her mother country. When the sugar trade was at the height which we described above, the flourishing state of Great Britain alarmed her neighbours, and put them upon ways to circumvent her in trade, as the only means to put a stop to the growing strength of the kingdom, which they feared might become too formidable, from the great increase of seamen and shipping employed in the West India and Guinea trades, both flourishing at the same time. Upon a parliamentary enquiry into the state of trade to Africa, in the year 1728, it appeared to the House, that in three years time only, the number of negroes imported at Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Antigua, amounted to forty-two thousand, besides what were carried to St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

But we are now to enquire into the causes of the general declension of this trade. And here I beg leave further to observe, that the French spared no cost or labour to rival Great Britain, they well knowing, if that sunk, her Guinea and Madeira trade must fall with it; for which purpose they embraced every opportunity to enlarge and improve their sugar plantations; and, if I am not misinformed, where the planter was not able to complete his works himself, proper utensils were sent over from France at the public charge, and the crown trusted them for several years without interest; what such an assistance will enable men to do, we may gather from the flourishing state of the linen manufacture in Ireland, since the public allowed them a fund to support it. Having by these means established their sugar colonies, the next thing they had in view

was to beat the British merchants out of the foreign markets for sugar; and therefore destroy their trade for exportation; and this they have effected, by giving liberty for their ships to carry their sugars directly to the foreign markets, while ours were obliged to import all into Great Britain, which enables them to sell so much cheaper than our merchants can carry it from London, as has almost put an entire stop to that valuable branch of trade to their mother country; and the utter ruin of the British sugar colonies must necessarily follow, unless they are relieved some way or other.

The very first declension of their exportation trade was attended with ill consequences to the sugar colonies. It lowered the price of sugar so much at home, as discouraged the merchants from sending to purchase sugars here. This obliged the sugar planters to turn merchant adventurers in a declining trade, and to ship their sugars upon their own account and risque; this put a stop to the currency of cash, which was before brought over yearly to purchase sugars, and laid the whole burden of freight, duty, and commission, upon the plantation, that were formerly paid by the British merchants. And suppose but fifteen thousand hogheads of sugar to be shipped in a year from this island, on gentlemen's own accounts, these three articles will amount to upwards of sixty thousand pounds sterling. Another great evil that has likewise followed from the same cause is, combinations among the buyers, by which the price of sugars is sunk so low as greatly to prejudice the planters, and yet turning to the benefit only of a few private persons, who are the first buyers, and not at all to that of the consumers in general, by which that island is hurt, and this receives no benefit, or very little.

These are the particulars which we have collected from books; but we will now add some few remarks, from the informations we have received, which will serve to give light to the present state and importance of this island; and these will come chiefly under the three following heads. In the first place, we shall shew that this colony throve the fastest, became the best peopled, and by far the most wealthy in America. We shall next shew the advantages formerly derived from thence to the British nation, clearly, and in a very few words. And lastly, we shall take notice of the present condition of this island, and of the infinite consequence thereof to this government of Great Britain. In the first place then, it is to be considered that the island of Barbadoes is generally esteemed to be a very little bigger than the Isle of Wight, and to contain, according to a round computation, one hundred thousand acres. It has been shewn, that about the year 1626 this country was not only unsettled, but actually uninhabitable, as affording nothing for the support of life, and over-run with a brushy kind of shrub wood, which gave a great deal of trouble to the first planters; yet in the space of fifty years, this plantation came to its greatest height, and by a calculation that was made with much exactness, there were in it fifty thousand white people of all sorts, of whom twenty thousand were able to bear arms, and eighty thousand negroes: nay, we are told that in twenty years after the colony was settled they mustered eleven thousand horse and foot; which would be altogether incredible if we had not such proofs of these facts as put them beyond all doubt or question.

This sufficiently proves, that never any colony of ours, or any other nation, was so populous as this island. But to make this still clearer to an English reader, we shall observe that Barbadoes is rather less than the county of Rutland, the smallest county in England; and that, according to the highest computation, the number of people in that county in 1676, did not exceed twenty thousand: but this may be made still clearer, by comparing that whole island with this, in point of extent; for if England and Wales, taken together, consist of near forty millions of acres, then if they were as

populous as Barbadoes they ought to contain fifty millions of people; whereas Sir William Petty, who was a very able man in computations, and is thought not to have undervalued this country, but rather the contrary; never reckoned the people higher than eight millions; which shews what a vast disproportion there is between the peopling of the two countries.

But to proceed farther still; the same great man asserts, that in Holland and Zealand, which are looked upon to be the best peopled countries in Europe, there are a million of souls inhabiting about as many acres; and consequently it appears from hence, that even this country was not so well peopled as Barbadoes. In point of wealth, the comparison holds full as strong; for in the year 1661 king Charles II. created on the same day thirteen baronets in Barbadoes, none of them having less than one thousand, and some of them ten thousand pounds a year. At this time their trade actually maintained four hundred sail of ships; and it was computed, that the running cash of the island might be about two hundred thousand pounds; and their annual exportation to Great Britain, in sugar, indigo, ginger, and other commodities, at least three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. These are facts that may be depended upon, that deserve in every respect the greatest consideration, and that plainly demonstrate at once the great value of this island, and the prodigious consequence of our plantations in general.

By the gradual increase of the colony upon this island, it has, since we first possessed it, contributed beyond conception and belief to the riches of its mother country; and, as I know not any subject that either can or ought to give an English reader more pleasure than the consideration of what has been obtained by the blessing of God, upon the virtue and industry of his countrymen; so, I think, an endeavour to shew what has accrued in the whole to Britain, by establishing a colony here, will be allowed to be equally instructive and pleasant, useful and entertaining.

What has been said before, gives us a sufficient general notion of the importance and value of the island; what we now aim at is, to come at a more particular account of what it has yielded in the whole. When this colony was in its most flourishing condition, which we fix to the year 1676, there were four hundred ships of one hundred and fifty tons, one with another, employed annually in this trade; and I believe it will be thought a very moderate computation, if we reckon that the seamen, ship-builders, and other trades that live by these vessels, amounted in the whole to ten thousand souls. The sugars that came from Barbadoes, were either spent at home or sent abroad; and I reckon, that in the manufacturing the sugars, and vending them at home and abroad, there might be twenty thousand people more employed. To these we must add, such as got their bread by the goods and manufactures yearly exported from hence to Barbadoes; for almost all that the people eat, drink, and wear there, are the product of England; so that the computation cannot be thought to rise too high, if we allow, that in this way twenty thousand more got their bread; which will make about fifty thousand in the whole: all supported here by the labour and industry of the whites and negroes in that country. We are next to compute the money brought into this nation by the export of the commodities imported from thence, which was that year allowed to be above two hundred thousand pounds, and it was also agreed, that as much or more had been gained every year, between that time and the restoration.

I shall say nothing of the money arising to the exchequer from the duties, though this might be computed at thirty-five thousand pounds per annum; but upon these principles shall proceed in my computation thus: I will suppose, that from the year

1636 to 1656, which is twenty years, this colony produced but half so much, and though it may be true, that before the year 1640 it did not produce a quarter so much, yet, in the remaining part of that period, it certainly brought in a great deal more; and therefore we cannot be far from the truth, in computing that this nation acquired two millions in money, by Barbadoes, in that twenty years. In the next twenty, that is, from 1656 to 1676, when it is allowed this island was in its most flourishing condition, there must have been gained four millions of money; and allowing for the gradual falling off of this trade, by a multitude of unlucky accidents, but more particularly by the settling the French sugar islands, we shall compute the last seventy years, from 1676 to 1736, at the same rate we did the first twenty years, and the gain will then amount to six millions; so that in the space of one hundred years, the inhabitants of Great Britain have received twelve millions in silver, by the means of this plantation; and had fifty thousand of her inhabitants maintained by the people in that colony all the time. It is highly possible, that in some of these articles we may be 'wrong' one way, and it is more than probable, that in other articles we may err the other way; which is so far from making against the credit of our computation in general, that it really makes for it, since we may very well suppose these errors balance each other, and that the sum total is very near right.

We are now come to the last head, which is, assigning the comparative excellence of this colony with regard to our own and other plantations in America; and this, at first sight, may appear a thing very difficult, if not impossible to be done; however we may come sufficiently near it for our purpose. It is thought that Barbadoes contains one hundred and forty square miles, and if so it is in proportion, as 1 to 34,771 in respect to the Spanish plantations; as 1 to 12,000 in regard to our own; as 1 to 11,000 in reference to the French; as 1 to 7,000 as to the Portuguese; and as 1 to 4 as to the Dutch. This I say, as to the extent of territory, is as just a comparison as can be made; but with regard to the value of these colonies, it is very easy to perceive that there is hardly any computation to be made at all, for we may truly affirm that the produce of Barbadoes is very near equal to a twentieth part of what Spain receives from her Indies annually, in time of peace, and from thence we may easily judge of the rest.

I have insisted the longer upon this topic, because it may enable us to form some notion of what might be made of our plantations, if we attended to them as much as they deserve; for though it may be, and perhaps is, impossible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in Barbadoes, yet we may well enough discern, from hence, that they might be made incontestably more profitable to us than they now are, or indeed, than the whole trade that we now possess; and if, at the same time we reflect on this, we likewise consider that there is nothing so absolutely in our power, as the improvement of our colonies; it will most certainly appear to be the point, which, of all others imports us most; and if I have done any thing towards proving this, I shall account all my labour well bestowed.

18. We are next to speak of the island of St. Christopher, which was called Liamuega by the savages, and was discovered by Christopher Columbus, in the first voyage he made to America. He gave it the name of St. Christopher from the figure of its mountains, there being in the upper part of the island a very high mountain, which bears on its summit another less mountain, as St. Christopher is painted like a giant, with our Saviour on his back. It is situated in the latitude of 17 degrees 25 minutes on this side the line, and is about 75 miles in circuit; the Caribbeans inhabited it when Sir Thomas Warner, an English adventurer, went thither. Monsieur Defnambie, a French gentleman of the ancient house of Vauderop, who commanded for

for the French in America, arrived at St. Christopher's the same day with Sir Thomas Warner, and both took possession of the island in the names of their respective masters, that they might have a place of safe retreat, and a good haven for the receipt of such ships of both nations, as should be bound for America, it being well provided with harbours. The Spaniards used to put in there in their West India voyage, to take in fresh water; and they were on so good terms with the Caribbeans, that sometimes they left their sick there, of whom the savages took a great deal of care.

The two gentlemen before mentioned, left some of their men upon the place, and returned, Sir Thomas Warner to England, and Monsieur Desnambue to France, for recruits. Their masters approved of their conduct, and sent them back with supplies of men and provisions, and commissions to be governors of the new settlements. This company continued in France till the year 1661, when they sold St. Christopher's, and the other islands, to the knights of Malta; but in the year 1664, the West India company, by the king's orders, bought out the last proprietors. Sir Thomas Warner, and Monsieur Desnambue, sailed in the year 1626, and the latter arrived there about January 1627, having had a long sickly voyage. The French were about three hundred in number, the English colony as many; Sir Thomas had proceeded a good way in his settlement before Monsieur Desnambue arrived; and the two governors, to prevent differences among the people about the limits of their territories, signed articles of division on the 13th of May 1627; they then set boundaries to their several divisions, with this particular proviso, that fishing and hunting should be equally free to the inhabitants of both nations; that the salt-ponds, and most valuable timber, should be in common, together with the mines and havens; also a league offensive and defensive was concluded between them, against all their enemies; after which they set to work, each in his station to advance his settlement, and went on very harmoniously.

The English received supplies of men and provisions from London, by which means they throve better than the French, and not only became strong enough to keep what they had, but to be able to spare men for new plantations at Nevis; of which Sir Thomas Warner took possession, and left people upon it for a settlement in the year 1628. And in that which followed, Don Frederick de Toledo was sent with a fleet of twenty-four ships and fifteen frigates, to dispossess the English and French of the island of St. Christopher's. The Spaniards were alarmed at the progress of the English in the Caribbee islands, and thought it concerned the safety of their own plantations, to prevent those nations from settling in the neighbourhood. Don Frederick meeting some English ships lying near the isle of Nevis, seized them, and then came and anchored in the road of Marigot, under the cannon of the Basse Terre, where Monsieur Rossey commanded. Neither the French nor the English forts were in a condition to oppose such an enemy; their stores of ammunition fell short, and their numbers were not a match for the Spanish army, had they been ever so well provided with powder and shot. Rossey, after a small opposition, abandoned the Basse Terre, and retreated to Caves Terre, another fort, where Monsieur Desnambue was in person, who could not prevail with his men, either to defend themselves there, or to retire to the forests and mountains, where a few men might have resisted a thousand. He remonstrated to them that Don Frederick could not afford much time, being bound to the Havannah to bring home the fleet. Yet this was to no purpose, nothing would content them but embarking and leaving the place, which he was forced to comply with, and so all the French deserted their settlement, as did their allies the English; who were in a great consternation, and the disorder increased, upon the news of Desnambue's being gone, with his colony; some endeavoured to escape by sea, others

fled.

fled to the mountains, and all who were left sent deputies to treat with the Spaniards. The Don knowing he had them in his power, commanded them to leave the island immediately, or he would put them to the sword; he sent them their own ships, which he had taken at Nevis, to embark in, and was persuaded to give leave to those to stay that had not room in the ships for themselves and their families, till they could be transported; upon which Don Frederick weighed anchor, carried with him six hundred English who were fittest for his service, and he was no sooner gone but the English rallied, and resolved to go on with their settlement. The French, who were got no farther than Antigua and Montserrat, sent a ship for intelligence to St. Christopher's, and understanding the Spaniards were gone, and the English busy in rebuilding and planting, rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn of fortune, sailed back to St. Christopher's, and retook possession of their former habitations.

The English continued carrying on their colony till they were in a condition to spare more men for settlements, at Barbuda, Montserrat, and Antigua, which Sir Thomas Warner peopled and planted. And the same year the Dutch made themselves masters of St. Eustace, and the French took possession of some other islands. The English built themselves good houses at St. Christopher's, and had wives and families; whereas the French contented themselves with huts, after the Caribbean manner; few of them were married, and consequently took little pains to furnish themselves with all things necessary and convenient for life. Monsieur Desnambue died about the year 1637, and Sir Thomas Warner did not long survive him. Before the English governor's death the colony was so increased, that there were between twelve and thirteen thousand souls of his own nation in the island. He was succeeded in his government by Colonel Rich, who, by following his predecessor's steps in governing the colony, invited more people to come and settle there. The chief employment of the first planters was cultivating tobacco, by which they got a competent livelihood; but afterwards, the quantity that was made bringing down the price, they set themselves in several places to plant sugar, ginger, indigo, and cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flourishing people, both French and English living cordially together till the last war broke out, when the English drove the French entirely from their settlements; and the country being yielded to the Crown of Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, all the French territory was sold for the benefit of the public, which must have produced a very large sum, since out of it there were eighty thousand pounds paid, for the marriage portion of her royal highness the Princess of Orange.

There were indeed some who pretended, that notwithstanding the French part of the island of St. Christopher's was by far the richest, we were no gainers by obtaining it; but that on the contrary, the French received benefit thereby, because it enabled them to people the rest of their islands more effectually; but whoever considers that the sugars of this island are the very best in all America; that the plantations were in perfect order; and that the French ventured a war, to prevent our settling St. Lucia and St. Vincent, will scarce be brought to believe, that they parted with a country ready settled, and more valuable than both those islands, with their good will. The treaty of Utrecht was so indifferent a treaty that, I think, there is no sort of necessity for making it appear worse than it really was. The same persons who first settled St. Christopher's, likewise settled Nevis or Mevis, about the year 1628; and notwithstanding the misfortune of being dispossessed by the Spaniards in the manner before-mentioned, in twenty years time there were at least four thousand people upon the island, and they continued increasing in the same manner, by a succession of prudent governors, for a considerable space. After the restoration, when trade and peace flourished,

flourished, this isle enjoyed its share of the benefit, and increased in inhabitants and riches; the only enemy they had to struggle with was the hurricane, which generally visited them once a year.

On the 19th of August 1667 there was a terrible one in this island; at which time Sir John Berry, captain of the Centurion man of war, was in the harbour with that and several other ships, of which one was commanded by Captain Langford, who having learned some of the prognostics of a tornado from a Caribbean, perceiving them, he told Sir John and the rest of the commanders of it, who depending on his intelligence, made their ships ready, and in the morning, about four o'clock, the wind coming very hard northerly, they put to sea, and came all back within four or five days time safe to the road again; Captain Langford was ashore, and being confident of the hurricane, took such care in securing his sugars and goods in the store-house, that when the hurricane had carried away the roof of the house, all except one hoghead of sugar remained safe.

When Sir William Stapleton was governor of these islands he usually made this the place of his residence. Here courts were kept, and the governor living upon it, most of the affairs of this government were transacted here; for every one of these islands hath a particular lieutenant-governor, council, and assembly; and the general government centers only in the authority of captain-general, Sir William Stapleton, who was governor in King James's time, made Sir James Ruffel lieutenant-governor of this island, and he enjoyed the place till his commission was superseded by that of captain-general, granted to Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who also resided at Nevis; and at this time none of the Leeward Islands flourished so much as this; it supplied the others with almost all their wines and negroes, and was computed to have contained at that time near two thousand fighting men, which will make the number of souls, by common computation, to be above ten thousand, besides negroes, of which number there were not less than twenty thousand. A prodigious improvement of an island scarce six miles long, to maintain between thirty and forty thousand men, women, and children!

We are to proceed next to the island of Montserrat, which name the Spaniards gave to this island, from the resemblance it has to a mountain in Catalonia, not far from Barcelona, famous for a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in the greatest reputation with the Roman Catholics of any, except that of Loretto. The English have not thought fit to give it another name since they were masters of it. It lies in 17 degrees north latitude, is about three leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth; so that it seems to be of a round figure. It was discovered by the Europeans at the same time with St. Christopher's; but no settlement was made upon it till the year 1632, at which time Sir Thomas Warner, first governor of St. Christopher's, procured a small colony to settle there, of the subjects of England, for we cannot assure ourselves they were Englishmen; this island being generally looked upon as an Irish colony. This island flourished at first more than Antigua; but since the Lord Willoughby's time the latter has got and kept the start of it. There were seven hundred men in Montserrat, sixteen years after it was first inhabited; the rolls of the militia at this time amount to three hundred and sixty. We find but one battery for the defence of the coast, and other old dismounted cannon at several landing places. As to the climate, soil, animals, trade, and productions of this isle, they are much the same with those of the other Caribbee Islands, only this is fuller of mountains, which are covered with cedars and other trees, that make it a lovely prospect from the sea; the vallies are fruitful, and better stored with fresh water than those of Antigua. According to the best accounts that have been received from this island of late years, it is rather increasing, both in the number of people

people and in the value of their settlements, than not; as to the former, it is computed there may be about four thousand five hundred white persons, and about twelve thousand negroes in this country; and as for the latter, I mean the value of its produce, we shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter.

The island of Barbuda lies in the latitude of 17 degrees 30 minutes north, is about fifteen miles long, and lies north-east from the island of which we were last speaking. The land is low and fruitful, and the English began to plant it as early as Nevis, Montserrat, or any other of the Leeward islands, St. Christopher's excepted; for Sir Thomas Warner, who first settled there, placed a small colony in this island, but the Caribbeans disturbed them so much, that they were often forced to desert it and their plantations. There hardly passed a year but they made one or two incursions, and that generally in the night, for they durst not attack them by day; the damage the English sustained by them made them weary of dwelling in a place where they were so much exposed to the fury of those barbarians, who diminishing daily in number, and the Europeans increasing, the English again possessed themselves of Barbuda, and in a few years there were five hundred inhabitants. There are now a thousand or twelve hundred souls upon it, and their number is daily increasing. The proprietor is the Honourable Christopher Codrington, Esq.; and he puts in a governor here, having the same prerogative as the other lords proprietors in their several jurisdictions in America. This island has bred great store of cattle, and the inhabitants employ themselves mostly in that sort of husbandry; corn and provisions coming almost always to a good market in the sugar islands. There is plenty of all sorts of tame cattle, as in Europe; and the English live here much after the same manner as they do in the countries in England; only their labour in the field is not so hard as here, the country being so much hotter.

The next plantation to this, if it may be properly so called, is Anguilla, or Snake Island, so called from its figure, being a long tract of earth, but narrow, winding almost about; near St. Martin's, from whence it may easily be seen; it lies in 18 degrees 12 minutes. The country is level and woody, the soil fruitful, and the tobacco that grew there formerly was reckoned very good in its kind. There is not a mountain in it; where it is broadest there is a pond, about which the English settled in the year 1650. Their business, like the inhabitants of Barbuda, was to plant corn and breed tame cattle, for which purpose they brought stock with them. They were poor, and continue so to this day, being, perhaps, the laziest creatures in the world. Some people have gone from Barbadoes, and other English Caribbee islands, thither, and there they live like the first race of men, without government or religion, having no minister or magistrate. They are said to make up, altogether, about one hundred and fifty families, or nine hundred souls; and their condition in that place is singular enough to deserve particular notice, if we had any room to spare; but as we have not, it shall suffice to say, that they have no great quantities of sugar upon the island, but addict themselves rather to farming, in which they have had very good success; and this it is that enables them to live in the old patriarchal way, every man being a kind of sovereign in his own family, and no other government there is in Anguilla.

We have now gone through all the Leeward Islands, Antigua, or Antego, only excepted, of which we are to speak in the next section, as not having been settled within the period to which we have confined this. As to the general produce or value of these islands, which may serve to shew of how great consequence they are to Great Britain, the best account I have been able to obtain is to the following effect: St. Christopher's is the largest of all the islands, but the middle part of it being extremely mountainous, it is thought that there are not above twenty-four thousand acres of land fit for sugar in the

the whole island, which produces about ten thousand hogsheads of that valuable commodity. Antego contains about seventy thousand acres, and produces sixteen thousand hogsheads of sugar yearly. Nevis is said to be about twenty miles in circumference, and produces six thousand hogsheads. Montserrat, which is less than any of them, produces two thousand five hundred, and sometimes three thousand hogsheads of sugar. In Barbuda they breed cattle, and in Anguilla they raise corn.

19. We are now, according to the method that we have hitherto pursued of speaking of our plantations, in the order of time in which they were settled, obliged to return to the continent of North America, in order to give an account of the noble colony of Maryland, which remained a part of Virginia till the year 1632, which was the eighth of King Charles I. when that monarch was pleased to grant all the country to the north of Potowmack river, not then planted, unto Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, of the kingdom of Ireland, and his heirs; and this part of the country was afterwards called Maryland, in honour of the then queen consort, Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of the French king, Henry the IVth. The Lord Baltimore having obtained his grant, sent over his brother, the Honourable Leonard Calvert, with some Roman Catholic gentlemen and other adventurers, to the number of two hundred, to take possession of the country; who, setting sail from England on the 22d of November 1633, arrived at Point Comfort in the bay of Chesapeake, on the 24th of February following, where being kindly received and supplied with provisions by the English of Virginia, they continued their voyage northward, to the river Potowmack, appointed to be the boundary between Virginia and Maryland, on the east side of the bay.

The adventurers sailed up this river, and landing on several places of the northern shore, acquainted the natives they were come to settle amongst them and trade with them; but the natives seemed rather to desire their absence than their company; however, there were no acts of hostility committed on either side, and the English returning down the river Potowmack again, made choice of a place near the mouth of a river (which falls into it, and by them called St. George's river) to settle their first colony. They advanced afterwards to an Indian town called Yoamaco, then the capital of the country, and at a conference with the weorance or sovereign of the place, to whom they made considerable presents, the weorance consented that the English should dwell in one part of the town, reserving the other for his own people till the harvest was over, and then agreed to quit the whole entirely to the English, and retire farther into the country, which they did accordingly. And the March following Mr. Calvert and the planters were left in the quiet possession of the whole town, to which they gave the name of St. Mary's; and it was agreed on both sides, that if any wrong was done by either party, the nation offending should make full satisfaction for the injury. The reasons the Yoamaco Indians were so ready to enter into a treaty with the English, and yield them part of their country, was in hopes of obtaining their protection and assistance against the Sasquahanah Indians, their northern neighbours, with whom they were then at war; and, indeed, the Yoamaco Indians were upon the point of abandoning their country, to avoid the fury of the Sasquahanah nation, before the English arrived. From whence it appears that the adventurers sent over by the Lord Baltimore cannot be charged with any injustice in settling themselves in this part of America, being invited to it by the original inhabitants.

The inhabitants who were thus settled at St. Mary's applied themselves with great diligence to cultivating the ground, and raised large quantities of Indian corn, while the natives went every day into the woods to hunt for game, bringing home venison and turkeys to the English colony in abundance, for which they received knives, tools, and

toys in return. And thus both nations lived in the greatest friendship, offices to each other; till some of the English in Virginia, envious of the thriving colony, suggested to the Indians that these strangers were not real as they pretended, but Spaniards, and would enslave them as they had done their countrymen; and the Indians were so credulous as to believe it, and appeared jealous of Mr. Calvert, making preparations as if they intended to fall upon the strangers, which the English perceiving, stood upon their guard, and erected a fort for their security, on which they planted several pieces of ordnance; at the firing whereof the Yoamacos were so terrified, that they abandoned their country without any other compulsion, and left the English in full possession of it; who receiving supplies and reinforcements continually from England, and having no other enemy to contend with than agues and fevers (which swept off some of them before they found out a proper regimen for the climate) they soon became a flourishing people, many Roman Catholic families of quality and fortune transporting themselves thither to avoid the penal laws made against them in England; and Maryland has been a place of refuge for those of that persuasion from that day to this.

While the civil war lasted in England the Lord Baltimore's family were deprived of the government of this province, but were restored to their right by King Charles II. soon after his own restoration. Whereupon the Lord Baltimore sent over his son, Charles Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, to be governor of Maryland, who continued in that post upwards of twenty years, and long after his father's death. By whose prudence the colony became almost as considerable as Virginia, for its tobacco and other products of the soil; and all the Indian nations on that side put themselves under their protection. The Indian chiefs were appointed, or at least approved and confirmed in their commands, by the Lord Baltimore the proprietor, whose success is to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the endeavours he used to cultivate a good correspondence with the Indian nations, and to give them as little offence as possible. *

In the reign of King James II. we are told that Father Peters, a Jesuit, whom that prince admitted into his councils, which contributed not a little to his losing first the hearts of his subjects, and after that his dominions, took such a prejudice to the then Lord Baltimore, though of his own religion, but a nobleman of great wisdom, justice, and moderation, that he resolved to deprive him of the power of nominating a governor, by extending the royal prerogative at the expence of the grant made by the crown to the ancestors of his lordship. But before this could be effected, the revolution intervened, but the change of government did not prove serviceable to his lordship; for the Crown prosecuting the former project, deprived him of his power of nomination, which was so much the harder, because it is universally allowed that no people were ever better governed than the inhabitants of this colony, while they depended solely upon this noble family.

The present Lord Baltimore is a Protestant, and inherits the virtues as well as the title of his ancestors, being in all respects a blessing to that country as he is the proprietor of it. His lordship once took the pains to visit his colony, was received with all due marks of respect on account of his quality and interest in that country; but when he left it the people gave him much stronger testimonies of their affection, and their regret at parting with him, on account of his mildness, public spirit, and sincere good will towards them, of which he gave them so many instances, and testified, upon all occasions, such a readiness not only to comply with but to go beyond their requests, that there was not a planter in Maryland who did not consider him rather as a father and a friend than as their lord proprietor; and to say the truth, they had so much experience of him in the former

former characters, and felt so little of him in the latter, that it was extremely natural for them to behave as they did.

Whatever the great design might be when this settlement was first made, most certain it is that no country in America can boast of having had fewer disturbances on the score of religion. There are, indeed, of all persuasions in the colony; but notwithstanding this, they live together in the greatest tranquillity, as if they made it their business to forget the points about which they differ, and to remember that they agree in those of being Englishmen and Christians, as sufficiently appears by their kind behaviour towards the Indians, who have scarce ever had any difference with them, and of whom the colony have no sort of apprehensions, though they are much more numerous in that country than in Virginia. But after shewing how this country was first planted, what remarkable accidents have since happened therein, and in what state the colony now is with respect to the government; the next thing is to give a succinct view of the place itself, in order to bring it the better to the acquaintance of every English reader who is curious on this subject.

This province is situated between 38 and 40 degrees of northern latitude, and between 44 and 48 degrees of western longitude, as is generally computed; but it must be confessed the western boundaries are very uncertain, some extending them beyond the Apalachean mountains. The north end of the bay of Chesepeak divides Maryland into two parts, called the eastern and western shores. It is bounded, at present, by part of Pennsylvania and the Atlantic Ocean on the east, by Virginia Proper on the south, and by the Apalachean mountains on the west. It is separated from Virginia on the south by the river Potowmack on the western shore, and the river Pocomoac on the eastern shore, the length from north to south being about an hundred and forty miles, and the breadth from east to west, if we extend it no farther than the country already planted, will not be so much, though its future limits possibly may extend much farther. As to the face of the country, this, as well as Virginia, may be divided into, 1st, the Lowlands next the sea; 2dly, the hilly country towards the heads of the rivers; and 3dly, the Apalachean mountains, which are exceeding high, and run parallel to the Atlantic Ocean, viz. from the north-east to the south-west. The Lowlands heretofore consisted of swamps or woods, being one continued forest almost, till the English cleared part of it, either to make room for their plantations, or for building of ships and houses, and the making tobacco casks and pipe-staves for exportation, which has made such havock among their woods, that some of them begin to apprehend the want of timber, especially near their forts and rivers; for as to that which lies remote from the water it is of little use to them, the price of the carriage exceeding the value of the wood. Towards the heads of the rivers there is a mixture of hills and valleys, as in Virginia, well planted with variety of timber and fruit trees; and where these are wanting there are large meadows or savanahs, where the grass grows to a most surprizing height.

This country, like Virginia, is watered by innumerable springs and a great many fine rivers, of which the chief are, 1st, Potowmack, which, rising in the mountains north-west, runs to the south-east, and separates Maryland from Virginia on the south-west, falling into the middle of the bay of Chesepeak. 2dly, The river Pocomoac, which rising near the ocean, runs also directly south, and then turning to the west, falls also into the bay of Chesepeak, near Watkins's Point. A line drawn from the mouth of the river directly east, to the Atlantic Ocean, is the true boundary between Maryland and Virginia on the eastern shore. 3dly, The river Patuxent, which rising in Anne Arundel county, runs to the south-east, and falls into the bay of Chesepeak, about twenty miles to the northward of the mouth of Potowmack river. 4thly, Severn

river, which rises on the north-west part of Maryland, running south-east, falls into the upper part of the said bay. 5thly, Cheptonk, which rises on the eastern shore, runs to the south-west, and falls into the same bay. 6thly, Sassafras river, which rises in the north-east of Maryland, and running almost due west, falls into the north end of the said bay. 7thly, Wicomo river, which rises on the eastern shore, runs to the south-west, and falls into the bay almost against the mouth of Potowmack river. The 8th and last river I shall mention is St. George, on the west side of the bay, which, running from north to south, falls into the mouth of the river Potowmack. Here the English first settled, and built the town of St. Mary's. There are a great many more rivers capable of receiving large ships, which, with the numerous bays and creeks that indent the land on every side, give the seamen an opportunity of bringing their vessels up to the very planters' doors, to receive their freight, as in Virginia.

The air of this country is excessive hot some part of the summer, and very cold in winter when the north-west wind blows; but the natives tell us that they are happily situated; that their heats are very seldom troublesome, and then only by accident, in a perfect calm; but that this does not happen above two or three days in a year, and then lasts but a few hours at a time; and even this inconvenience is made very tolerable by their cool shades, their open and airy rooms, arbours, and grottos; and in Spring and Fall the weather is as pleasant as can be wished; that their winters are not of more than three or four months duration, and in these they seldom have one month's bad weather, all the rest they are happy in a clear air and a bright sun, and are scarce ever troubled with fogs; it is acknowledged they have hard frosts sometimes, but they last no longer than while the wind blows from the north and north-west points, which is seldom more than three or four days.

At other times they have no frost at all; and their frosts are attended with bright and serene weather; and in the Spring, Summer, and Winter, their winds are only cool pleasant breezes. Their rains, except in the depth of winter, are very pleasant and refreshing; in Summer they last but a few hours, and then bright weather succeeds: however, it is acknowledged that the showers which fall in Summer are very heavy for the time they last; and the part of the country which lies on the bays of the sea and the mouths of the rivers, which is much the best peopled, is certainly hot and moist; indeed, higher up the country, whither the plantations are now extended, the air is much more healthful, especially since the plantations are cleared of wood. They have here, however, dreadful thunder in the heat of Summer, but as it cools and refreshes the air they rather wish for it than shun it, though it sometimes does much mischief, but less than formerly.

Since the Indians transferred, or yielded, this province to the English, it has been divided into ten counties, six on the west side of the bay, and four on the east side of it; those on the west side, taking them from south to north, are, 1. St. Mary's county; 2. Charles county; 3. Prince George county; 4. Calvert county; 5. Anne Arundel county; and 6. Baltimore county. The counties on the east side of this bay, lying also from the south, are, 1. Somerset county; 2. Dorchester county; 3. Talbot county; 4. Cecil county. As for the county of Kent, that or the greatest part of it is now said to be in Pennsylvania. St. Mary, the capital of the county of the same name, and, for some time, of the whole province, is situated on the east side of the river St. George, in 38 degrees and some minutes north latitude. This, as has been intimated, was the first town in Maryland built by the English, who raised a fort for its defence; but in its most flourishing state never had more than thirty or forty houses in it, and since the seat of the government has been removed to Annapolis, seems to be upon



upon the decline; for the same humour prevails here as in Virginia, of gentlemens' living on their respective plantations, and not in towns.

In this county also are the parishes of Hervington, St. Clement's, and St. John's; and here is a noble seat of the Lord Baltimore the proprietor, called Mettrapan, situate on the mouth of the river Patuxent. In Prince Charles county, which lies north of St. Mary's, are the parishes of Bristol and Filcataway; and in that of Prince George, the parish of Matherbury. In Calvert county, which is divided from Charles county by the river Patuxent, are the parishes of Abington, Warrington, and Calverton. In the county of Anne Arundel, which lies north of Charles county, the chief town is Annapolis, now the capital of the province, and formerly called Severn, being situate on the river of that name, in 39 degrees and some minutes north latitude. Here the courts of justice and the general assemblies were ordered to be held in the year 1699; and this has ever since been the residence of the governor; notwithstanding which, there are not yet an hundred houses built in the town.

In Baltimore county, which lies between Anne Arundel county and the province of Pennsylvania, is the parish of Baltimore, situate on the north-west part of the bay of Chesapeake. In Somerset county, which is the most southerly county on the east side of the bay, are the town and parish of Somerset. In Dorchester county, which lies north of Somerset, are the town and parish of Dorchester, besides a great many Indian towns. In Talbot county, which lies north of Dorchester, are the parishes of Oxford, St. Michael's, Bolingbrooke, and Cecil, the most northerly county on the east side of the bay, is bounded both on the north and east by the province of Pennsylvania.

Throughout the whole colony of Maryland, as in that of Virginia, the English live at large at their several plantations, which hinders the increase of towns; indeed every plantation is a little town itself and can very well subsist with provisions and necessaries; every considerable planter's warehouse being like a shop, where he supplies not only himself with what he wants, but the inferior planters, servants, and labourers; and has commodities to barter for tobacco and other goods, there being little money in this province, and little occasion for any, as long as tobacco answers all the uses of silver and gold in trade. There are few merchants or shopkeepers, who may be properly so called, and live wholly by their trade; the tobacco of this province, called Oronoko, is stronger than that of Virginia; and no Englishman, who has not a very coarse relish, will bear it; yet it is as profitable to the planter, and to the trade of the nation in general, being in demand in the eastern and northern parts of Europe, where it is preferred before the sweet-scented tobacco of James and York rivers, in Virginia. The planters in Maryland finding so good vent for their commodity in foreign markets, have cultivated it so much that the province is thought to produce as much tobacco as Virginia. The soil is here as fruitful as in any country, being a large plain; and the hills in it so easy of ascent, and of such a moderate height, that they seem rather an artificial ornament to it than one of the accidents of nature.

The abundance of rivers and brooks is no little help to the fertility of the soil; and there is no corn, plant, or tree, which grows in Virginia, but thrives as well here; the product, the animals, and every thing, are the same here as there, only the black and yellow birds, called the Baltimore birds, goes by another name in Virginia. It had that name given it, because the colour of the field of the Lord Baltimore's coat of arms are or and sable. It is thought that the number of souls in Maryland was in about thirty thousand in the year 1700. There are several hundred of slaves employed yearly in the common plantations of this country, and the benefit which results to this nation from thence is very considerable, and may be easily computed from the principles

laid down in the foregoing account of the colony of Virginia; which may likewise serve with respect to all the other colonies that do not interfere with their mother-country in their manufactures.

20. When Oliver Cromwell, after subverting entirely the constitution of his country, took upon him the title of Protector, he resolved to obliterate the memory of what was past, by undertaking somewhat that might be of great and lasting advantage to his country. It was with this view, and to rid himself of many officers whom he suspected, that he framed a project of attacking the Spaniards in the West Indies, and of taking from them the noble island of Hispaniola or St. Domingo; in the adjusting of which design he depended chiefly on the information he received from one Father Gage a priest, who had been many years in the Spanish America, and who died in this voyage; for which though great preparations were made yet they went on very slowly, and it was certainly thought the best conceived, yet the worst executed of all his enterprizes.

The squadron commanded by General Penn being ordered to rendezvous at Portsmouth, where the land forces were to embark, complaints were made to Venables of disorders and discontents among the people, and more particularly about the badness of the provisions; which, by his means, being made known to General Desborrow, he, by very harsh expressions, signified his discontent thereat; and particularly charged Venables with a design of frustrating the intended expedition, by being the author of reports which were false; while he, on the other hand, endeavoured to justify himself, and to shew that he intended no otherwise than for the public good; and there was a shrewd suspicion that Desborrow's dissatisfaction herein arose from his being concerned with those who had the management of victualling the navy. After Venables had attended near four months without any positive assurance whether the Government was determined to go on with the design or not, although it was publicly discoursed of, and the Spaniards had thereby not only the knowledge thereof, but opportunities of providing for their defence; he was some time after sent to, and directed to hold himself in a readiness to proceed; and though he then requested that the draughts which were to be made out of the regiments might be men in all respects fitting for the intended service, yet the colonels were permitted to pick and cull them as they pleased, insomuch that most of them were raw and altogether undisciplined; and amongst them many Irish Papists; nor had not half of them arms in any degree serviceable; and so far were the Council from permitting him to stay till better could be furnished in their room, that they sent him positive orders to leave the town next day, upon pain of imprisonment.

Before he came to Portsmouth many of the troops were embarked, and the rest shipping off with the utmost haste, so that he had no opportunity of viewing, much less of exercising, them on shore; and thereby informing himself of their condition, with respect to their abilities or otherwise; and although he was promised that the store-ship, with arms and other necessaries, should join him at Spithead, he was at last told that no delay must be made in staying for her, but that he might expect her coming to him at Barbadoes. He was likewise assured that he should carry out with him, at least, ten months provision for ten thousand men, but the most part thereof was sent back to London, to be shipped off there, under pretence that there was not sufficient room for the same in the ships at Portsmouth, although the officers in the fleet found passage in them for no inconsiderable quantities of goods, with which they designed to traffic when they arrived at the aforesaid island.

The forces being embarked, and the wind presenting fair, the squadron sailed, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 29th day of January 1654; soon after which General Venables

Venables wrote to the Protector, the Lord President of the Council Laurence, the Lord Lambeth, and several others, letting them know in what a miserable condition the army was, and how destitute they were, not only of provisions but arms and other necessities proper for carrying on the intended design; inasmuch that they were constrained to make the hardest shifts to supply them with the small quantities either of one or the other that could be had in these parts. The first thing that was done after the fleet's arrival at Barbadoes was the seizing such Dutch ships and vessels as were found there, and General Penn appointed a nephew of his to take an account of their cargoes and all things belonging to them, without admitting any check on him as General Venables desired and insisted on, that so no embezzlements might be made.

The 18th of March Venables thought it necessary to hold a council of war of the land officers, to consider of the state of the army; and it was resolved to make these propositions to Penn, among several others, viz. 1st. That as the officers of the army had resolved not to desert the fleet, he with his officers would reciprocally resolve not to leave the army, at least not till such time as their expected supplies arrived from England. 2dly, That it should be proposed to the commissioners, that a fit quantity of shipping might be taken up for transporting the forces. 3dly, That they might not proceed on service with less than twenty tons of ball, and that they might likewise be furnished from the fleet with two hundred fire-arms, six hundred pikes, besides pistols, carbines, and two hundred half-pikes. To this Venables received no satisfactory answer from Penn, and the stores not arriving from England, he again desired to know from him what arms, shot, match, and other necessities he could furnish from the fleet; General Desborrow having assured him, when in England, that the commissioners had power to dispose of what might be on board the ships to the necessary use of the army; but to this Penn returned him an answer, that fifteen shot a man, and a few tons of match, was all he could spare; besides which, he at length prevailed with him to add thereunto a few half and quarter pikes, which gave occasion to one of the commissioners to let fall some words, as if he doubted they were betrayed.

Besides all these disappointments, and the badness of the provisions sent from England, yet even of them the soldiers were put to short allowance, while the seamen were at whole, which occasioned no little discontent, and rendered them very sickly and weak; and as the commissioners were empowered and required to dispose of all prizes and booty taken towards defraying the charge of the expedition, and only a fortnight's pay was offered to the officers and soldiers in lieu of whatever booty should be taken at St. Domingo (whither they were first designed from Barbadoes) it very much increased the dissatisfaction of the army; for most of the officers, when they set forwards on the expedition, were in hopes of bettering themselves very considerably. At length General Venables prevailed with the officers and men to accept of six weeks pay instead of their plunder; and thereupon himself and Penn issued out orders, restraining all persons from pillaging without orders, or from concealing the same on pain of death and forfeiture of their pay. But although the officers were willing to submit to this, yet the commissioners refused to sign it, inasmuch that the soldiers publicly declared they would return to England, and never more strike a stroke where there were commissioners who should have power to controul the army.

The fleet being now in a readiness to sail, General Venables, with some of the commissioners and the officers of the army, proposed that they might proceed to the harbour of St. Domingo (but for what reason it doth not appear, unless it was for want of experienced pilots). That was refused, and a resolution taken to land the troops at the river Hind; that so they might endeavour to force the fort and trench. It was also resolved

among the land officers, 1st, That the regiments should cast lots which of them should go on shore first. 2dly, That two or three regiments should be landed at once. 3dly, That the seconds to each regiment should be appointed. 4thly, That the ships wherein the regiments were, should keep near each other, for their more regular landing. And it was further determined, that if the surges of the sea ran high, and that the enemy were prepared to defend the fort and trench, the army should be landed behind the second point to leeward, and that when on shore, one regiment should be ordered to march eastward of the city, provided General Penn would engage to furnish the army with all necessaries.

Lots having been cast as aforesaid, it fell to Colonel Buller's regiment to land first, and there was one Cox who had lived in those parts many years, who was to have been their guide, but he had been sent of some errand by Penn, so that he was at this time absent; and Vice Admiral Goodson declaring that he neither had orders to go into Hind River, nor pilots to conduct the ship there-into; the army were constrained to land at the west point (which Venables protested against) and by that means were exposed to a tedious march of forty miles, through a thick woody country, without any guide, insomuch that both horse and men, by the fatigue and extremity of heat fell down with thirst, and were miserably afflicted with the flux, by their eating oranges and other green fruit, having no water to moisten their mouths with. After four days march the army came to the place where they might first have been put on shore; but by that time the enemy had summoned in the whole country to their assistance; and even now many of the soldiers had no more than one day's provisions of the three that had been promised them from the ships.

Colonel Buller being sent with his regiment to a particular station near Hind River, and ordered not to stir from thence until the rest of the army joined him, he was so far from complying with those commands from the general, that he marched away under the guidance of Cox, who was now arrived from the fleet; insomuch that for want of the said guide, the general, mistaking the way, marched ten or twelve miles about; and Buller having suffered his men to straggle, they fell into, and suffered much by, the ambuscades laid by the enemy. The hardships the forces had undergone for want of provisions, and their being denied what plunder they might happen to take at St. Domingo, so exasperated them, that the seamen who had been first sent ashore, and soon after those on the land, were in a general mutiny: however, in this condition they forded the river Hind, with a resolution to march to the harbour, that so they might be furnished with provisions and ammunition from the ships, but they were strangers to the way, neither had they any water to drink. At length Colonel Buller, and Cox the guide, joined them, promised to conduct them to a place where they might be supplied with water. But some of the said colonel's men having rambled about for pillage, encouraged the enemy to lay ambuscades for them in their march, who, falling upon the forlorn, routed them, and killed several officers; but they were soon after beaten back with loss, and pursued within cannon-shot of the town; yet when the action was over, many men, as well as horses, perished with thirst.

A council of war being called to consider of the condition of the army, it was found that many of the men had eat nothing for four days together, unless it were some fruits they gathered in the woods; and that they were without water, the Spaniards having stopped up all their wells within several miles of the town. Neither knew they the country, or how to get to their ships, for Cox the guide was slain in the last skirmish; however, after mature consideration, it was resolved to march to the harbour in the best manner they could, and at length arriving there, they staid three or four days to

furnish

furnish themselves with provisions and other necessaries, and then advanced with a mortar piece, in order to reduce the fort; but the enemy having laid an ambuscade, they charged the van, which was to have been led by Adjutant General Jackson, very vigorously, and were answered in like manner; whereas Jackson's party running away, and the passage through the woods being very narrow, they fell upon the general's own regiment, who, to no purpose, endeavoured to stop them with their pikes; for they first disordered that regiment, and soon after Major General Haynes's: mean while the enemy followed very eagerly, and giving no quarter, the said major general, and the best of his officers, who preferred death before flight, fell in the action.

At length the general's own regiment making head against them, as also that of the seamen, commanded by Vice Admiral Goodson, they, with their swords, forced the runaways into the woods, rather chusing to kill them than they should disorder the rest; which the enemy perceiving, they retreated, and our men kept their ground, though the shot from the fort killed many of them. The troops, nevertheless, were so very weak and disheartened, that not many of them could be brought to play the mortar against the fort; and though the general was reduced to a very low condition by the flux, he caused himself to be led from place to place to encourage them; but fainting at last, was forced to leave the care to Major General Fortescue, who soon found that he could prevail no more than the general himself. It was resolved soon after, at a council of war, that since the enemy had guarded every pass, and that the army were under very great necessities for water, they should march to a place where they had been informed a supply thereof, and of other necessaries, had been put on shore for them from the ships. But in that march the soldiers accompanied their officers no farther than till they found them in danger, and then left them, insomuch that the commissioners owned, in a letter they wrote to the governor at Barbadoes, that had not the enemy been as fearful as our own men, they might, in a few days, have destroyed the whole army; and withal they let him know, that those who had occasioned the greatest disorder, were those of Barbadoes and St. Christophers, insomuch that they, the said commissioners, who were Penn, Winslow, and Buller, had resolved to leave the place, and try what could be done against the island of Jamaica.

21. The army was accordingly in little time embarked, but the sick and wounded were kept on the bare decks for forty-eight hours, without meat, drink, or dressing, insomuch that worms bred in their sores; and even while they were on shore the provisions sent to them were not watered, but candied with salt, notwithstanding they had not water sufficient to quench their thirst. Nay, after this misfortune on shore, Venables averred that Penn gave Rear Admiral Blagge orders not to furnish them with any more provisions of what kind soever, so that they eat up all the horses, dogs, and asses, in the camp, and some of them such things as were in themselves poisonous, of which about forty died; and before the forces were embarked, Adjutant General Jackson was tried by a court martial, and not only sentenced to be cashiered, and his sword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a swabber, in keeping clean the hospital ships; a punishment suitable to his notorious cowardice. The fleet and troops arriving at Jamaica, orders were issued by General Venables, that where it should be found any man attempted to run away, the next man to him should put him to death, or that if he failed so to do, he should be liable to be tried for his life; and now all the troops being ready for service they advanced towards the fort, which they made themselves masters of with little loss; and next morning when the sun rose, they began to march towards the Savannah, which was near the town, when some Spaniards came towards them, and desired to treat; but the general refused so to do, unless they would send them

a constant supply of provisions, then much wanted; which they punctually did, according to the promise they had made. The articles agreed on at last were these, viz. 1st. That all forts, arms, ammunitions, and necessaries for war, and all kinds of shipping in any harbour in the island, with their furniture, &c. as also all goods, wares, merchandize, &c. should be delivered up to general Venables, or whom he should appoint for the use of the protector, and the commonwealth of England. 2dly. That all and every of the inhabitants of the island (except some that were particularly named) should have their lives granted, and as those who inclined to stay had leave so to do, so was it agreed to transport the others to New Spain, or some other of the dominions belonging to the king of Spain in America, together with their apparel, books, and papers, they providing themselves with victuals and necessaries. 3dly. That all commission officers, and none others, should be permitted to wear their rapiers and poniards. 4thly. All artificers, and meaner sort of people, should be permitted to remain on the island, and to enjoy their goods, provided they conformed themselves to the laws which should be established.

By these means the noble island of Jamaica was subdued, and though the Spaniards continued to lurk in some parts of the island for several years afterwards, and once made a bold attempt to recover the place; yet Colonel Doyly forced them to withdraw, and reduced the whole island so effectually, that at the Restoration the Spaniards yielded it to the crown of Great Britain, to which it has belonged ever since; and is, beyond question, the noblest possession we have in these parts. The history of this country, since it came into our possession, is so well known, and would also take up so much room, that we cannot enter into it here, nor indeed is it necessary, because our chief business is to shew the value and importance of our colonies, with respect to their mother country, which is always best done by describing the plantation, explaining the nature of its product, and giving as good an account as may be of the nature of its trade and the number of its inhabitants; and as this appears to be the most material part, to an English reader, where we cannot insert all that relates to a colony, we prefer this part to any other.

22. We have a very large and accurate account of this noble country, written by a learned, candid, and indefatigable person, who resided long there, I mean Sir Hans Sloane, from whom others have taken their materials, and so must I; as not knowing where to find any so good, or that may be so well depended upon; which acknowledgment, as it is due to his merit, I think it but justice to make, as I hope it will add some degree of credit both to his work and mine.

It is from him, therefore, that we learn most of the particulars, which follow, and are every way sufficient for our purpose. Jamaica is situated on the Atlantic Ocean, between 17 and 18 degrees north latitude, and between 76 and 79 degrees western longitude, about twenty leagues east of Hispaniola and as many south of Cuba, and upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthagena, on the coast of Terra Firma. This island stretches from east to west one hundred and forty miles in length and about sixty in breadth in the middle; growing less to each end; the form is pretty near oval.

The whole island has one continued ridge of hills running from east to west through the middle of it, which are generally called the Blue Mountains; the tops of some higher than others; one of the highest is called Mont Diabolo: other hills there on each side of this ridge of mountains, which, however, are much lower. The outward face of the earth seems to be different here from what it is in Europe, the valleys being very level, with little or no rising ground or small hills, without rocks or stones;

stones; the mountainous part is very steep, and furrowed by very deep chaunels on the north and south side of the highest hills; these channels are made here by frequent and very violent rains, which every day almost fall on the mountains, and first wearing a small trough or course for their passage, wash away afterwards whatever comes in the way, and make their channels extraordinary steep. The greatest part of the high land of this island is either stone or clay, which resists the rains, and so is not carried down violently with them into the plains, as the mould proper for tillage and friable earths are: hence it is, that in these mountainous places one shall have very little or none of such earths, but either a very strong tough clay or a honey-comb, or other rock, upon which no earth appears. All the high land is covered with woods, some of the trees very good timber, tall and straight; and one would wonder how such trees should grow in such a barren soil, so thick together among the rocks; but the trees send down their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks, where here and there they meet with little receptacles of rain water, which nourish their roots.

It is a very strange thing to see in how short a time a plantation formerly cleared of trees and shrubs will commonly grow foul, which arises from two causes; one, the not stubbing the roots, whence arises young sprouts, and the other the fertility of the soil. The settlements and plantations not only of the Indians but the Spaniards being quite overgrown with tall trees, so that there would be no footsteps left were it not for old pallisadoes, building, orange walks, &c. which evidently shew plantations have been there. There are the same layers of earth, one over another, in the fruitful part of the island, as are to be met with in Europe; and the same difference of soil appears as in England, in digging of wells, and other occasions of opening the ground. Most of the savannahs, or plains fit for pasture and cleared of wood, are like our meadow land, lie near the south side of the island, where one may ride a great many miles without meeting the least ascent; some of these plains are within land, incircled with hills. These savannahs after rain are very green and pleasant, but after long droughts are very much withered, and look yellow and parched.

The chief ports in the island are, 1. Port Royal, a fine capacious harbour. 2. Old Harbour, which lies seven or eight miles south-west of St. Jago. 3. Port Morant, at the east end of the island; and, 4. Point Negril at the west end of this island; besides which, are several more on the south and north sides of the island; but it is dangerous approaching the coast without a pilot, on account of the coral rocks, which almost surround it. There are near an hundred rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for rising in the mountains in the middle of the island, they precipitate themselves down the rocks to the north or south, falling into the sea before they have run many miles, and carrying down with them frequently great pieces of rock and timber. Yet fresh water is very scarce in dry years in the savannahs distant from rivers, so that many of their cattle die with driving to water. Near the sea the well-water, as at Port Royal is brackish; this brackish water, which is very common in wells on sea shores, is not wholesome, but the cause of fluxes and other diseases in sailors by their drinking it.

Their river water carries with it much clay or earth, and has an odd taste, which in St. Jago gives occasion to the Spaniards to call it Rio Cobre, and the English to say it is not wholesome, and tastes of copper; whereas, on the trial of the sand, there is no metal found therein; this river-water, however, if suffered to settle some days in earthen jars is good; spring-water, at a distance from the sea, is preferred to river or pond-water. There are some springs as well as rivers, which putrify their channels, and stop their course by a cement, uniting the gravel and sand in their bottoms. There is a hot-bath or spring near Port Morant, in the east part of the island, situate in a wood, which

hath been bathed in, and drunk of late years for the belly-ach, the common disease of the country, with great success. A great many salt springs arise in a level ground under the soils in Cabbage-tree Bottom, about a mile or two distant from the sea, which united, make what is called the Salt River. Salt is made here in ponds, into which the sea or salt water comes, and by the heat of the sun the moisture being exhaled, leaves the salt which is in great plenty; at the salt ponds about Old Harbour the salt is not perfectly white, or in small grains, but in large lumps, and has an eye of red in it, as some *Sal Gemmae* from Spain, or what comes from the island of Salt Tortuga near the main of America, which is here reckoned the stronger and better. Salt Lagunas, or great ponds, there are many here, one whereof, Riottoa Pond, receives a great deal of water by a river, which yet has no visible rivulet or discharge runs from it; some rivers in the mountains rise above and go under ground again in a great many places. Rio d'Oro particularly falls and rises two or three times, and so it is in many others. At Abraham's plantation on the north side is a river, which has stoppt its own course by letting a settlement fall, and putrifying its own bottom. It is very common to have cataracts or cascades in rivers among the mountains fifty or sixty feet high.

This island being seven degrees within the tropic, has the trade wind continually there, which is on the south side of the island, called the sea breeze. It comes about eight o'clock in the morning, and increases till twelve in the day; and then, as the sun grows lower, it decreases till there is none at four in the evening. About eight in the evening begins the land breeze, blowing four leagues into the sea, and continues increasing till twelve at night, and decreases again till four. The sea breeze is now and then more violent than at other times, as at new or full moon, and encroaches very much on the land winds; and the Norths when they reign, viz. in the months of December, January and February, blow over the ridge of mountains with violence, and hinder the sea breeze, which blows stronger and longer near the sea, as at Port Royal, or Passage Fort, than within land as at St. Jago de la Vega, or Spanish Town; as on the contrary the land wind blows harder at the town than at Passage Fort, or Port Royal. The land wind blowing at night, and the sea breeze in the day-time, no shipping can come into the port except in the day, nor go out, but at break of day, or very soon after.

The Norths, as they call them, come in when the sun is near the tropic of Capricorn, and so farthest off southerly, and are very cold and unhealthy winds, more violent in the night because it is then they have the additional force of the land wind. They check the growth of canes, and all vegetables on the north-side, but are hindered by the ridge of mountains from shewing much of their fury on the south, where it seldom rains with this wind. The south winds bring the most lasting rains. The rains from the south are lasting on the south side of this island. As at sea with the trade winds one meets with tornadoes, so at land here sometimes will be a violent west, directly contrary to the trade wind; but this happens seldom, and is soon over. The sea-breeze, when it blows hard, is thought to hinder the rain from coming to the plains, it for the most part then raining on the hills. On this account it is that there are in the mountains many springs and rivers, and few or none in the plains. And this is likewise the cause why there is never any want of water in the rivers coming from them through the plains, and likewise that, sometimes rivers suffer very great increase and inundations in the plains when no rains have fallen in the places where such inundations appear.

Earthquakes,

Earthquakes, as they are very frequent in Hispaniola, where they have formerly thrown down the town of St. Domingo; so they are too common also here; the inhabitants expect one every year, and some of them think they follow their great rains: one happened on Sunday the 19th of February 1688; as if people had raised the foundation of the houses, it was felt all over the island about the same time, some houses being wrecked, and very near ruined, and very few escaped some injury; the people were in a very great consternation, and the ships in Port Royal harbour felt it: it was observed, that the ground rose like the sea, in waves, as the earthquake passed along. But this was nothing to the earthquake which happened at Port Royal in the year 1692, by which that town was almost swallowed up. Thunder is heard almost every day in the mountains, with the rains there, so that any person in the plains may hear it, as well as see the rain; it does not so ordinarily accompany those rains that come from the sea, although when it does it is very violent. Lightning, for the most part precedes thunder in this island, as elsewhere; and, if it be fair weather, especially in the hottest seasons, it lightens almost all the night, first in one part of the sky or horizon, out of some clouds, and then out of others opposite to them, as it were answering one another. Frost or snow are never seen in this hot climate; but sometimes hail, and that very large; it comes with very great norths, which reach with great violence to the south side, and throw down every thing before them.

The dews here are so great within land, that the water drops from the leaves of the trees in a morning, as if it had rained; a man riding in the night, will find his cloaths, hair, &c. very wet in a small time; but there are seldom any fogs in the plains or sandy places near the sea. The rains there are violent, and the drops very large; according to the different positions of places, so the rains are more or less violent, and come at different times, but generally speaking the great rainy seasons are in May and October; in which months, at new or full moon they begin, and continue day and night for a whole fortnight, so that the earth in all level places is laid under water for some inches, and it becomes loose for some inches deep, and consequently the roads are almost impassable. "In the town of St. Jago de la Vega, in those rainy seasons, I was forced to ride on horseback (says Dr. Sloane) although but from door to door, to visit the sick." And these seasons, as they are called, from being fit to plant in, are generally so over the whole island, though they are much altered in their time and violence of late years, which arises from the clearing much of the country of wood. In the month of January is likewise expected a season, or rain; but this is not so constant and violent as the other two, and probably may come from the violent norths, at that time passing over the mountains, with part of their rains with them.

As to the produce of the island of Jamaica, it is not easy to give a very clear account thereof in a narrow compass; however, I shall do the best I can. In the first place I shall mention cocoa, of which there still comes more from this than from any of our plantations; and as it is known to be a very rich and valuable commodity, the reader will probably be pleased with a particular account of it. Cocoa grows on a tree in cods, green, red, and yellow, every cod having in it three, four, or five kernels, about the bigness and shape of small chest-nuts, which are separate from each other by a substance like the pulp of a roasted apple, moderately sharp and sweet, from which its nuts are taken when ripe, and by drying cured. The body of a cocoa tree is commonly about four inches diameter, five feet in height, and about twelve to the top of the tree. These trees are very different, for some shoot up in two or three bodies; others in one; their leaves are, many of them, dead and most discoloured, unless on very young trees; a bearing tree generally yields from two to eight pounds of nuts a

year, and each cod contains from twenty to thirty nuts. The manner of curing them is, to cut them down when ripe, and to lay them to sweat three or four days in the cods, which is done by laying them in heaps; after this the cods are cut, the nuts taken out and put into a trough covered with plantain leaves where they sweat again about sixteen or twenty days; the nuts that are on each cod are knit together by certain fibres, and have a white kind of pulp about them, very agreeable to the palate, as has been hinted before; by their turning and sweating, their little strings are broken, and their pulp is imbibed and mingled with the substance of the nut; after which they are put to dry three or four weeks in the sun, and then they become of a reddish-dark colour. The cods grow out of the body, or great limbs and boughs; at the same place there are blossoms, and young and ripe fruit. It is planted first in the night, and always under shade; some set them under cassave, others under plantain trees, and some in the woods. The Spaniards used a certain large shady plant, called by them Madre di Cocoa, the mother of cocoa; the English use the others only.

It must always be sheltered from the north-east winds. The people at Jamaica seldom transplant it, only when it falls, as it does often, in open, poor and dry lands; for this tree requires to have a flat, moist, low soil, which makes them be planted commonly by rivers, and between mountains. It is an observation, that it is ill living where there are good cocoa walks. In a year's time the plant becomes four feet high, and has a leaf six times as big as an old tree, which, as the plant grows bigger, falls off, and a lesser comes in its place. The trees are almost always planted at two feet distant; and sometimes at three years old, where the ground is good, and the plant prosperous, it begins to bear a little, and then they cut down all or some of the shade. The fruit increases till the tenth or twelfth year, when the tree is supposed to be in its prime. The root generally shoots out suckers, they supply the place of the old stock when dead, or cut down; unless any ill quality of the ground, or air, kill both.

The manner of planting them is, in order, like our cherry-gardens; they place a plantain by every tree, and when it is grown up it resembles a cherry-tree; it delights in shade, and for that reason has the plantain set by it. The cocoa-walks are kept clear from grass by hoeing and weeding. The trees begin to bear at three, four, or five years, and, did they not almost always die before, would come to perfection at fifteen years growth, and last till thirty; which renders them the most profitable tree in the world, one acre of them having cleared above two hundred pounds in a year; but the old trees planted by the Spaniards being gone by age, and few now thriving, as the Spanish negroes foretold, little or none now is produced worthy the care and pains in planting and expecting it. Those slaves ascribe its not coming to perfection to a superstitious cause, many religious rites being performed at its planting by the Spaniards, which their slaves were not permitted to see. But it is probable that wary nation, as they removed the art of making cochineal, and curing venelloes, into their inland provinces, which were the commodities of the islands in the Indians time, and forbade the opening any mines in them, for fear some maritime nation might be tempted to conquer them; so in transplanting the cocoa from the Caraccas and Guatamala on the continent, they might conceal, wilfully, some secret in its planting from their slaves.

There is also more indigo produced in Jamaica, than in any other colony, by reason of the great quantity of savaiah land, for it thrives best in sandy ground. The seed from whence it is raised is yellow and round, something less than a tare. The ground is made light by hoeing; then trenches are dug like those our gardeners prepare for pease,

pease, in which the seed is put about March ; it grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in fresh broken ground will spring up about three feet high, but in others to no more than eighteen inches. The stalk is full of leaves of a deep green colour, and will, from its first sowing, yield many crops in one year. When it is ripe it is cut and steeped in fats twenty-four hours, then it must be cleared from the first water and put into proper cisterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it settles about eighteen hours. In these cisterns are several taps, which let the clear water run out, and the thick is put into bags of about three feet long, made commonly of ozenbrigs, which being hung up, all the liquid part drops away ; when it will drop no longer, it is put into wooden boxes, three feet long, fourteen inches wide, and one and a half deep ; these boxes must be placed in the sun till it is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme heat is over ; this must be done continually till it is sufficiently dried. In land that proves proper for indigo, the labour of one hand, in a year's time, will produce between eighty and one hundred weight, which may amount from twelve to fifteen pounds to the planter, if no accident happen ; for indigo, as well as other commodities in those parts, is subject to many ; the most common are blasting and worms, by which it is frequently destroyed.

Pimento is another natural production of Jamaica, from whence it is called Jamaica pepper, alluding to its figure and the chief place of its growth ; the trees that bear it are generally very tall and spreading, having a trunk as thick as one's thigh. It rises straight, about thirty feet high, is covered with an extraordinary smooth skin of a grey colour ; it is branched out on every hand, having the end of its twigs set with leaves of several sizes, the largest being four or five inches long, and two or three broad, in the middle, where it is broadest, and whence it decreases to both extremes, ending in a point smooth, thin, shining, without any incisures of a deep green colour, and standing on foot-stalks an inch long ; when bruised very odoriferous, and in all things like the leaves of a bay tree. The ends of the twigs are branched into bunches of flowers, and each stalk sustaining a flower bending back, within which bend are many stamina of a pale green colour ; to these follows a bunch of crowned berries, the crown being made up of four small leaves, which are bigger, when ripe, than juniper berries ; at first, when small, greenish, but when they are ripe, black, smooth and shining ; containing in them a moist, green, aromatic pulp, two large seeds separated by a membrane, each of which is a hemisphete, and both joined make a spherical seed.

It grows on all the hilly part of the island of Jamaica, but chiefly on the north side ; and wherever these trees grow, they are generally left standing when other trees are felled ; and they are sometimes planted where they never grew, because of the great profit from the cured fruit exported yearly in great quantities into Europe. The Jamaica pepper tree flowers in June, July, and August, but sooner or later, according to their situation and different season for rains ; and after it flowers the fruit soon ripens : but it is to be observed, that in clear open grounds it is sooner ripe than in thick woods. There is no great difficulty in curing or preserving this fruit for use ; it is for the most part done by the negroes. They climb the trees and pull off the twigs with the unripe green fruit, and afterwards carefully separate the fruit from the twigs and leaves, which done, they expose them to the sun, from the rising to the setting for many days ; spreading them thin on cloths, turning them now and then, and carefully avoiding the dews which are there very great. By this means they become a little wrinkled, and from a green change to a brown colour, when they are fit for the market ; being of different sizes, but commonly of the bigness of black pepper ; something like in smell and taste to cloves, juniper berries, cinnamon and pepper,

pepper, or rather having a peculiar mixt smell, somewhat a-kin to all of them, from whence it is called all-spice. The more fragrant and smaller they are, they are accounted the better.

It is deservedly reckoned the best and most temperate, mild and innocent, of all spices, and fit to come into greater use, and to gain more ground than it has of the East India commodities of this kind, almost all of which it far surpasses, by promoting the digestion of meat, attenuating tough humours, moderately heating and strengthening the stomach, expelling wind, and doing those friendly offices to the bowels, which we expect from spices.

The wild cinnamon tree, commonly called, though falsely, cortex winteranus, grows in this island; its trunk is about the bigness of the pimento tree, and rises twenty or thirty feet high, having many branches and twigs hanging downwards, making a very lovely top; the bark consists of two parts, one outward and another inward; the outward bark is as thin as a milled shilling, of whitish ash or grey colour with some white spots here and there upon it, and several shallow furrows of a darker colour running variously through it, of an aromatic taste; the inward bark is much thicker than cinnamon, being as thick as a milled crown piece, smooth, and of a whiter colour than the outward, of a much more biting and aromatic taste, something like that of cloves, and not glutinous, like cinnamon, but dry and crumbling between the teeth; the leaves come out near the ends of the twigs, without any order, standing on foot-stalks, each of them two inches in length, and one in breadth; near the end where broadest and roughest, being narrow at the beginning, from whence it augments in breadth to near its end, of a yellowish green colour, shining and smooth, without any incisures about its edges, and somewhat resembling the leaves of bay.

The ends of the twigs are branched into bunches of flowers, standing somewhat like umbels, each of which has a foot-stalk, on the top of which is a calix made up of some little leaves, in which stand five scarlet or purple patala, within which is a large stylix; to these follow so many calyculated berries of the bigness of a large pea, roughish, green, and containing, within a mucilaginous pale green thin pulp, four black shining seeds of an irregular figure; all the parts of this tree, when fresh, are very hot, aromatic, and biting to the taste, something like cloves, which is so troublesome, as sometimes to need the remedy of fair water. It grows in the favanah woods, very frequently on each side the road, between Passage Fort and the town of St. Jago de la Vega. The bark of the tree is what is chiefly in use, both in the English plantations, between the tropics in the West Indies and in Europe, and is without any difficulty cured, by only cutting off the bark, and letting it dry in the shade. The ordinary sort of people in the West Indies use it instead of all other spices, being thought very good to consume the immoderate humidity of the stomach, to help digestion, and expel wind, &c. Rum looses its disagreeable smell if mixed with this bark.

The true cortex winteranus, for which the druggists sell this wild cinnamon, was brought by Captain Winter, who accompanied Sir Francis Drake in his voyage round the world from the Straights of Magellan.

There is plenty of cotton in Jamaica, and it is finer than that in the Carribbee islands. The tobacco that was planted there was better than at Barbadoes; but there is so little, it deserves not the name of a commodity. Very good tanned leather is made there; the tanners have three barks to tan with, mangrove, olive barks, and another. They tann better than in England; and in six weeks the leather is ready to work into shoes. There is abundance of dyers woods, as fustick, red-wood, logwood, and others; with several sorts of sweetwoods. The island abounds in drugs and medicinal herbs, as
guaiacum,

guaiacum, china, sarsaparilla, cassia, tamarinds, venilloes, many sorts of misleto; as also in salutary gums and roots; the plant of which cochineal is made, grows in Jamaica; and yet the inhabitants, for want of knowledge how to cure it, make no advantage of it; besides the east wind blasts it so, that it seldom or never comes to maturity.

It is not doubted but that there are copper mines in the island; and the Spaniards say the bells of the great church at St. Jago were made of Jamaica metal; it is supposed there are silver mines in it, as well as at Cuba, and on the continent; and there is a place in the mountains of Port Royal, or Caguag, where it is reported the Spaniards dug silver, but the English have not been so happy as to find it. The Spaniards also found ambergrease on the coast, but the English have not often had that good fortune; yet some years ago an ignorant fellow found 180 pound weight of ambergrease cast upon the shore, at a place called Ambergrease Point, where the Spaniards came usually once a year to look for it. This vast quantity was divided into two parts, supposed by rolling and tumbling in the sea; some say it is produced from a creature, as honey and silk; and Mr. Tredway, who viewed this piece, writes, he saw, in sundry places in this body, the beak, wings, and part of the body of the creature, which he preserved for some time; he was also told by a man, that he had seen the creature alive, and believed they swarmed as bees on the sea shore, or in the sea; others say it is the excrement of the whale, and others, that it issues out of the root of a tree.

But, after all, it is the sugar cane that is the glory of Jamaica, by which the inhabitants have acquired such immense riches. It is generally said, that the sugar from St. Christopher's is the best in the Leeward Islands; but, I think, it is agreed on all hands, that the sugar made in Jamaica exceeds that of all our plantations, though it is made there with much greater ease, since it cures faster in ten days at Jamaica than in six months at Barbadoes. There were in the year 1670 upwards of threescore mills in Jamaica, which were computed to make about two millions of pounds weight of sugar; but some writers tell us, they make ten times as much at present; whether that computation be right or not, is impossible for me to decide; but this is certain, that there is ground enough unoccupied in that country to make much more, since it is an hundred and forty miles long and sixty broad; and it contains, according to a moderate computation four millions of acres, of which, though there may be about one-fourth in which English subjects have property; yet, it is certain, that not above a fourth of that fourth is actually planted, and a great deal of this is employed to other purposes, than that of raising sugar. It is impossible to say precisely what quantity may be made here, because seasons differ, and other accidents intervene; some have thought they did not rise beyond the truth, in affirming, that it produces one hundred thousand hogsheads, which, though it appears a most prodigious quantity, yet there are many circumstances that concur to render it credible. As for the number of people in this island various computations have been made; but according to the best accounts I have been able to gain, there may be at this time, seventy thousand white people therein, and one hundred and twenty thousand negroes.

We may from hence judge of the almost inexpressible advantages which this island affords to Great Britain; for, as all our histories of Jamaica, and almost every voyage thither, that has been printed, speak largely of the luxury and expence of all degrees of people there, which is a plain proof of their wealth and vast acquisitions; so we may rest satisfied, that whatever shew they may make, whatever appearance there may be of magnificence there; yet the real produce of all their labour, and of all their commerce, comes over here to Britain, and maintains and enriches the industrious part of our people; so that there can be nothing more absurd or unreasonable, than to grudge or

envy the people settled there, the great fortunes they acquire and possess, or to repine at the pomp and splendor in which they live; because, whatever it may be in appearance, it is perhaps an indifferent reward for their dwelling at such a distance from home, and for the hazards and labours they run through to acquire such fortunes, but this will appear much more clearly if we advert a little to the situation of Jamaica, and consider the vast benefits that accrue from thence, in all times, and under all circumstances, of war as well as peace.

As we are at present in the former situation, we will treat first of that. There is constantly in time of war a considerable naval force kept here, and though this be attended with a great expence to the British nation, yet it certainly is, or at least ought to be, a great comfort to us, that our money is spent with our countrymen, that it increases the value of their plantations, and which is still more to our purpose, that, sooner or later, all that is spent and circulated there, by some channel or other returns hither, so that at the long run the nation loses nothing by the vast charge she is at in maintaining fleets upon this coast. We ought likewise to reflect, that in a time of war there are many prizes taken and carried into Jamaica, which makes an unusual and almost incredible plenty of silver, and is the true cause of the dearth and high price of necessaries in that country, all which also in time comes over hither; so that when we hear of vast estates raised there in a short space of time, it ought to afford us the highest satisfaction; because, those who make those large fortunes, or their immediate descendants, come over hither, and either vest their money in our funds or purchase lands here. Thus, a state of war, which implies a suspension of trade, produces few of the inconveniences that usually attend such a suspension; because in Jamaica, the very consequences of war become a kind of trade, and the wealth arising from them takes the same course, and runs in the very individual channels that any other trade would do, that is, they finally enrich and tend to the benefit of the mother country.

But, in time of peace, besides what we draw from Jamaica, considered barely in the light of a sugar plantation, we are to consider likewise whatever accrues to the inhabitants from their intercourse and dealings with other people, since whatever they gain is for us; and therefore, it may not in this place, be improper to say something of the trade carried on by the English at Jamaica with the Spaniards on the continent, which is thus managed: the merchant or master of the English ship bound for this voyage being furnished with a proper cargo of dry goods and negroes, commonly makes first for the coast near the harbour of Porto Bello; and in war at the Grout, within Monkey Key, a very good harbour, within four miles of the town; from thence it is usual for the merchant or master of the ship to send one who can speak Spanish, as many of these traders do to the town, to give notice of her arrival to the dealers, who appoint the time and place for the Spaniards canoe to attend them; they come accordingly, and having purchased as many negroes and as much dry goods as they think fit, they return to the town, fetch the money, bring it aboard, and take the goods. Here such a ship lies sometimes five or six weeks trading with the Spaniards; for after the first market is pretty well over, the dealers, who have soon information of her being on the coast, come from Panama over the isthmus to trade, travelling like peasants, with mules bearing their silver in jars; and if any of the king's officers meet them nothing appears but meal, which they pretend to be carrying to Porto Bello; but for the most part they travel through woods and bye-ways for fear of being discovered by those officers. When they have bought what negroes and goods their money will purchase, which they sell again up in the country, and get very well by it; the goods are made up in little packs fit for one man to carry, and the English supply them with as much
precious

provisions as will serve them home, cross the isthmus to the South Sea, for they come very far off.

A single familiar instance will make all this very plain. An English ship lying between Chagre and Porto Novo, a signal was given from the castle of Chagre, and she anchored two miles from it. The Spaniards came to her, and one merchant bought seventy negroes and a good quantity of dry goods, amounting to three or four thousand pounds, which was brought on mules to the water side, part gold and part silver. From the Grout the English ship sailed to the Brew near Carthagena, where she lay to trade with the merchants of that city, from which it is about eight miles distant. The people of the island Brew gave their merchants notice of her arrival, and they came and traded as the others did at the Grout; this trading ship in about two months disposed of one hundred and fifty negroes, and a good cargo of dry goods, by which, probably, the proprietors cleared two thousand pounds more than would have been got in any other market; a plain proof of the very great advantage of this trade between Jamaica and New Spain, of which we see the Spaniards are so fond, that they run as great hazards in buying the merchandizes as the English do in selling it to them.

There is likewise in time of peace a great deal of money brought into Jamaica by the Asiento trade, or sale of negroes, granted to us by the Spaniards in the treaty of Utrecht, which, whatever it may be in other respects, has certainly proved a very beneficial trade to that island. I have indeed heard some very able and intelligent persons intimate, that if instead of erecting a new company for the management of this trade, it had been put into the hands of one already erected, I mean the Royal African Company, it had preserved that once famous corporation from falling into its present melancholy condition, as well as secured much larger profits to the nation, which are things that deserve to be considered before we set in earnest about any negotiation with Spain, that we may indemnify ourselves from the heavy losses and vast expences of this war by the fruits of a solid and well regulated peace; which, without doubt, may be as easily obtained as one of a looser and more precarious nature; it being the interest of the Spaniards as well as of ourselves, to have all matters so adjusted, as to prevent not only wars, but disputes for the future.

Before I quit this subject I find it absolutely necessary to take notice of another branch of trade carried on from Jamaica, which has been made the subject of much debate; I mean the cutting of logwood in the bay of Campeachy. This matter came to be considered with the utmost care and circumspection by the Board of Trade and plantations in the year 1717, who solemnly reported that we had an undoubted right to that trade, in which the subjects of the crown of England had been maintained and supported by former kings, his majesty's royal predecessors. They observe, that logwood is the product of Yucatan, a peninsula that extends itself an hundred leagues into the North Sea, on each side whereof are the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where the wood is chiefly cut by the English.

The Spaniards are possessed only of the town of Campeachy, and two more small places in this part of America, and that the rest of Yucatan was an uninhabited desert until our logwood cutters settled at Cape Catoch, the north-east promontory of Yucatan, or at Trist, or the Laguna de Terminos in the bay of Campeachy, before, or in the year 1667, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and Spain; and thereupon the privateers of Jamaica, who used to disturb the Spanish trade, being obliged to quit that way of life, became logwood cutters, and settled with others of their countrymen at Trist, and the Lake de Terminos aforesaid, and great quantities

quantities of logwood were afterwards imported from thence to Old and New England.

They observed that Sir Thomas Bynch, governor of Jamaica, under whose direction that trade was carried on, in the year 1671, gave his majesty king Charles II. the following reasons for his encouraging this trade. 1st, That the English had then used it for divers years. 2dly, That the logwood was cut in desolate and uninhabited places. 3dly, That it was a right confirmed by treaty with the Spaniards. 4thly, That thereby we excluded the French and Dutch from that trade. 5thly, That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it. 6thly, That this employment made the reducing our privateers, who used to commit hostilities against the Spaniards, more easy. Lastly, that this trade employed an hundred sail of ships annually, and increased his majesty's customs, and the trade of the nation, more than any of his American colonies.

Sir Thomas Modyford, the succeeding governor of Jamaica, informed the lords of the privy council in the year 1672, that the English logwood cutters had used that trade for three years, and that they had planted corn, and built houses for their conveniency; and though they frequently hunted deer in the country, they had never seen a single Spaniard, or any other man in that part of the country, in all the time they had been there; and concludes, that their felling of wood, building of houses, and clearing and planting the ground, was such a possession, as in the West Indies gave them an undoubted right to the countries they thus occupied. And Sir Thomas, to justify his conduct in encouraging this trade, in the year 1672 (when the Spaniards first complained of it) sent home the copies of several depositions he had taken from the masters of ships, and others concerned in the logwood trade, with a proclamation he had issued for the regulation and security thereof, as a confirmation of what he had asserted; and the lords of the council thereupon let the governor know that they approved what he had done.

The lords commissioners of trade further observed, that there is a clause in the abovefaid American treaty, which provides that the king of Great Britain shall keep and possess, in full right of sovereignty and propriety, all places situate in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects were then in possession of; and that they actually were then, and had been for several years in possession of Trist and the Lake de Terminos, and several other places in the province of Yucatan, which the Spaniards began to set up a title to about this time, notwithstanding they enjoyed the full benefit of what Great Britain stipulated on her part, viz. 1st, The securing the trade of the Spanish West Indies to them; a point which had never before been yielded. 2dly, The obliging the privateers to cease their depredations, whereby the Spanish trade had been miserably harassed; and this had been effected chiefly by the care of his majesty's governors, and the employing those people in the logwood trade.

That in 1680 the Spaniards proceeded in a hostile manner to dispossess the English logwood cutters of their settlements of Trist, &c. and even of the Island of Providence, a British plantation to which they had no pretence; but these were soon repossessed by his majesty's subjects, and the logwood trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and was maintained and carried on by the English, till the treaty of Utrecht 1713; when the adjustment and settlement thereof came again under consideration; and it was stipulated that only such places should be restored to the Spaniards, as had been taken during the preceding war, (in the reign of queen Anne), among which Trist could not be reckoned one, because the English were in possession of it many years before

before that war commenced, and, indeed, had been in the actual possession of it, from 1699 to 1713, except for two or three months in the year 1689, when the Spaniards surprized and expelled them by force, as related above.

They farther represented it by a clause in the treaty of commerce concluded in November 1713; the American treaty of 1670 is confirmed and ratified; and it was thereby declared that this should be understood to be without prejudice to any liberty or power which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance, or indulgence; and the English having long enjoyed the liberty of cutting logwood, whether through right, sufferance, or indulgence, they are by this treaty entitled to the same in as plain and express words as can be imagined. Then the Lords Commissioners proceeded to shew the importance of the logwood trade to Great Britain, by the following account of what logwood had been imported since the late war:

	Tons.	Cwt.	Qrs.	lb.
In 1713	2189	15	3	22
In 1714	4848	14	3	24
In 1715	5863	12	1	14
In 1716	2032	17	2	0
	14935	0	3	4

This is, *communibus annis*, 3,741 tons, which cannot be computed at less than 60,000 l. per annum, though the price is already reduced from 40 l. to 16 l. per ton; and before your majesty's subjects were settled there it was worth 100 l. a ton. Nor is this trade less necessary than beneficial to your majesty's dominions, by reason of the great encouragement it gives to our seamen and shipping, which at all times require a particular attention; but now especially, when it is daily observed that very many British mariners, either through defect of the laws, or for want of employment at home, or in hopes of greater advantage abroad, enter themselves into foreign service.

Upon the whole, they gave it as their opinion, that some time before and long after the year 1670, the subjects of England were possessed of and quietly enjoyed part of the country of Yucatan, uninhabited by the Spaniards, and consequently the right of British subjects to cut logwood, and even to settle in that country, was not only certain and apparent, but was also settled and confirmed by treaty.

This representation is certainly more than sufficient to convince us here at home of our being well entitled to this trade; and therefore it is a point that deserves to be maturely reflected upon, before any new negotiation for peace with the Crown of Spain is commenced; for, without doubt, care ought to be taken that our right in this respect be acknowledged and admitted, in such express terms, that hereafter no disputes may arise about it, or afford pretences for fitting out guarda costas to impede and disturb our navigation. We know and have heard, what high and loud complaints were made against the Ministry, in the reign of Queen Anne, for not obliging the French to restore Cape Breton, and for not compelling the Spaniards to make such concessions in favour of our trade as were necessary for the carrying it on with safety and advantage. But at present Cape Breton is ours, and the superiority of our naval force in the West Indies is so great, that it would be certainly an unpardonable omission should there be any thing left to object on any of these heads for the future. The capital trade of this nation at present, that which employs most ships, most seamen, and most manufactures, is our commerce to our plantations; and therefore the securing, encouraging, and improving this commerce ought to be the principal object of our statesmen; who, as they often

often lay heavy burdens upon the subjects to carry their projects into execution, so they are in interest and in conscience bound to pay the utmost attention to those points which regard the filling again the purses of those to whom they have constant recourse for the public service.

23. We have now gone through this section, and have shewn when, how, and with what views our settlements within this period of time were made. It is easy to perceive from thence what prodigious advantages have been derived from them to the people of this kingdom. If we consider that at the death of Queen Elizabeth we had not a single cottage erected in America, and that at the time of the restoration of King Charles II. we had settled from Nova Scotia to the utmost bounds of Virginia, besides peopling many of the islands, it must appear an amazing thing. The vast change in our circumstances in the space of sixty years, the mighty augmentation of our shipping, the vast increase of our coin, and all the other certain and indubitable signs of an extended and profitable commerce, sufficiently prove the value and importance of our plantations; for I make no scruple of affirming that we owed them all to these. To say the truth, the civil war which was so ruinous and fatal to these kingdoms was, by the kind disposition of Providence, highly serviceable to the plantations. In the first ferment of the nation, we have seen that New England was planted and peopled as it were at once; and in succeeding times, when the constitution was overturned, and the loyal nobility and gentry, who were deprived of their estates by those the fortune of war had made their masters, and had not even the liberty of starving here in peace, Virginia and Barbadoes were their refuge; there the wicked ceased from troubling, and there the weary were at rest. The spirit and vigour with which they set about improving the places of their exile soon changed them into habitations of delight, and where they looked only for a quiet and a bare subsistence, the blessing of God upon their industry produced them vast estates.

We may safely venture to affirm, that a little after the Restoration the sugar colonies rose to their greatest height, Jamaica only excepted. Since then the tobacco colonies have increased greatly, and so have the bread colonies likewise; for the reader is to observe, that Jamaica, Barbadoes, and most of the Leeward Islands, are furnished with provisions from the northern colonies, and with garden stuff from the islands of Bermudas. But it has so fallen out, that though these colonies have such a natural dependence upon each other, yet complaints have arisen, and we have seen both sides appealing to the British parliament, the one for relief, and the other for protection. The occasion of these disputes was this:

A bill was brought into the House of Commons on the petition of the merchants and planters concerned in the sugar colonies in the year 1731, for securing and encouraging the trade of the said colonies. The intent whereof was to enable them to supply foreign markets with sugar as cheap as the French, which they suggested might be done by prohibiting the exportation of horses, provisions, and lumber, from our northern colonies on the continent of America to the French and Dutch plantations, and by prohibiting the importation of all foreign sugar, rum, and molasses, to our northern colonies; for the permitting of this, they suggested, was giving the French and Dutch at least twenty-five per cent. upon the whole produce of their sugar colonies, and thereby enabled them to afford their sugar at foreign markets cheaper than our sugar colonies can. It was finding them plantation necessities as well as money to pay for them; that is, the foreign colonies paid our northern colonies for their horses, provisions, and lumber, with molasses and rum, which otherwise the French must throw away as they did formerly. To induce the parliament to pass this bill, the sugar colonies endeavoured

to shew the vast importance those colonies are of to Great Britain, observing that they produced, at an average, eighty-five thousand hogheads of sugar annually at least, which, at ten pounds a hoghead, amounted to eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This sum, or much the greatest part of it, as they affirm, is spent here by the several proprietors of estates in the West Indies, who live in England, or is sent out annually in the manufactures of Great Britain, either directly to the sugar colonies or to the Coast of Guinea, to purchase negroes for the use of those colonies.

Besides this neat produce of sugar, another vast advantage arising from the sugar colony trade is the large number of ships and seamen employed and maintained in the course of our commerce with them; and they calculate that there are three hundred sail of ships sent from Great Britain (not to mention those from other places) every year, to our sugar colonies, which are navigated by about five thousand five hundred seamen; and that the freight from the sugars brought hither amounts to an hundred and seventy thousand pounds a year; and the duties, commissions, &c. to little less than two hundred thousand pounds more, which upon the whole is a good one million two hundred thousand pounds a year profit and advantage to Great Britain. But besides this considerable article of sugar, they observe that these islands produce great quantities of cotton, ginger, indico, alocs, &c. which are all brought to Great Britain, where the whole profit of all our plantation product does and must centre. They have been equal, they insist, to the mines of the Spanish West Indies, and have contributed, in a particular manner, to the trade, navigation, and wealth of this kingdom.

But at present they were in a very bad and languishing condition; their duties high, their planters poor, their soil worn out, and their fortifications destroyed. They observe farther, that the French sugar islands are much larger, more beautiful, better inhabited, pay less duties, and have greater encouragement from France than ours have from Great Britain. And that if our sugar islands, for want of being put in a posture of defence, should either be taken, as some have been, or moulder and come to ruin, it would be one of the greatest blows this kingdom ever received. It would then lose the benefit of all their product imported hither; it would lose the exports of our woollen and other manufactures thither, to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds a year; it would lose, in a great measure, the trade to Guinea; it would lose the employing and maintaining of many hundred British ships, and many thousand British seamen every year; and lastly, it would lose one of the most considerable and main branches of our funds, the deficiency of which must be made good, and the weight and burthen fall on our lands here at home.

To this bill, however, many objections were made by such as were employed here in behalf of the northern colonies, and amongst them the most material were these; 1st, That such a prohibition as was desired by the bill would put the French upon supplying themselves with lumber from their own settlements, and the British colonies on the continent would thereby lose the trade in which many ships and seamen were employed. 2dly, That the British colonies could not take off their lumber, or supply them with rum for their fisheries, their trade with the Indians, and what they wanted in the harvest-time. 3dly, That the restraining the northern colonies from disposing of their horses, provisions, and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might draw them into employments prejudicial to Great Britain. 4thly, The French would distil their molasses themselves, and supply the fisheries with rum, if the northern colonies did not. 5thly, If the northern colonies did not take off the French sugars, they would carry them to market themselves. 6thly, If the importation of French and Dutch rum and molasses into New England was prohibited, and they could go to no other market
for

for rum, or sell their lumber and provisions any where else, the English sugar colonies, like other monopolies, would exact an unreasonable price for their rum, and beat down the price of lumber and other goods as low as they saw fit. 7thly, That the French and Dutch colonies furnish the northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great Britain and lay out in our manufactures. 8thly, That the luxury and extravagance of the sugar colonies was the occasion of this decline. And 9thly, That the trade of the sugar colonies was still vastly increasing; instancing in Barbadoes, which, in the year 1730, imported twenty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine hog-heads of sugar into England, valued at £340,396.; and that this was the neat profit they insisted, because it was admitted that the rum and molasses of sugar plantations bear the charges of them; the sugar planters therefore have no reason to complain, when so small an island as Barbadoes produced so vast a neat profit.

As there is nothing can contribute more to make this subject thoroughly understood, and to point out effectually what the inhabitants of the colonies take to be their respective interests, I think it will be necessary to add the replies or solutions given by the friends of the sugar colonies to these objections. As to the first, That the French, if not supplied from the northern colonies, would furnish their own settlements with lumber, they said, That the French could not be supplied with lumber from their own settlements; or, if they could, it must be at great charge and expence, since the only places they can pretend to be supplied from are Cape Breton and Quebec. Some indeed have gone so far, and been so extravagant, as to imagine that the French islands may be supplied with lumber from the bay of Apalachi, or the settlement of Mississippi; but we must consider that great snows are necessary for drawing down trees to the sides of rivers; and likewise (upon the snow's melting) for floating them down to the mills; and, if they had snows, these countries do not produce any quantity of such kind of wood as is proper to work into lumber; nor have they any such mills, which are expensive to build, and the labour and time required to manufacture such trees into lumber, would make it extremely dear to the French; besides, the navigation to and from such places to Martinico, and the French islands so much to windward, would be so difficult and long for such vessels as are proper to carry lumber, by reason of the calms, contrary winds, and strong currents against them, that such a project would probably end in the ruin of the people concerned in it; which would put an end to such endeavours of the French.

As to Cape Breton, though it has the advantage of snows, yet it has no other conveniency; it produces little wood; they have few rivers, and those longer frozen and sooner dried than in New England; it is thinly inhabited, and is a small, and in that light but an inconsiderable island, commodious only for fishing. And as for Quebec, allowing all the advantages the other places want, and all that our northern colonies have, with respect to wood and mills; yet the navigation of the river St. Laurence (which is practicable only a few months in the year) is so very long and dangerous, that all the lumber from thence must be exceeding dear; and though some may think that these difficulties in time may be removed, and the navigation of the river become both safe and easy, it may be wished the French had no supply of lumber till these difficulties were removed; for those difficulties must always continue from the nature of the coast, the rocks, shoals, and sands in that river, and from the inclemency of the air and other natural causes; which will make that navigation for ever unsafe. If then the French cannot be supplied with lumber, or at least not upon any reasonable terms, how much will this give our sugar colonies an advantage over the French? But let us suppose the utmost and worst that can be; that they can be supplied with lumber from their

their own settlements; yet, What must the lumber be bought with? Not with rum and molosses, but with money. So that if this prohibition of foreign rum and molosses takes place, so much will be lost to the French plantations, because they can have no vent for their rum, as interfering with brandy, the product of France.

But what stronger argument can we have, that the trade carried on by some of the northern colonies is a prejudicial trade, than the permission of it by the French themselves? They understand the whole compass of trade perfectly well, and steadily pursue their interests; they know that their colonies either cannot be supplied at all with horses, lumber, and other necessaries, or else they must purchase them at a great expence; they find they have them for rum and molosses, which is all clear gain to them; that they save at least twenty-five per cent. in having lumber and horses so conveniently from the northern colonies; and get twenty-five per cent. by their rum and molosses, which else would be all loss to them; and what is more, they plainly perceive that this trade must shortly and effectually ruin and destroy our sugar plantations, by enhancing the price of our plantation necessaries, and stopping the product of our manufacture; however specious therefore the argument may be in favour of this trade, nothing less than a prohibition of horses and lumber, as well as of foreign sugar, rum, and molosses, will be of any real service or benefit to the sugar colonies.

For if you allow them to carry lumber, what must they have in exchange for it but sugar? And how will it be possible, on so long a coast as seven or eight hundred miles, as that of those northern colonies, where there are so many bays, creeks, and rivers, and so few officers to prevent the running of these goods, let your penalties be never so strict. But it may be said, perhaps, that France will allow them to carry their rum to their own settlements on the Continent; but that is altogether as improbable and as unlikely as that we should suffer Ireland to supply our plantations with woollen manufactures. Those colonies there are abundantly supplied with brandy from France, very cheap, and which is a spirit much better liked, and what they have been used to.

As to the second objection, that the English sugar colonies cannot take off the lumber they have, or supply them with the rum they want, they answered, if the trade and navigation from the British colonies on the Continent, to the foreign colonies, be prejudicial to the sugar colonies and to Great Britain, and if the restraining it will effectually distress the French in the sugar trade, it ought to be prohibited, though some few traders shall suffer hardships and inconveniency by it. As to disposing of their lumber, the sugar colonies have more reason to apprehend that they shall find a want of it, than that the New England people will have much upon their hands; at least, if what they say be true and founded in fact. For we have for many years been alarmed with scarcity of lumber in New England, and we have felt the effects of it in the advanced price we have paid for it for some time, upon this pretence. Those who were principally concerned there, in the lumber trade, complained last year, 1730, of the great want of oak and fir near the rivers, on which their saw-mills stand; and as they are restrained by several acts of parliament from cutting the king's trees, they will hardly be able to supply us long with lumber, of private property, at any reasonable rate, which deserves consideration. The other part of this objection, That our sugar colonies are not able to supply them with a sufficient quantity of rum, is as groundless as the former. A gentleman of distinction, of St. Christopher's, informed the committee, that himself made two thousand gallons of rum a year, but that if he had encouragement he could make twenty thousand gallons; and the other gentlemen of St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, who made little or no rum now, could make a very great quantity, if there

was a demand for it. Therefore the question that was asked by a New England gentleman, whether we have any rum left on our hands at the end of the year, is not at all to the purpose, though at first sight it seems so.

The distillers in New England find this trade in spirits, made of foreign molasses, very profitable, and for that reason raise objections which have nothing in them, in order to make Boston the great staple of rum. For should the prohibition take place on foreign rum and molasses, then our sugar colonies might send again their rum to Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, and Newfoundland, as they did before, and save the lives of many hundred of poor wretches, who, if this trade be not stopped, will probably be destroyed by this pernicious spirit, made of foreign molasses, which is very unwholesome. If we should admit, for argument sake, that the French sugar colonies, and Surinam (belonging to the Dutch) do take off one half of the New England lumber (which by the way is more than can be proved), the deficiency then of the demand of lumber will be one moiety. Now if it can be proved that the British sugar colonies, upon a proper encouragement, might be improved sufficiently to make as much more rum and sugar as they now do, it will follow that the British sugar colonies may take off all the New England lumber.

Barbadoes is allowed to be at its perfection, and perhaps incapable of being farther improved, so as to increase its annual product of sugar and rum. Antigua is capable of farther improvements, and may enlarge its product of sugar, according to the best computations, at least, one fifth part per annum; as to the product of rum there, it may certainly be enlarged near one half upon proper encouragement, for the rum it now makes is not quite one half of its product of sugar; that is to say, if Antigua makes twenty thousand hogsheds of sugar per annum, its product of rum is not quite ten thousand. But it is evident from the experience of Barbadoes, that out of twenty thousand hogsheds of sugar, there ought to be made near fourteen thousand hogsheds of rum. And this increase, both of sugar and rum, would certainly be made if there was proper encouragement. Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Christopher's, for want of encouragement, do not make one hogshed of rum for three hogsheds of sugar. Whereas, it is evident, by the experience of Barbadoes, that three hogsheds of sugar ought to produce two hogsheds of rum; consequently the product of rum in these three islands might be, upon proper encouragement, increased to as much more as it now is. Add to this, the improvement to be made in those islands, by which the quantity of sugar would be increased. It will follow still farther, that the quantity of rum which those islands are capable of making, would be as much more as they now make, and consequently the demand for lumber would be proportionable. Jamaica, the largest of all the British sugar colonies, is yet but in its infancy; having now as much land uncultivated as would produce above three times its present product if cultivated, as it certainly would be upon proper encouragement.

But farther it appeared by the custom-house books, that all the British sugar colonies do produce about one hundred thousand hogsheds of sugar per annum; and they ought, in proportion, to make about seventy thousand hogsheds of rum; a quantity more than sufficient to supply the New England fishery and Indian trade, even according to their own computation. But the present product of the sugar colonies, under all the incumbent disadvantages, is more than they of New England can prove to be necessary to both those trades; nay, on the contrary, they will have a proof sooner than desired, that their fishery and Indian trade do not take off one half of the rum now actually made in the sugar colonies. South Carolina trades with eight thousand Indians, and yet nine hundred hogsheds is the most they ever imported in one year, both to

supply their home consumption, all their trade with these eight thousand Indians, and to trade to other ports with; and yet this is a colony that is the hottest, has the largest harvest of rice, &c. and is not so well supplied with beer, &c. as the other northern colonies; so let us allow this colony of South Carolina these nine hundred hogsheds; North Carolina one thousand hogsheds; Virginia and Maryland three thousand hogsheds; New York and Philadelphia four thousand hogsheds; Rhode Island and New England ten thousand; which calculations both by their respective custom-house accounts, and by the greatest estimates that ever have been made, are too large, and yet the whole amounts but to eighteen thousand and nine hundred hogsheds; whereas the sugar colonies produce forty thousand, and might fifty-five thousand hogsheds. It was observed also, that the New England people thus taking from the French their molasses, rum, and sugar, and supplying all the other northern colonies, as well as Newfoundland, Great Britain, Ireland, and Africa, with large quantities thereof, was a very great hurt to the revenue; for if these places were not thus supplied, they must be supplied by our own sugar colonies, and then every thousand pounds value of rum or molasses of our own growth must pay his majesty a duty of forty-five pounds, and every thousand pounds value of sugar a duty of one hundred and twenty pounds. It might have been added, that it was likewise a great hurt to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, as well as to the sugar colonies, that we cannot supply those places with rum, sugar, and molasses of our own growth, and in ships and vessels of this kingdom, without the disadvantage of paying for our rum and molasses a duty of four and a half per cent. when New England can supply all the markets with rum, sugar, and molasses, of foreign growth, without paying any of these duties. Was it not for this advantage they have over us, a great many of our vessels that miss a freight of sugar in the West Indies for London, would take some rum, molasses, and sugar, and go to Newfoundland and barter it for fish or oil, and then proceed to some other market with it, and might probably employ themselves to advantage, or might, with a little rum, sugar, and molasses, go to North Carolina, &c. and barter them for a cargo of pitch, tar, and skins, and bring them to Great Britain.

As to what is alledged, that the restraining the northern colonies from the disposing of their horses, provisions, and lumber to the French and Hollanders, might put them upon some employment prejudicial to Great Britain, it is answered, That it hath been shewn already, that there is more reason to fear the islands will not be supplied with lumber as they ought to be, than that the northern colonies will want a vent for their lumber; but if the British colonies could not take off their lumber, they might send it to Spain or Portugal, or to Great Britain, where it might be imported duty-free. They might employ themselves in raising naval stores; the Government hath given them a large bounty upon that trade, which would be of vast advantage to our navigation, and save the nation three or four hundred thousand pounds a year, which is sent out annually to purchase naval stores with from the north. But this favourite trade with the foreign sugar colonies hath diverted them from that excellent design, to the enriching of the French, and to the great prejudice and almost ruin of our own. As to the fourth objection, That the French would distil their molasses themselves, and supply the fisheries with rum, if the northern colonies did not; it was answered, That the French distil but very little rum at present, and know little of the matter; worms, stills, and other distilling utensils cost a great deal of money; and this must be a work of time and very great expence; however, a possibility of an inconvenience that might happen, ought not to have that regard paid to it as to prevent our colonies from being relieved

relieved in a point so very prejudicial to them, as well as to the malt spirits of Great Britain, with which their fisheries were formerly supplied.

To the 5th, That if the northern colonies did not take off the French sugars, they would carry them to other markets themselves; it was answered, the French do already carry many sugars to foreign markets; if so, they may sell to advantage, and the surplus which foreign markets will not take off, goes to our northern colonies to purchase what is absolutely necessary for them, and what they could not have conveniently from any other place; but even here the profit of the freight is gained not by Great Britain, but by the northern colonies only; which is a very small advantage in comparison of the damage done by this means to our sugar colonies, especially as the French can afford their sugars cheaper than ours, and as the high duties paid for sugars in our plantations, make it impossible for us to vend any to the northern colonies.

To the next objection, That if the importation of French and Dutch rum and molasses was prohibited, and they could have none but what they bought of the English sugar islands, or sell their lumber and provisions any where else, then the English islands would set what price they pleased upon their rum, and beat down the price of their lumber and other goods as they thought fit; it was answered, if the case was as the objection states it, the British sugar colonies would be only upon a level with New England; for, as that place is the only market from whence lumber is imported to the sugar colonies, New England, by a parity of reason, is a monopoly of the lumber trade, and therefore does exact in the price of its lumber. But this is not, nor ever can be the truth of the case, either with regard to New England or the sugar colonies; for as in a place of such extent as New England, where the lumber trade is carried on by a multitude of people, with a view to each trader's separate interest, a monopoly of lumber cannot properly be made; so in the sugar colonies that lie at a vast distance from, and are rivals to each other, by the production of the same commodities, a monopoly is impracticable. The New England traders have no less than six British islands to go to for rum and molasses; each of these islands is as independent on the other in its polity as distant in situation. There is little or no intercourse, and less commerce, between those of them which are situated the nearest, and no intercourse at all between the remotest of these islands; because the produce of them all being the same, there can be no exchange of commodities, and consequently no commerce or intercourse. It follows, therefore, where there is no intercourse there can be no combination, no monopoly. On the contrary, each island is a rival to its neighbour, producing the same commodities, and will in common prudence use all proper means to have its full share of trade; to which end nothing can be more conducive than to sell its produce at the cheapest rate possible.

As to the seventh objection, that the French and Dutch colonies furnish our northern colonies with money, which they bring to Great Britain, and lay out in our manufactures, they answered, That there is no money among the French and Dutch sugar colonies. How therefore they can bring money from places where there is not enough for the common uses of life among the inhabitants, is a paradox which they must explain before the world will take it upon their word. If then that assertion be not founded on truth, it follows that they do not lay out money brought from these places in the manufactures of Great Britain; their traffic for fish in the Streights (a trade in which they have supplanted Great Britain) may furnish them with money, but we deny that such money is laid out by them in the manufactures of Great Britain. On the contrary, it is to be presumed, that their money is laid out with the French and Dutch

in Europe for East India goods, French silks, and other foreign commodities; for, as it appears by their own evidence, at the bar of the House of Commons, they import such wares into New England; and we must suppose they pay for them in money or fish, till they can prove that lumber is a valuable commodity in France and Holland. But supposing the New England people do lay out their product of fish in British manufactures, is that a sufficient compensation to Great Britain, for robbing her of the fish trade to the Streights? Do not the New England people, by their confession, acknowledge by implication, that they reap the profit of it both in navigation and trade up the Streights, which used to be enjoyed by Great Britain itself? What advantage is it to Britain to have this money laid out in her manufactures? Would it not be a far greater to be the carrier of these manufactures to the Streights, and to bring home this money in her own ships, navigated by her own sailors?

The inhabitants of the sugar colonies, it is said, are very rich and very luxurious. That the product of these colonies are of the richest sort, and a mine to Great Britain, is allowed, and has been fully proved; but that the proprietors of the soil and manufactures are far from being rich, is evident from the proofs already made to the parliament, that they do not clear five shillings for every hundred pounds weight of sugar they make. This the New England traders would think but a moderate profit upon one of their short voyages; but it is too much for an inhabitant of the sugar colonies, who runs infinitely more risk in the heat of the torrid zone, does the duty, and is liable to run the hazard of a camp in the time of war, and in time of peace live the hardest life of all the inhabitants under the sun. That this is truly the case of the planters in the sugar colonies, all mankind that are acquainted with them will attest; but it may be evinced from the nature of the West Indian estate itself, which is subject to ruin by the French, to fire from the combustible nature of the sugar-canes, which are its product; from the vast expence of materials and edifices for making sugar and rum, and from the like expence in negroes, cattle and mules; from the risk of mortality in this part of their property, which is always half the value of a well settled plantation: and lastly, the expence of feeding, the care, anxiety, and prudent conduct of governing two or three hundred negroes, with strict justice and humanity, and with advantage to himself, is the station of a planter; and is not this a station that requires as much fortitude, industry, and economy, as catching fish, or buying skins from the Indians of New England? In short, without a good share of all the qualifications necessary to conduct an affair, the most complicated in its nature, surrounded with difficulties and hazards, and in which the nicest economy and order must be observed, it is impossible a planter should reap any profit from his estate; therefore, if planters are rich, they must be the best economists, and the most industrious men in the world, and therefore deserve what they acquire.

To the ninth objection, that the trade of the English sugar colonies is at present vastly profitable; for the little island of Barbadoes in the year 1730 imported twenty thousand seven hundred and sixty nine hogsheads of sugar, of which they made £340,396. clear profit. It is admitted to be true, when rum and molasses bear a reasonable price; then a plantation may, with the nicest economy, pay its own charges out of those articles. But if the New England traders take rum from foreigners, and molasses to be distilled into rum by themselves, then the rum and molasses will be so far from bearing such a charge, that on the contrary, they will bear no price at all; but the molasses must be given to the hogs, as the French used to do, until New England taught them how to make a better profit of it. Have not then the Barbadians reason to complain? By the assistance of the New England traders the French now have that great advantage, and the French plantations are now increased above one third of the annual

value, purely by that pernicious trade. This increase to foreigners is a proportionable diminution of our own sugar colonies, and consequently a disadvantage to Great Britain. But is the product of that little island Barbadoes no less than £340,396. brought into the ports of Great Britain in one year, what a fountain of treasure must this be to the kingdom, even by the confession of the enemies to our British sugar colonies? Do therefore the New England traders imagine that the parliament of Great Britain will sacrifice this immense treasure to the advantage of a few New England distillers; or if it was a disadvantage to all New England (from whence Great Britain derives no advantage in comparison of that), would it not be just policy to support the sugar colonies? but 'when the present opposition is considered, as founded on a trade with the French, the natural and implacable enemies of this kingdom, what honest Englishman will look upon it but with disdain? especially after it has appeared evident from reason, from undoubted testimony, and even by the implicit confession of the New England people concerned in this opposition, that the French have increased one third per annum in their wealth by this very trade; that our sugar colonies have declined in proportion, as has been proved already; and to complete the misfortune, the New England traders have drained even the British sugar colonies of all their current cash, for no other purpose but to purchase molasses and rum of the French. This is a fact known by all the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, who are ready to prove it in the most solemn manner.

The two houses having heard the several facts stated, with the proofs; and considered the arguments and inferences drawn from them, passed an act of the following tenor: That after the 25th of December 1738, there should be paid a duty of nine-pence a gallon for all rum and spirits made in the plantations, not subject to Great Britain, on the importation of them into any of the British plantations; that sixpence a gallon should be paid for all foreign molasses and syrups imported, and five shillings for every hundred weight, English money, for sugar and panes imported; and that no sugar, panes, syrups or molasses, should be imported into Ireland, unless shipped in Great Britain. And an allowance of two shillings per hundred weight more than heretofore granted, on the exportation of refined sugars. But the importation of Spanish or Portuguese sugars into Great Britain is still permitted by the said act.

Since the act, the merchants and planters concerned in the British sugar colonies preferred a petition to the House of Commons, setting forth, that by two acts of parliament passed in the 12th and 22d of Charles II. the inhabitants of the said colonies were restrained from sending sugar to foreign markets before they are first landed in Great Britain. That how prudent soever this restraint may have been at the time the sugar trade in the West Indies was entirely in our hands, yet now our sugar islands are in a declining condition, from the increase of the French settlements, it would be highly beneficial not only to them but to Great Britain, to put the British subject in a capacity of disputing foreign markets with the French, and to permit him to carry his sugars earlier and cheaper to those markets than he can do, under the restraint aforesaid. That the sugar colonies import yearly into this kingdom sugar enough for our home consumption, and also a large surplus for re-exportation to foreign parts; but the demand from abroad has greatly decreased within these few years, and the markets for that commodity have been forestalled by the French, not only to the prejudice of the sugar trade but also of the general trade of Great Britain, which must affect the balance thereof. That if British ships were permitted to go to foreign markets under proper restrictions, without unloading here, the whole charge, and

and in a great measure the risk, of a double voyage would be saved ; and the obliging such ships to return to Great Britain, unload, and take their clearance here, before their proceeding on another American voyage, would be attended with this further good effect, that they must afford to carry freight at the cheapest rates, or return home empty ; so that this regulation would extend our navigation, and contribute to make us the carriers of Europe, without prejudicing the revenue, all the duties on sugar being drawn back on the re-exportation of it to foreign parts. For these reasons the petitioners prayed that liberty might be granted of carrying British sugar from our sugar colonies in America directly to any foreign markets to the southward of Cape Finisterre, upon the same conditions that the people of Carolina are permitted to carry their rice to the said markets, and also carrying such sugars to any foreign markets to the northward of Cape Finisterre, after first touching at Great Britain, before they proceed on another West India voyage. But the great tenderness parliament has always had for the famous act of navigation, has prevented these indulgences from being granted, that might otherwise perhaps have been yielded to in behalf of the sugar colonies.

But the present war with France will afford the best means of coming at the truth, in respect to the facts asserted in the papers before-mentioned ; and therefore, whenever a general peace shall be made, and parliament is at leisure to look into affairs of this nature, we have all the reason in the world to expect that this commerce will be put upon such a foot as that the inhabitants both of Great Britain and the plantations, may reap from it the greatest advantages possible. In order to this, the intelligent reader will easily discern that the following steps are necessary. In the first place, due care must be taken to give the inhabitants of the sugar colonies all the relief that is possible from any hardships of which they have, or with good reason might have complained ; such as heavy and exorbitant salaries to their governors, large sums levied upon them, without being applied for their service, and the difficulties they are under, in obtaining speedy and effectual justice, when persons in public stations are inclined to extend their power too far, with a view to promote their private interest. They should likewise have all possible encouragement given them for recovering their foreign trade, and beating out the French and other nations who have interfered in it ; since, in regard to both heads, it ought to be considered that the public benefit, that is to say, the enriching the subjects of Great Britain by the balance of trade in general, is the great point to be held in view ; from the attaining of which, all other incidental advantages, such as advancing the revenue of the crown, enriching particular families, and raising private fortunes, would certainly and necessarily follow, without their entering at all into the motives upon which laws for the good of the plantations are enacted. For if it could be once brought about, that either the old markets for sugar were retrieved or new ones opened, there is no doubt that Jamaica and other islands, where there are lands fit for that purpose uncultivated, would be more fully planted, the inhabitants become more numerous, and their demands from Great Britain consequently larger than they are at present. On the other hand, the same care, the same diligence and alacrity are requisite, with regard to the colonies on the Continent ; but, at the same time it ought to be remembered, that whatever is done to promote the welfare and trade of the sugar colonies, must necessarily tend to the benefit and advantage of the plantations on the Continent, which supply the sugar colonies with lumber, and other things requisite for the carrying on their trade ; and if, besides this, ways and means could be found to open new channels for the benefit of these colonies also, it ought most certainly to be done.

We have spent a great deal of time indeed in surveying thus far the English possessions in the West Indies; but in a work of this nature time could not well be spent better; they are, if I may be allowed the expression, the pacific conquests of this nation. Territories acquired, and for the most part, at least, acquired without shedding blood, which shews that industry is as capable of rendering a nation powerful, as a spirit of war; and that a martial is not a more noble than a trading spirit. What is gained by one war is frequently lost by another; and even while it is kept, the expenses created by a disputed title are greater than the value of the possession; but what becomes ours, by this method of planting, remains always ours, and passes without debate to our posterity, the very power by which we acquire it secures its continuance, and the longer we hold such acquisitions the more valuable they are rendered, and the more effectually annexed to our empire. They are out-works well garrisoned, which yet put us to little or no expence; they are distant dominions, and yet closely connected to us by the commerce which they create; they are continually drawing people without prejudice to their mother country, because the more populous they grow the greater their demands from hence, consequently the quicker our trade here, which will always bring over hither people from other countries.

We may therefore safely affirm, that nothing can be of such consequence to Britain as the improvement of her colonies; and which, at the same time, is a consideration that must powerfully recommend this to our attention, that it lies wholly in our power. We may be disappointed in our views, with respect to other branches of trade, by the intrigues of our enemies, or from the want of a right disposition in our friends, but with regard to this great branch of our commerce, nothing can injure, nothing can disappoint us, nothing can abridge or defeat our successes therein, if we are not wanting to ourselves. We can, from our plantations, bring most of those commodities that are requisite for the support of our foreign commerce; and this is, as well, or rather better, than if we had them here at home; we can, from our colonies, supply ourselves with those necessaries, for want of which only foreigners could distress us, such as iron, plank, hemp, pitch and tar, and if we so pleased there are few things we might not fetch from our plantations; since, it is certain, that indigo, cochineal, and silk, might be had from our southern colonies, and many things from our northern settlements, that have never been so much as talked of, but might be easily discovered, if men well versed in minerals and metals were sent thither. In a word, the plantations were an honour of the last age, and it should be our study to make them the glory of this.

CHAPTER III.

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA,
FROM THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. TO THE REVOLUTION.

1. *A succinct Account of commercial Affairs at the King's Return, and of the Circumstances that favoured the settling new Colonies.*—2. *The State of the Country now called Carolina, from the Time of its first Discovery to the granting of it to the Lords Proprietors by King Charles II. and thence to the Surrender of that Patent.*—3. *A short Description of the Country of Carolina, and the principal Places in that Colony.*—4. *An Account of the Produce, People, Commerce, Shipping and Importance of this Colony to the British Nation.*—5. *The Grant of the Island of Antego to Lord Willoughby, the planting that Island, its Produce, Commerce and Shipping.*—6. *The Conquest of Nova Belgia from the Dutch, the Grant of that Country to the Duke of York, whence is derived its present Name of New York, and a Defence of our Title to that Plantation.*—7. *An Account of that Country, its Situation, Climate, and Product.*—8. *Of its Trade, Interests, and Importance to Great Britain.*—9. *The Grant of the East and West Jerseys to several Proprietors, and the Extent, Product and Trade of these Plantations.*—10. *The Settlement of the Island of New Providence and the Bahama Islands, their present Situation, and the Advantages that may be expected from them.*—11. *An Account of the Charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Company for facilitating the Discovery of a North-west Passage, and of the Settlements that have been made under it.*—12. *The Motives upon which were founded the Grant of the noble Country of Pennsylvania to William Penn, Esq. by King Charles II.*—13. *An Account of the Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, and State of that flourishing Colony.*—14. *The Commerce, Interests, and Importance of Pennsylvania to Britain.*—15. *Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Events.*

1. **A**T the time King Charles II. returned to the possession of his dominions, the nature of trade and the importance of the plantations were generally understood, and by very few better than the king himself, who had a head mighty well turned for the comprehending whatever related to maritime affairs; had improved his notions on that subject in Holland, and had conversed much with persons of quality and character, who had found it necessary to seek shelter from their enemies in those parts of the world. We need not wonder, therefore, that soon after the Restoration various schemes were set on foot for enlarging, and effectually peopling the colonies already planted in America, as well as for settling new colonies in such places as were not already occupied by our own or any other European nation. The king was advised by some, and solicited by others, to grant charters to new colonies from various motives. Prince Robert, or as we usually call him, Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, who had spent some years in America, had great notions of raising a naval strength there, capable of distressing the Spaniards, and of obtaining a share of the gold and silver they bring from thence. He was likewise persuaded, that there were very rich mines

in Florida, and was therefore for promoting, at any rate, discoveries and settlements in that country; the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Ashley, and several others of his first ministry, considered things in a very different light: they thought that plantations might be made useful drains for carrying off warm and turbulent spirits; and that by granting liberty of conscience there to all the different sects who were restrained at home, they might secure peace in Britain, and at the same time procure vast profit from America; for it was a settled maxim with them, 'that industry was the best cure for enthusiasm;' which experience shewed was extremely well founded.

There were some other reasons that contributed not a little to render projects of this nature acceptable to the king; for at that time there were numbers of people that wanted some establishment of this kind for their support, and whom it was much easier to dispose of in this manner, than to find means of rendering them easy and content at home. As, for instance, multitudes of royalists who were undone by the war, and who seeing the success that had attended the planters in Virginia and Barbadoes, were better pleased to seek new fortunes in the West Indies, than to continue in a state of indigence and necessity in England. Many likewise of the army that had been lately disbanded, were also inclined to take the same method for obtaining a comfortable subsistence; and were not afraid of danger and fatigues abroad, to which they had been long inured at home. There were a third sort of people who, either from a disaffection to the government then newly re-established, or for fear of being called to an account for what they had done in former times, were very willing to transport themselves into these distant parts of the king's dominions, that they might have a chance of raising estates there, and at the same time be secure from any after reckonings for what, during our long scene of public confusions they had been doing here: we need not wonder therefore, that as soon as the government was a little settled, many proposals should be made for gratifying the friends to the government, who had very high pretensions to the royal favour, with grants in America, which cost the crown nothing, and which afforded probable means of enriching particular persons at the same time that it opens a sure and certain means of extending the power, increasing the trade, and augmenting the wealth of the nation. We may add, that besides all these reasons, expedients, and advantages, there were likewise some of necessity; for it was evident even to such as were no great politicians, that if some measures were not taken to prevent it, the Dutch and other foreigners, would infallibly fix themselves in those countries which belonged of right to this crown, and which had been hitherto neglected; and therefore it was very wisely judged, that the plantations first settled, should be in those parts of the continent that were in most danger of falling into the hands of other nations.

Upon these considerations, therefore, the administration listened very willingly to a proposal that was made within two years after the king was restored, for planting the country now known by the name of Carolina; which seemed the more worthy of being secured, as lying indisputably in the finest climate in the world; and thereby promising the highest advantages to that European nation which should settle and cultivate it. Neither was it at all improbable, that when the property of this country was once fixed by a charter from the crown, and large privileges offered to such as would go thither and settle, it might be very soon peopled; since amongst the many things for which that country was undoubtedly fit, they were likely to fall upon somewhat that might support and maintain them; it is true that many things were given out of the country at that time, which have not hitherto been verified by experience; but

then, as we shall shew hereafter at large, it seems to be rather imputable to the want of industry and application in the inhabitants, than to any defect in the soil or climate : but to have just notions of this, and from thence to form a right idea of the value of this noble country, than which the globe affords not a better, it is necessary that we should enter into a few particulars, that we may thoroughly apprehend by what right we possess it ; how it came to be abandoned by another nation that seized it while unoccupied by us ; after what manner our first plantations were made ; what great changes have happened in the constitution of the colony ; the state it is in at present ; the benefits which Great Britain reaps from it, and what reasonable hopes there are, that it may yet turn more to our advantage. Of all which heads we shall treat as clearly and as concisely as it is possible.

2. The country of Carolina is part of that vast region of North America which was formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, a name bestowed by John Ponce de Leon, in the Year 1512 ; of whose adventures and discoveries we have already spoken largely : He advanced, however, no farther northwards than the river of St. Matheo, and therefore it is plain, that the Spaniards never had any just title to Carolina : But it is, however, very true that they flattered themselves, that his having touched upon this continent, gave them a right to it ; which notion, if well founded, would give us a better right, since Sebastian Cabot had been several years before on the northern coast of this very country, though it is doubtful whether he advanced so far south as St. Matheo. The Spaniards, who desired to secure it to themselves eight years afterwards, sent Vaquez de Ayllon to make a farther discovery of it : He came upon the north coast, and called the north-north-west river by the name of Jordon. He did nothing except inviting many of the natives on board his ships, where, when he had got them, he hoisted sail, and carried them into miserable bondage. In the year 1526, Charles V. Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, sent Pamphilio Narvaez to Florida, who staid so long in the south-west part of this country, which is the most barren, that his people eat one another, his crew having spent their provisions. Ten years afterwards, Ferdinando Soto came hither in search of gold and silver mines, having a little army of nine hundred foot and five hundred horse. Himself and three parts of his soldiers died through want, by sickness, and the Indians, and the rest, were led back by Lewis Moscos to New Spain, though not without great difficulty, the natives setting upon them several times in their march, and killing all that fell into their hands. This unfortunate and expensive expedition so discouraged the Spaniards, that for several years they made no more attempts in those parts, and indeed they searched no farther than that part of the continent which lies opposite to the gulph of New Spain, and not within, and beyond the Streights of Bahama, which is the most fertile and rich, abounding in many valuable commodities.

The French perceiving the Spaniards neglected this long tract of land, Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. procured two of the king's ships to be sent thither ; the command of which he gave to Jean Ribaut, who, after a voyage of two months, arrived at the River Dolphin, between that of St. Matheo and that of May ; lying about the 30th degree. The next river to that of May he called the Seine, the next to that, the Somme, then Loire, then the Charente and Garonne, at the mouth of Albemarle River, then called the Great River. The port being safe and commodious, he built a fort, which he called Charles Fort, and gave it the name of Port Royal, in 32 degrees, bordering on Virginia, now North Carolina, where the first settlement was made by any European nation. The civil war raging in France, Ribaut's soldiers mutinied for want of supplies ; the natives, it is true, were very kind to them out of

hatred to the Spaniards; but they could not furnish them with many necessaries that they wanted; and the admiral was so engaged in politics at home, that he had not leisure to provide for the wants of his colony, so Ribaut, having made some discoveries, in the north-east part of Florida, returned to France; and in his return his company were reduced to such extremity, that they killed and eat one of their own men, and probably would have done so by others, had they not accidentally met with an English ship; the master of which furnished them with some provisions. A peace being concluded two years after in France, between the papists and the protestants, Coligny, who was then in favour at court, procured other ships to be sent to this country, which was now called Carolina, from Fort Charles, as that was from the French king.

The command of those ships and men on board, was given to Lewis Laudoner, who was ordered to carry on the settlement. He arrived here the 20th of June, 1564, with three ships, and was kindly received by the inhabitants; but could find no gold or silver, though he spent much labour and time about them. His provisions being almost all gone, and the natives either unwilling or unable to furnish him with more, Laudoner resolved to return also to France; and as he was preparing to depart, Jean Ribaut arrived with three ships, which had so good an effect on the Indians, that they seemed to be as welcome to them as to the French: The Kings of Homoloa, Servaratri, Almacam, Malica, and Castri, waited upon Ribaut to congratulate his arrival, and promised to conduct him to the Apalachian mountains, which part Carolina from Virginia. The French conceived great hopes from this settlement, but all vanished on the arrival of the Spaniards, who with a squadron of ships and land forces drove the French out of their forts, killed Ribaut and six hundred men, after having given them quarter, and obliged Laudoner, with a few of his countrymen who remained alive, to return to France.

The French king was less moved with this outrage committed on his subjects, because they were protestants; and indeed, it is thought, Coligny intended by this settlement to secure a retreat for himself and his brethren of the reformed religion in case they were conquered in France. Peter Melanda commanded the Spaniards, who dislodged the French, and so provoked the Indians, by his cruelty and injustice, that they were very ready to revenge themselves when opportunity offered, as it did not long after. For Captain de Gorgues, a French gentleman, at his own cost, fitted out three stout ships, and with two hundred and eighty men sailed to Carolina, where he took the fort, and put the Spaniards therein all to the sword. They had built two other forts, which he easily reduced, and served the garrisons as he did that of Fort Charles; he demolished them, and was assisted by the kings of Homoloa and Servaratri. The French travelled into the dominions of the Great King of Apalacha, near the mountains, where they converted many Indians to Christianity. These Indians were more civil than those to the northward, their king's dominions larger, and their manners, in a great measure, resembled those of the Mexicans, from whom they were thought to be descended. We do not find that Monsieur de Gorgues made any settlement here, or that the Spaniards endeavoured to recover the country, which from the year 1567 lay deserted by all European nations until the reign of King Charles II. of England.

In the year 1622 several English families flying from the Massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, were driven upon these coasts and settled in the province of Malica near the head of the river of May, where they became a kind of missionaries among the Malicans and Apalachites. The king of the country is said to have been baptized; and in the year 1653, Mr. Brigstock, an Englishman, went to Apalacha, where he was honourably entertained by his countrymen, who were there before him, and from his relation of the country ours is taken.

Such was the situation of things, and it had been abandoned by the French for near one hundred years, when king Charles the Second made a grant thereof, bearing date March 24, 1663, to Edward Earl of Clarendon, then Lord High Chancellor of England, George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkley, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colliton, from the north-end of the island called Luck Island, which lies in the Southern Virginia Sea, and within 36 degrees of north latitude, and to the west, as far as the South Seas, and so southerly as far as the river San Matheo, which borders on the coast of Florida, and is within 31 degrees of north latitude, and so west, in a direct line, as far as the South Seas afore said, with all royal fisheries, mines, power of life and limb, and every thing necessary in an absolute propriety, paying a quit-rent of twenty marks yearly. These proprietors afterwards obtained another grant, which somewhat varied the bounds of the province, by fixing its northern frontier at Carotoch River in 26 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and extending it to the latitude of 29 degrees to the south, within which bounds both the Carolinas and the new province of Georgia are included.

The plan of government for this new colony was struck out by that great statesman, Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, and digested into form by the famous Mr. John Lock; so that great expectations were raised by it. But without entering into a long detail upon this subject, it is sufficient to say, that how fair soever it might appear in theory, it was found by experience impossible to carry it into practice; so that after struggling with the inconveniences produced by it for about sixty years, to the prejudice of the planters and proprietors; the only remedy that could at last be found, was to get rid of this fine spun constitution, in which it was pretended all the errors of our own were cured, and to put the province under the protection and into the hands of his majesty, which was accordingly done; and this remedy has answered all the ends that could be expected from it in so few years.

This surrender was made by the proprietors to Edward Bertie, Samuel Horfy, Henry Smith, and Alexis Clayton Esqrs. in trust for the crown. The proprietors, in their own right, or in trust, were then Henry Duke of Beaufort, William Lord Craven, James Bertie Esq. Doddington Greville Esq. Henry Bertie Esq. Mary Dauson, Elizabeth More, Sir John Colliton, John Cotton, and Joseph Blake Esqrs. who were possessed of seven-eighths of the propriety of the province, and sold it to the crown for 17,500l. Each proprietor, who had a whole share, having 2,500l. The outstanding quit-rents, and other incomes, due to the proprietors from the people of the province amounting to somewhat above 9,000l. also were sold to the crown for 5,000l. which was paid to the above mentioned proprietors after the sale and surrender had been confirmed by a particular act of parliament, in the year 1728, entitled, "An act for establishing an agreement with seven of the lords proprietors of Carolina, for surrender of their title and interest in that province to his majesty." It will appear by the following clause in the act of parliament, that the remaining one-eighth of the propriety, and arrears of quit rents afore said, were reserved to the right honourable John Lord Carteret, now earl of Granville, "Saving and reserving always to the said John Lord Carteret, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, all such estate, right, title, &c. to one eighth-part of the said province or territories, and to one-eighth part of all arrears, &c."

In consequence of the powers granted to his majesty by this act, he has ever since appointed governors of North and South Carolina, and there is a great prospect of its becoming a purchase highly beneficial to the crown, which will, however, in a great measure

measure depend on the capacity and conduct of the governors they send thither, who ought to have true notions of the interests of king and people, and a firmness of mind equally capable of resisting flattery and despising clamour, to both which he will be as much exposed in these, as in any other countries in the world, if from what has already passed, we may form any judgment of what will happen in succeeding times.

3. After having given the reader an account of the time and manner in which we became possessed of this colony, and the means by which its government has been changed since it was settled, we are next to enter into an exact description of the country itself, that the reader may be the better able to judge of the value of this plantation, and of the certainty of those rules, for determining the best climates, and the commodities that may be expected, either from the bounty of nature, or the industry of the inhabitants; with respect to which, more rational hopes could scarce be formed of any place in our possession, or, indeed, of any European nation in America, than of this; which, in point of situation, as I have hinted more than once, is as happy as could be wished, and in that respect certainly merits the reader's particular attention. Carolina is situated between the extremes of heat and cold, but the heat is more troublesome in summer than the cold in winter, their winters being very short, and their frosty mornings frequently succeeded by warm days. The air is, for the most part, serene and clear, both in summer and winter; yet they have their winter rains, and sometimes very heavy showers about midsummer; and especially if the wind changes suddenly from the south-east to the north-west, for then it blows exceeding cold, and brings distempers on those who do not take care to guard against it; but the country is generally healthful, where people live regularly, and use any precaution: Those, indeed, who after a hot day expose themselves to the cool breezes of the evening, usually feel the effects of it, as others do that indulge their appetites in eating fruit, and drinking pernicious liquors to excess.

They are subject to hurricanes as well as the Caribbee Islands, but these do not happen every year; and sometimes are so favourable as not to do much mischief in seven years. There was a very terrible one which happened in the year 1729. This province is now divided into North and South Carolina; and, as we have before shewn, the country now known by the name of Georgia is also within the original limits of this colony. At present we shall concern ourselves only with the two first mentioned provinces, intending to speak more of the last in its proper place. North Carolina is bounded by Virginia on the north, the ocean on the east, by a line drawn in 34 degrees from the ocean to the mountains on the south, and by that part of Florida, possessed by the Indians, on the west, and is subdivided into fourteen townships or parishes. But there is not one town or church, as I can learn, in the country; and it is but very lately that the society for the propagating the gospel has sent itinerant preachers amongst them. South Carolina is divided from North Carolina, by the above-said imaginary line on the north, by the ocean on the east, by the river Savannah, which separates it from Georgia, on the south, and by the country of the Indians on the west, being subdivided into fourteen parishes or townships, each of them having a good church of brick or timber.

But the chief and almost the only town in both Carolina's, is Charles Town, situate in 32 degrees 45 minutes north latitude, and on the point of a peninsula, formed by Ashly and Cooper Rivers; the former of which is navigable for ships twenty miles above the town; and for boats and pettyaugers (large canoes) near 40 miles. The other river is not navigable for ships so far, but for boats and pettyaugers much farther; the bar before the harbour has sixteen feet water at a low tide, and there is good riding



riding when a ship is got close to the town, the harbour being secured by a Fort called Johnson's Fort, which has about twenty guns in it, level with the surface of the water. The town was regularly fortified some years ago, and several of the bastions, near the water, are still in being, and in good repair. But the bastions, pallisadoes, and fosse, next the land, being much damaged by a hurricane, and deemed of too great an extent to be defended by the inhabitants, General Nicholson caused them to be demolished. The town now contains upwards of six hundred houses, generally well built, some of them of brick, but more of timber, and most of them tashed, forming regular and spacious streets; and their church is much the most magnificent in English America, having three isles, an organ, and gallery all round the church.

The town of Beaufort is situated on the island of Port Royal, in 31 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, an hundred miles south of Charles Town; the continent and island forming a fine capacious harbour, which might hold the Royal Navy of England. The island on which the town stands, consists of near one thousand acres, and is navigable all round for boats and pettyaugers, and one half of it for shipping, having four fathom water close to the high bluff, so that ships may load and unload from the shore, without the assistance of boats. The harbour is secured by a fort built some years since, on which twelve culverins are mounted, but the town and island have no fortification; nor is the harbour so well fortified as a place of this importance deserves, especially as it lies so nigh Spanish Florida, and is said to be demanded by the Spaniards as part of their territories. There is not, indeed, above fifty or three score houses in the town of Beaufort at present, but from its advantageous situation, and the goodness of the harbour, it is expected that this town will one day be the capital of Carolina: It is already the station for the British Squadron in those seas. There is another port town lately erected at Wingaw, about fifty miles to the northward of Charles Town, to which they have given the name of George Town, and the society for the propagation of the gospel have a missionary here.

It would be needless to enter into a large description of this country, or of the towns that are erected in it; only it may not be amiss to say that North Carolina is within these few years become quite a different country from what it was, and the number of people therein is continually increasing; so that there is good reason to believe that whenever the inhabitants are blessed with a wise, active, prudent, and public spirited governor, this country may be so improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than from any of the accounts hitherto received of it could be expected. Indeed it may justly be affirmed that the welfare and prosperity of all our colonies depend so much upon the choice of governors, that we can scarce conceive any thing of so great importance as the crown's being extremely careful to vest none with such authority, but men of known capacity, established reputation, and competent fortunes.

4. As to the produce, strength, and commerce of Carolina, the best account we have, is from Colonel Purry, a man of great judgment, industry, and integrity, who went thither with a view to settle, as he did, and therefore his accounts may be very safely depended upon. He observes that all sorts of trees and plants will grow there as well as can be wished; particularly vines, wheat, barley, oats, pease, beans, hemp, flax, cotton, tobacco, indigo, olives, orange trees, and citron trees, as also white mulberry trees for feeding of silkworms; and that the lands are not difficult to clear, because there are neither stones nor brambles, but only great trees, which do not grow very thick, so that more land may be cleared there in one week, than could be done in Europe in a month. The custom of the country is, that, after having cut down these great trees, they leave the stumps for four or five years to rot, and afterwards easily root

root them up, in order to manure the land. It is therefore very certain that Carolina is in general an excellent country. *

It is true the ground is sandy, but then it is a sand impregnated with salt or nitre, so that it brings forth in great abundance, as the like soil does in divers parts of Europe. But what seems peculiar to Carolina, there are a great number of plantations that have been continually cultivated for near seventy years, which yet produce great plenty, without ever being manured by the least dung, for they never lay any on their grounds; the planter only turns up the superficies of the earth, and all that he plants and sows therein quickly grows and thrives: Those who understand ever so little of agriculture will be obliged to own, that if the lands in Europe were not constantly manured, their strength would be so exhausted that at length the Crops would not pay for their seed; but a man who has a little land in Carolina, and is not willing to work above two or three hours in a day, may very easily live there, even on so little labour. Another consideration deserving our notice is, the progress of the first colonies; their sudden advancement; the riches of the present inhabitants; the great number of public expences for which they provide; the great trade they carry on at present; and lastly, their misfortunes and losses, which are entirely repaired. The better to comprehend these matters, we shall only make the following observations: That there were no people in Carolina till near fourscore years ago; for the English did not send any thither till the year 1670: That they had at first a very fatal beginning; afflicted with sickness, and even the plague, which daily diminished the number of the people: That cruel destructive divisions broke out amongst them: That they had a very bad government under the lords proprietors, being also without justice, order, or discipline: That at a certain time the pirates interrupted their trade and navigation: That they have often had great droughts: That a terrible fire consumed almost all Charles Town: That they have been at great expence in fortifications, public edifices, churches, &c. That they have often sustained long wars with the French, Spaniards, and particularly with the Indians, who once united together to destroy the whole province. That notwithstanding all these misfortunes, the people of Carolina, except those who give themselves up to debauchery, are all rich, either in slaves, furniture, clothes, plate, jewels, or other merchandizes, but especially cattle; which shews the goodness of the country they inhabit.

Silk-worms, in Carolina, are hatched from the egg, about the middle of March; at the same time that the mulberry leaves, which are their food, begin to open; being attended and fed six weeks, they eat no more; but have small bushes set up for them to spin themselves into balls; which thrown into warm water, are wound off into raw silk. Rosin, tar, and pitch, are all produced from the pine trees; rosin, by cutting channels in the standing green trees that meet at a point at the foot of the tree, where is placed a receiver; the channels are cut as high as one can reach with an ax; and the bark is peeled off from all those parts of the tree that are exposed to the sun, that the heat of it may the more easily force out the turpentine, which being taken from the receiver, and melted in kettles becomes rosin. Tar is made thus: They prepare a circular floor of clay declining a little towards the center; from which is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs; upon the floor is built up a large pile of dry pine wood split in pieces, and surrounded with a wall of earth, which covers it all over only a little at the top, where the fire is first kindled: After the fire begins to burn, they cover it likewise with earth, to the end there may be no flame, but only heat sufficient to force the tar downward into the floor; they temper the heat as they please, by thrusting a stick through
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the earth, and letting the air in at as many places as they see convenient. Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles set in furnaces, or by burning it in round clay holes made in the earth.

Black cattle have mightily increased since the first settling of the colony. At out forty years ago it was reckoned a great deal to have three or four cows, now some people have a thousand head; and for one man to have two hundred is very common. The cows graze in the forest, and the calves being separated and kept in pastures fenced in, they return home at night to suckle them; they are first milked, then shut up in a fold all night, milked again in the morning, and then turned out into the woods. Here are hogs in abundance; they go daily to feed in the woods, where they rove several miles, feeding on nuts and roots; but having a shelter made at home, to keep them warm, and something given them to eat, they generally return in the evening. The beef and pork that are raised here find a good market in the sugar islands.

The trade of Carolina is now so considerable, that of late years there have sailed from thence, annually, above two hundred ships laden with merchandize of the growth of the country, besides three ships of war, which they commonly have for the security of their commerce; and last winter they had constantly five, the least of which had above an hundred men on board. It appears from the custom-house entries, from March 1730 to March 1731, that there sailed, within that time, from Charlestown, two hundred and seven ships, most of them for England; which carried among other goods, forty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven barrels of rice, about five hundred pounds weight per barrel; ten thousand seven hundred and fifty barrels of pitch; two thousand sixty-three of tar; and seven hundred and fifty-nine of turpentine; of deer-skins, three hundred casks containing eight or nine hundred each; besides a vast quantity of Indian corn, pease, beans, &c. beef, pork, and other salted flesh; beams, plank, and timber for building, most part of cedar, cypress, sassafras, oak, walnut, and pine.

They carry on a great trade with the Indians, from whence they get their great quantities of deer-skins, and of other wild beasts, in exchange for which they give them only lead, powder, coarse cloth, vermillion, iron, strong waters, and some other goods, by which they have a very considerable profit. The great number of slaves makes another part of the riches of this province, there being above forty thousand negroes, which are worth, one with another, twenty-five pounds each. Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of work is very dear; tailors, shoemakers, smiths, &c. would be particularly acceptable there; a skilful carpenter is not ashamed to demand thirty shillings a day besides his diet, and the common wages of a workman is twenty shillings per day, provided he speaks English, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a workman has but ten shillings per day, he thinks he labours for almost nothing, though he has his maintenance besides; but this is Carolina money. Most of their shoes are brought from England, and generally sell for forty shillings per pair; not but that they have hides enough, and very cheap, an ox's hide being sold for twenty shillings; neither are they destitute of the means to tan them, for they make very good lime with oyster-shells, and the bark of oak trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the trouble of gathering; they therefore want only a sufficient number of good tanners and shoemakers. I might say the same of leather-dressers, since they send every year to England above two hundred thousand deer-skins undressed; yet Carolina produces ochre naturally, and good fish-oil may be had from New York, or New England, very cheap; so that they might be dressed and made up into breeches in the country, for which those skins are very proper, being cool in
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summer, and warm in winter. There is not one potter in all the province, and no earthen-ware but what comes from England, nor glafs of any kind; so that a pot-house and a good glafs-house would succeed perfectly well, not only for Carolina but for all the colonies in America. There is a kind of sand and earth which would be very proper for those purposes, as also wood and fern in abundance, if they had but workmen to make use of them.

It may seem strange to affirm this, in an age when it is well known, that men are inclined to go almost any where, and may be tempted to almost any thing, from the hopes of money. These facts, however, are very true, neither is it very difficult to account for them; for if without much labour and pains not only a bare subsistence may be gained, but in time also good estates may be raised by methods already in use, we are not to expect that our people in the colonies will either run hazards or give themselves much trouble to strike out new ways to wealth, even though they should be convinced that such ways, at the same time they increased their own fortunes, would prove beneficial to their mother-country likewise. There are indeed some people who take a pleasure in running down the countries we have planted in America, and in making their countrymen believe that they are amused with fine stories, without truth, or which, at least, have but a small mixture of truth in them. They say, for instance, that though English wheat will grow in Carolina, yet it is apt to mildew, and almost always runs up into straw, and produces but a small grain, and that it is very difficult to keep it from the weevil. These, however, are inconveniences felt in other countries, where very good wheat grows, for which many remedies have been found and applied with success, as doubtless they might be there, if the planters went about it. The truth of the matter is, that rice is raised without so much trouble, and as they can exchange this in Pennsylvania and New York, almost weight for weight for flour, they are content, and indeed think it a happiness they can have bread without being at much pains in procuring it.

The same thing may be said of wine, which it is now generally agreed cannot be made there, because their grapes ripening in June, when their great heats and heavy rains come on, are very seldom fit for pressing. But it is very certain, that this is no better than an excuse, since the wild grape ripens in October, and persons skilful in vineyards would soon teach them the means of making use of these. The very same objections were raised in reference to the country about the Cape of Good Hope; and it was as positively said that no wine could be made there, but the Dutch have shewn what strength there was in the objection, by their improving into a paradise a place we despised, and thought not worth the keeping; and while Madeira is to be had so cheap, I am convinced no grapes will ripen kindly in Carolina. As to silk, the same objection does not lie; for it is well known, there are woods of mulberry-trees there, upon which the worms feed and spin as well as in any place in the world; I may add, that silk has been brought over from Carolina, as good, in the opinion of the best judges, as any that comes from Piedmont, for which we pay large sums of money every year; but it falls out unluckily, that from the end of March to the beginning of May, when the worms want most attendance, all the hands in Carolina are employed in planting and hoeing their rice, so that they have no time to spare for procuring a commodity, of which hitherto they do not seem to know the true value.

But all the faults do not lie on that side of the water; since it is true, that though there comes a great deal of pitch from thence, we have but little tar from Carolina; whereas, there have been formerly many thousand barrels brought in a year, not at all inferior to the best tar from Norway; which was, by this means, reduced from three

pounds to fifteen shillings a barrel, with which reduction, it seems, we are content to have recourse again to the north country tar, and no longer make use of what might come from this plantation. We may from these few hints see clearly, that as great as our trade to these colonies is, it might still become much greater, and that how beneficial soever they may be to Great Britain, we are far from deriving from them all the benefits we might do; and though considered, in one light, this seems a little distasteful, yet, if we view it in another, it affords us a very comfortable prospect; since, when we are disposed to apply ourselves heartily to the improvement of this commerce, we have a moral certainty, that our endeavours will succeed, and that Great Britain can never feel any sensible decay of trade, while she preserves and cherishes her plantations.

5. Among other persons of quality and distinction who were justly entitled to the favour of king Charles, there were few who had a better title than Francis Lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, and who in 1663 obtained a grant of the island of Antego, in which he settled a colony about three years after. The country had been known before, and if I am not mistaken, Sir Thomas Warner had attempted to settle it. How it came to pass that after the death of Lord Willoughby, who removed hither, this island came again into the hands of the Crown I cannot say, but without all doubt, the fact is true, and this island now makes a part of the government with the rest of the Leeward Islands, and is said to owe its present happy situation to the care, industry, and skill of Sir Christopher Codrington, who made it the seat of his government when he was General and Commander in Chief of those islands. It was here, that in the latter end of the late Queen's time Governor Park was killed by the people; an affair that will be ever remembered, both in that part of the world and this, though it does not seem to be well understood in either; the fact most certainly was barbarous and bloody enough; but, at the same time, it is as certain the provocations the people had received were great, which was the reason that most of those concerned in this murder escaped with impunity.

But our business lies not so much with men as with things, and therefore we shall proceed to the description of the island Antego, or as it is sometimes written Antigua, which lies in 16 degrees 11 minutes north latitude, and in 63 degrees of longitude west from London. It is of a circular form, about twenty miles in diameter, and near sixty in circumference. The climate is not to be boasted of, since it is allowed to be hotter than Barbadoes, and very subject to hurricanes. The soil too is sandy, and a great part of the island is overgrown with wood; but the worst of it is, that there are but few springs, and not so much as a single brook in the whole island, so that the people depend chiefly upon rain-water, for which they are sometimes distressed; yet, notwithstanding these inconveniences, it is a very considerable and very thriving plantation.

This island is divided into five parishes, four of which are towns; as St. John's Town to the northward, and Falmouth, Parham, and Bridge Town to the southward; the other parish is St. Peter's. St. John's Harbour is the most commodious, besides which there are several other good harbours, as Five Island Harbour, so called from five little islands to the westward of the isle of Carlisle Bay; English Harbour, at the bottom of which is Falmouth Town, defended by Charles Fort; next to it is Willoughby Bay; on the east shore is Bridge Town, the Green Bay, off which is Green Island; then Nonfuch Harbour, a spacious bay. On this coast, on the north-east shore, are several little islands called Polecat Islands and Goat Island, and more to the northward Goana Island, Bird Island, Long Island, Maiden Island, Prickle-Pear Island. The forts are now in pretty good repair; Monkshill Fort is mounted with thirty pieces of ordnance, it has a magazine with about four hundred and ten muskets, and eight hundred bayonets,

in good order ; the other fort erected at St. John's Harbour, is mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon ; there are seven other batteries raised for the defence of so many landing places, in all mounted with twenty-six guns.

The capital of the island is St. John's Town, which consists of about two hundred houses ; and the number of souls in all this colony are one thousand five hundred at present. It has greater plenty of cattle and other beasts, especially venison, than any other of our Caribbee Islands ; the animals of which are much the same, as also their productions. Sugar, indigo, ginger, and tobacco, were the chief growths and commodities of Antego, when it was first planted, but now indigo and ginger are very rarely cultivated there. The sugar and tobacco were both bad of the sort ; the former so black and coarse, that one would scarce have thought any art could have refined it ; and, as if our sugar bakers scorned to put such dirt into their coppers, it was generally shipped off for Holland and Hamburg, being sold for sixteen shillings a hundred weight, when other Muscovado sugars fetched eighteen or nineteen shillings a hundred. The planters of Antego have since improved their art, and as good Muscovado sugar is now made there as in any of our sugar islands. They have also clayed some sugar, which was not known to have been done in Antego forty years ago.

Though there is not much tobacco planted in this island, what there is now is not so bad as was formerly, when it was sold for no other use but to make snuff. The wild cinnamon tree is said to grow in the lowlands, or favanah woods in Antego. After Jamaica and Barbadoes, this has been considered by some as the most considerable of our islands in America ; and as there is still a great quantity of land capable of improvement, and it is allowed the people there might make a third more sugar than they do, we may venture to allow, that it either is, or may be so ; and if we consider what must have been gained by our commerce with this island for upwards of fourscore years, we cannot but judge that it has been highly advantageous to this nation, and very well deserves all the care and concern that can possibly be expressed for its protection and preservation.

6. The next colony in America, which our method leads us to consider, is that of New York, which is ours by a double right, viz. of discovery and conquest. It was undoubtedly part of the country, the coasts of which were first viewed by Sebastian Cabot, and as such made a part of the original province of Virginia, I mean the country known under that name in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards within the limits of the country, granted by king James to the western company. But before it could be settled, that is about the year 1608, the famous navigator Hudson discovered that river which has since borne his name, and the country adjacent, which he afterwards sold to the Dutch who planted there ; but this was looked upon as illegal, because they had not king James's licence, which it seems they afterwards obtained. There are some English writers so very partial in favour of this republic, as to be angry that this settlement should be looked upon by us as a kind of invasion, but surely this is without reason ; for if the subjects of any country were at liberty to sell and dispose of places they had but just seen, which was the case of Captain Hudson, the inconveniences would be so great as to produce endless wars, and therefore this practice must be understood to be contrary to the law of nations.

But however that matter might be, king James was so great a lover of peace, that very probably he was glad to rid himself of the present difficulty, by granting them a licence ; yet if we duly consider this, the granting such a licence was a thing very destructive to the interest of Great Britain, and might have proved extremely prejudicial to our northern colonies, and have been such a bone of contention, as must have

have for ever prevented any harmony between the maritime powers. These reflections, which rose naturally out of the subject, have led me a little from my purpose, which was to explain the first settling here, which the Dutch made a little before we planted New England; and from their first coming, being seated in islands and at the mouth of a good river, their plantations were in a thriving condition, and they began in Holland to promise themselves vast things from their new colony. The English puritans in Holland, who first removed to America, intended to settle here, having had an inviting description of the river, climate and soil, from the Hollanders, who did not care however, that the English should be so near their plantations, as to be tempted to encroach on them, considering the flaw that was in their title. The English that went from Holland, intended to settle on the coast near Fair Field County in New England, lying between Connecticut and Hudson's river, but the Dutch apprehended they would there be too near neighbours. These English as has been already related, falling in with Cape Cod, after having refreshed a little, tacked about to the southward for Hudson's river; but Jones, who was the master of the ship they came in, having been bribed by the Hollanders to carry them and land farther to the northward, instead of putting to sea entangled them among dangerous shoals, which made them willing to get ashore where they were, and give over the design upon Hudson's river. The Dutch had two or three years before been insulted here by Sir Samuel Argall, in his way from Virginia to New Scotland.

He destroyed their plantations, and it was to prevent the like for the future, they applied to king James for his licence to stay there to build cottages, and to plant for traffic as well as subsistence, pretending it was only for the convenience of their ships touching there for fresh water and fresh provisions in their voyage to Brazil; but they by little and little, extended their limits every way, built towns, fortified them, and became a flourishing colony. In an island, called Manahattan, at the mouth of Hudson's river, they built a city which they named New Amsterdam, and the river was called by them the Great River. The bay to the east of it had the name of Nassau given it; about one hundred and fifty miles up the river they built a fort, which they called Orange Fort, and from thence drove a profitable trade with the Indians, who came over land as far as from Quebec, to deal with them. Henry Christien, the master of a ship, the same who gave the name to Martha's Vineyard, which he discovered, as the Dutch say, was the first governor there, and his successor was Jacob Elkin, put in by the West India Company in Holland, to whom the states-general granted this country. The first bounds of Nova Belgia were Maryland on the south, the main land, as far as could be discovered westward, which would stretch to the nations bordering on the Mississippi, the great river of Canada northward, and New England eastward; but, as will appear hereafter, the limits of New York are not so large at present.

The Dutch colonies were in a very thriving condition when they were attacked by the English, which was at the opening the first Dutch war in king Charles's reign. We find some writers very willing to represent this as a very unjust war, because Sir Robert Carr was sent to attack this plantation before they, in that part of the world, could have any notice of the war; but then it ought to be remembered, that it was after the Dutch Admiral de Ruyter attacked our settlements in Africa, and therefore I cannot think that this is so very bad as it has been represented, or that it can at all prejudice our title to this country. The commission of Sir Robert Carr, empowering him to act against the Dutch, was dated on St. George's day 1664, but he did not arrive till the latter end of the year. He brought with him between two and three thousand

thousand men, and offering protection to such of the inhabitants as submitted, he became master of the whole country without a blow; and it does not appear that the people were at all displeased at changing their masters. His majesty, after it was reduced, gave leave to such of the inhabitants to stay as were inclined thereto, and suffered the rest to depart freely with their effects. The number of the latter was but very inconsiderable in comparison of the former; and Colonel Richard Nichols, who was left governor of the province, and continued so twenty years, brought the people not only to relish, but to be in love with the English government; so that there never was the least disturbance among the inhabitants on the score of their being subjects to England.

The Duke of York granted away a part of this province, as will be shewn hereafter; but the remainder, which is what we now style New York, continued a royal government, as it still is, but very much changed for the better; since from being one of the poorest, it is become one of the most considerable that we have in America, in consequence of the colony's becoming one of the most flourishing, and this, though it has had the misfortune of being sometimes governed by men of most arbitrary principles, and capable of doing such violent things, as nothing but their distance from Great Britain could, I think, induce them to venture upon. The last governor of the Jerseys, who is lately dead, felt the effects of such a spirit when in another station, and rose to that government by suffering with decency and dignity the outrages of one clothed with that authority; but when he came himself to execute that office, he shewed, what we very seldom see, that there are some natures which even power cannot corrupt; for he behaved so well as to abolish the memory of past grievances, and to leave a perfect model for his successors in that government.

7. The country of New York, properly so called since it became English, is thus bounded, viz. by Canada on the north, New England on the east, the ocean on the south, and the five nations and New Jersey on the west, and is about two hundred miles in length from north to south, that is, from the mouth of Hudson's river to the Lake of Champlain or Corlaer, and it might be extended two hundred miles farther north if we possessed all the country we claim, as far as the river St. Laurence; but the French having built forts on the Lake Champlain, have in a manner, expelled us from the north part of this country; the English only possess the country south of that lake at present, and this is exceeding narrow in most places; particularly between Connecticut colony on the east, and New Jersey on the west, it is scarce twenty miles broad. But to this we must add the island Manhattan, which the city of New York stands upon, Staten Island and Long Island, all which lie before the mouth of Hudson's river, and are comprehended in New York proper.

This province is divided into ten counties, which going from north to south down Hudson's river, are Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, King's County, Chester, New York County, Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County, which are pretty well replenished with provisions and farms, but have not many great towns in them. The chief towns of New York city, Schenectida, Albany, Westchester, &c. in all, or most of which towns, are missionaries, either ministers, school-masters, or catechists, sent over and maintained chiefly by the society for the propagation of the gospel, who have taken most laudable care in this respect. New York city is situated in 40 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and 47 degrees 4 minutes western longitude, at the south end of York County, being an island at the mouth of Hudson's river, about fourteen miles long and two or three broad. As this town stands upon an eminence, and contains upwards of a thousand houses well built with brick and stone, with a wall and
forts,

forts, which serve as well for ornament as defence, there is scarce any town in North America that makes a better, and but a very few so good an appearance. It has also an excellent harbour, furnished with commodious quays and warehousés, and employs some hundreds of ships and vessels in its foreign trade and fisheries. The public buildings are the several churches belonging to those of the church of England, to the Swedes of the Lutheran persuasion, to the Dutch calvinists, the French refugees, and the English sectaries; but the church of England may well be looked upon as the established religion, because the constitution of the government is the same as in England; the rest, however, are tolerated, and capable of posts in the government, and of sitting in the House of Representatives, as I apprehend. The other public buildings are the Town House, and that where their general assemblies and courts of justice are held. As to their fortifications, they are not, I doubt, capable of defending them against an European enemy, any more than those in the rest of the plantations, for this unanswerable reason; because they were some years ago confessed to be so bad, that it was not fit to enquire into the state of them, lest foreigners should be acquainted with our weakness on that side. There are, indeed, four hundred regular troops sent from England to garrison this, and some other towns of this province; of which two companies always are, or ought to be, upon duty in this city; but admitting they were always compleat, and ever so well disciplined, this seems to be but a very inconsiderable force to defend a province of this importance against an invasion, unless their country militia be more to be depended upon than that of other places.

As New York may be looked upon to be the frontier garrison in the south against an invasion from any maritime power, so Schenectida town and fort, in the county of Albany, twenty miles north of the town of Albany, may well be deemed their frontier on the north against the French of Canada, and their Indian allies, who, in the year 1688, surprised and almost demolished the town, with the works about it; but they have since been repaired and enlarged, and fort Nicholson and some other forts erected; in which, and in Albany, the rest of the regular troops are quartered, for the defence of that frontier. Albany is a considerable town, situated on Hudson's river, an hundred and fifty miles north of New York, having a fort erected for its defence; and here it is that the Sachems, or kings of the five nations, meet the governors of our northern colonies, to renew their alliances, and concert measures for their defence against their common enemy, as has been intimated already. South-west of the island and county of New York, lies Staten Island, being about ten miles in length and six in breadth, and in it are a great many good farms and plantations, but not one town that I can meet with in the accounts of this province.

Long Island lies east of Staten Island, and south-east of that of New York, opposite to the colony of Connecticut, being an hundred and fifty miles in length, and generally about twelve in breadth, and contains three of the counties above mentioned, viz. Queen's County, Suffolk County, and Richmond County; the chief towns in Queen's County, are Jamaica and Hempstead; in Suffolk County the chief town is Oyster Bay. The town of Richmond gives name to Richmond County, in which also is the town of Southampton, in the south-east part of the island; and there also are situated the towns of North Castle and New Windsor. There is a celebrated plain in the midst of Long Island, sixteen miles long and four broad, to which they have given the name of Salisbury Plain; having, as it is said, as fine a turf as that on Salisbury Plain in old England; and there being an excellent breed of horses in the island, they have races here every season, to which the gentlemen of New England and New York resort, as they do to Newmarket with us. There are other good towns which

which lie in the county of Westchester, on the continent east of the mouth of Hudson's river, the chief whereof are Westchester and Rye.

8. At the time we became masters of this country it was very thinly peopled, in comparison to what it is at present, and in no small danger from the French, who settled at the back of it, and the Indians who were settled on its frontiers, but at present, it is safe enough from both; the number of people being vastly increased, some say to fifty thousand, taking in all sorts, so that the French apprehend danger from us in their turn; and the Indians think themselves very happy under our protection; and such care has been taken to treat them with proper kindness, as to preserve them in our interest, as effectually as if by force they had been reduced to be our subjects. They supply the English in the summer with venison, fish and fowl, very cheap. The trade from New York to the sugar islands, particularly Barbadoes, which is very considerable, is in corn, flour, bread, beef, pork, pease, bacon gamons, smoked beef, apples, onions, board and pipe-staves, for which they receive in return, sugar, molosses, rum, ginger, &c.

The New York merchants drive also a very advantageous trade with Madeira and the Azores in pipe-staves and fish, for which they load their ships back with wine and brandy; and, generally speaking, there is scarce a more profitable trade in the British commerce. I am very well warranted in saying this, by what the agents for the colony alledged upon the dispute with the sugar plantations, of which we have given so large an account. They affirm, that their winters being severe they take off more of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom than all the islands put together, Jamaica excepted; and return more gold and silver to pay for them, which I never heard was denied. What they alledge in justification of their dealing with the French settlements is singular enough, and deserves particular notice. They say that they trade with what they have, with those who will purchase it, and that while they do this they shall live well, clothe themselves in English stuffs, and pay for them honestly; but if they are deprived of this trade, the profits of which enable them to pay for English clothing, they must endeavour to make use of their own wool, and supply themselves as well as they can. If this should be prohibited, they affirm, they must absolutely go naked.

This, perhaps, is straining the matter a little beyond the truth; but beyond all doubt, this colony is very useful to Great Britain, and in conjunction with the other bread colonies, as they are called, the sole source of our foreign sugar trade, as in a few words may be shewn. The sugar islands must depend for their subsistence, either upon the British islands or upon these colonies; since it is very certain, that if they were to draw all their maintenance from hence, granting that to be possible, it would make labour in those islands so dear that no sugar at all could be exported. On the other hand, if the people of New York should be forced to set up manufactures of their own, this would employ so many hands as must necessarily raise the price of provisions, and this consequently would have in a great measure, the same bad effect in making labour dear in the islands. It is therefore the business of Great Britain to take care of both, and not to side hastily with either.

But it is more especially our business to prevent setting up manufactures in the plantations on the continent; because this would injure the trade between us and them, lessen the shipping employed therein, decrease the number of our seamen, and detach those colonies in a great measure from their mother country; which, as they are evils not to be borne, so too much diligence cannot be used to avoid them. As things stand at present, there is not a colony in America which makes a better figure than New York, or where the people seem to have a greater spirit of industry, or more hearty affection to
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the British nation ; and it is univerſally agreed, that the city of New York is, in point of good government and politeneſs, at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior, to any thing we poſſeſs in that part of the world ; and as for the inhabitants of the inland part of the colony, they are our beſt defence againſt the French, and are every day gaining upon them in point of trade with the Indians ; which are certainly circumſtances that deſerve the utmoſt conſideration, and ought above all others, to recommend this plantation to the protection and favour of the British government ; which no doubt they will always meet with while they continue, as they have hitherto done, to ſtudy by every method to deſerve it.

9. The countries now called the Jerſeys, or with greater propriety, the Eaſt and Weſt Jerſeys, come next in our way. Theſe fell under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain by conqueſt, at the ſame time with, and as making a part of Nova Belgia ; and if to this right, acquired by war, or rather vindicated by it, for I conceive that the dominion of this country, which was all that we gained by the war, we had a very juſt title to before ; if, I ſay, there was any thing wanting to fill up the meaſure of our claim, it was certainly made up by the peace, ſince an equivalent was then given to the Dutch ; ſo that both nations had very good reaſon to be content. In order, however, to obtain a juſt and clear notion of the hiſtory and condition of this tract of country, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that even the Dutch were not the original inhabitants of it ; the ſeveral voyages that had been made for the planting of Virginia, made theſe coaſts very well known to multitudes of Engliſh ſeamen, and theſe being diſperſed into different parts of the world, carried the news of theſe rich and pleaſant lands in America along with them whereſoever they went, which inſpired ſtrangers with ſtrong deſires of occupying what we ſeemed to have abandoned, or the ſettling of which was beyond our ſtrength, at leaſt at that time.

The firſt Europeans that ſettled here were the Swedes, who had three towns in this province, Chriſtina, called by the Indians Andaſtaka, Elſinbourg, and Gottembourg. Their ſettlements were chiefly on the ſouth-ſide of the river towards Penſylvania ; oppoſite to which there is a place, to this day called Fort Elſinbourg ; but the Swedes made very little of their plantation, and the Dutch, always induſtrious for their own advantage, worked them ſo far out of it, that Bergen, the northern part of the New Jerſey, was almoſt entirely new planted by Hollanders. King Charles II. gave this tract, in his grant of Nova Belgia to the duke of York ; but the Engliſh never made any ſettlement in it till ſeveral years after they were in the poſſeſſion of that province, and had mightily extended their plantations.

The Duke of York having inveſted this province by the name of Nova Caneria, in John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, they or their aſſignees, agreed to divide it into two parts, denominated Eaſt and Weſt New Jerſeys, which remained two diſtinct proprieties and governments for many years afterwards, as will be ſhewn : Eaſt New Jerſey, or that part of it which borders on New York, fell to Sir George Carteret ; whoſe family being of the iſle of Jerſey, this province on that account took its name from thence. Weſt New Jerſey, that part of it which borders on Penſylvania, fell to the Lord Berkeley. This whole province, containing the two Jerſeys, is thus bounded ; it has the main ocean on the ſouth-eaſt, the river Delawar on the weſt, Hudſon's river on the eaſt, and the main land on the north ; it lies between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude ; extends itſelf in length on the ſea coaſts, and along Hudſon's river, one hundred and twenty miles, and is almoſt as broad as long where it is broadest. We muſt now take ſome notice of the province as it was under the diviſion of eaſt and weſt, and was divided into two proprieties ; of theſe, the largeſt and moſt inhabited, was Eaſt Jerſey,

which extended eastward and northward all along the sea coast and Hudson's river, from Little Egg harbour to that part of Hudson's river which is 41 degrees north latitude; and southward and westward was divided from West Jersey by a line of partition from Egg harbour, or Creswick river, Stony river, and the south branch of Raritan river; it extends in length along Hudson's river, and on the coasts, 100 miles; in breadth it is very unequal; it is divided into counties, for which there was little occasion, as Bergen County, Essex County, Middlesex on the north side of Raritan river, and Monmouth County on the south. According to some writers, West Jersey is divided from the other by a line from north to south; contains the like number of counties, viz. Burlington, Gloucester, Salem, and Cape May.

These two provinces are in the hands of different proprietors, who made many assignments of their rights, which would take up too much room to enter into the detail of here, and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing, that the proprietors both of the East and West Jerseys, on the 22d of April 1702, put them into the hands of Queen Anne, and they have been ever since governed by the royal authority, having a governor, council, and assembly; which governor has power of appointing a deputy. We must also remark, that sometimes this government has been granted by a separate commission to the same person intrusted with that of New York; but at present they are in different hands. The chief towns in the Jerseys are Perth Amboy, the capital of the county of Middlesex, and of all East Jersey, pleasantly situated at the mouth of Raritan river, and, had it been built according to the intended model, would have been one of the finest towns in North America; but planters have not resorted to it, as was expected; notwithstanding, it is so commodiously situated for trade, that ships of three hundred tons may come up in one tide, and lie before the merchants doors; but the town of Elizabeth, situate to the north of it, flourishes much more, and may still be deemed the most considerable town; in the county of Bergen, the capital of the county of the same name; Elizabeth town, capital of the county of Essex, and formerly of Middlesex; Middleton, Shrewsbury, and Frehold, in the county of Monmouth; Burlington or Bridlington, the capital of the county of Burlington, and of all West Jersey; this town is situate 40 degrees 40 minutes of north latitude, on an island in the middle of the river Delawar, to the northward of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, and on the opposite side of the river; the houses are handsomely built of brick, and laid out into spacious streets, with commodious quays and wharfs, to which ships of two or three hundred tons may come up; it has also a handsome market-place, a town-house or guildhall, where the courts of justice were heretofore held, and two good bridges over the river; the one called London-bridge, and the other York-bridge, and having an easy communication with Philadelphia and the ocean, by the river Salem, which falls into Delawar bay, it is said to be one of the best towns in West Jersey, whether we consider its situation, building, or trade.

The trade of the two Jerseys, as also the soil and conveniences of rivers and creeks, are much the same, except that West Jersey, by its situation on Delawar river, abounds more in the latter. The country yields plenty of all sorts of grain, and the inhabitants are said to have been so scrupulous, that they would not enter upon a new plantation before they had purchased it of the Indians, which they did at no very dear rate. It is computed that they are about sixteen thousand souls, and about three thousand men fit to bear arms. There are not two hundred Indians in this province, indeed neither here or elsewhere in the British empire, are the Indians of any force, unless in conjunction with the French at Canada, or the Spaniards in Florida. The Indians are now rather an help than an hurt to the English, and here especially they wish there

were more of them than there are, so useful have they found them. Besides provisions for the sugar islands, the inhabitants drive a trade in furs and skins, and a little in tobacco; but it would be well if the colonies cultivated that less and provision more, or any other commodities that are fit for foreign markets, which are much clogged by the product of our tobacco plantations; they ship off train-oil, fish, corn, and some other provisions for Portugal, Spain and the Canaries; ships may be built at Perth, but New England engrosses that trade, and has the best and the most materials for it; and it must be owned that New York is the best market New Jersey has, for the buying and selling any considerable quantity of goods of any kind.

This may possibly keep the Jerseys a little under, but notwithstanding the difficulties they have had to struggle with, it is very certain that within these twenty or thirty years past they have increased prodigiously, and nothing can give a check to it except some sudden suspicion of their dealing in commodities and setting up manufactures which may interfere with those of their mother country. I do not deny, that if there were any just grounds for such a suspicion care ought to be taken and some remedy applied, but then this requires great caution. In former times, when we were less used to trade we encouraged all; and provided our people were but employed, and traders busy, we took it for granted that profit must ensue, and so very probably it did. But the present age is so unacquainted with the cause of the increase of our riches, that they rather interrupt than encourage it, and instead of enlarging lay hold of some small trifling things which they think may touch their private interest rather than promote the general good; and if they think any commodity from the plantations interferes with something we have at home, some hasty step is taken to prevent it; so that for the sake of saving one penny we often debar ourselves of things of a thousand times the value. This misfortune will happen to any trading nation, if the persons who have the regulation of the commerce do not understand it well enough to distinguish nicely between those channels by which riches flow in upon them and those that carry them away; and therefore, when things are carried into a wrong channel by some of the planters, merchants are afraid to mention those disorders for fear the remedy should prove worse than the disease. The gentlemen that would judge of these things ought to inform themselves what this nation was one hundred and fifty years ago, how we have increased in riches since that time, what price corn, cattle, and land bore then, and what now; and what concurring circumstances have put us in so flourishing a condition, who were then so inconsiderable in trade, that even London, the metropolis of this kingdom, made but a small figure to what Bruges, Antwerp, and other Hanse Towns did, as well as the great cities in the Mediterranean.

If we examine into the circumstances of the inhabitants of our plantations and our own, it will appear that not one fourth part of their product redounds to their own profit; for, out of all that comes here, they only carry back clothing and other accommodations for their families, all which is of the manufacture and merchandize of this kingdom. If there is any thing to spare it is laid up here, and their children are sent home to be educated; if there is enough to support the family they come here, and only an overseer is left upon the plantation to direct, and the whole produce is remitted home, and if enough to purchase an estate, then it is laid out in Old England. All these advantages we receive by the plantations, besides the mortgages on the planters estates, and the high interest they pay us, which is very considerable; and therefore very great care ought to be taken in regulating all affairs of the colonies, that the planters be not put under too many difficulties, but encouraged to go on cheerfully. They are born with us, or the descendants of such, and we know nothing but the want

of the means to live at home keeps them abroad. There are very few trading or manufacturing towns in the kingdom but have some dependence on the plantation trade. It is true, these, and in general all the northern colonies, have not commodities and products enough to send us in return for purchasing their necessary clothings, &c. but are under very great difficulties, and therefore any ordinary sort sells with them; and when they are grown out of fashion with us they are new-fashioned enough there; and besides those places are the great markets we have to dispose of such goods, which are generally sent at the risk of the shopkeepers and traders of England, who are the great exporters, and not the inhabitants of the colonies, as some have imagined. As the colonies are markets for those sorts of goods, so they are receptacles for young merchants who have not stocks of their own, and therefore all our plantations are filled with such who receive the consignments of their friends from hence; and when they have got a sufficient stock to trade with they return home, and other young men take their places, so that the continual motion and intercourse our people have into the colonies may be compared to bees in a hive, which go out empty, but come home loaded; by which means the foundations of many families are laid. The numbers of sailors, and other tradesmen, who have all their dependance upon this traffic, are prodigiously great.

Our factors, who frequent the northern colonies, being under difficulties to make returns for such goods as they dispose of, what gold, silver, logwood, and other commodities they trade for upon the Spanish coast is sent home to England, as also oil, whale-fins, and many other goods; likewise another great part of returns is made by ships built there, and disposed of in the Streights, and other parts of Europe, and the money remitted to us. Now all those ships are called New England ships, and our factors, after they undertake any business, are no longer called Englishmen, but New Englanders, and the ships they build, we are informed, are registered as New England ships. I shall therefore humbly recommend it to such gentlemen as are guardians of the trade of the nation, that our own interest is not mistaken for those of the planters; for every restraint and difficulty put upon our trade with them makes them have recourse to their own products, which they manufacture, a thing of great consequence to us, and ought to be guarded against; for if they are supplied with their own manufactures, a great part of the advantages we should otherwise receive is cut off; and therefore, as it is elsewhere observed, if care is taken to find them employment, and turn their industry another way, now they are in their infancy, this may with a very little trouble be avoided.

There is another advantage we receive by our plantations, which is hardly so much as thought of; I mean the prodigious increase of our shipping by the timber trade, between Portugal, &c. and our plantations, which ought to have all possible encouragement, for by it we have crept into all the corners in Europe, and become the common carriers in the Mediterranean, as well as between the Mediterranean, Holland, Hamburg, and the Baltic, and this is the cause of so great an addition to our shipping, and the reason why the Dutch, &c. are so exceedingly sunk. But if ever a stop should be put to the building of ships in New England, &c. and carrying our timber from thence, we should soon sink in our navigation, and that of the Dutch flourish in its former height and grandeur. The numbers of English ships, we so often read of, that are at Lisbon, or the Streights, is a sufficient demonstration of the truth of this; doubtless a great many of these ships are laden upon account of the Dutch, for nothing is more common than their hiring our ships (which discharge their loading in the Streights), to transport their goods from Spain, &c. to Amsterdam, and other places.

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We have a great many young men who are bred to the sea, and have friends to support them; if they cannot get employment at home they go to New England, and the northern colonies, with a cargo of goods, which they there sell at a very great profit, and with the produce build a ship, and purchase a loading of lumber, and sail for Portugal, or the Streights, &c. and after disposing of their cargoes, they frequently ply from port to port in the Mediterranean, till they have cleared so much money as will, in a good part, pay for the first cost of the cargo carried out by them; and then, perhaps, sell their ships; come home; take up another cargo from their employers; and so go back and build another ship. By this means multitudes of seamen are brought up, and upon a war the nation is better provided with a great number of sailors,* than hath been heretofore known. Here the master becomes merchant also, and many of them gain, by this lumber trade, great estates; and a vast treasure is thereby yearly brought into the kingdom, in a way new and unknown to our forefathers, and, indeed, it is gaining the timber trade (heretofore carried on by the Danes and Swedes), our plantations being nearer the markets of Portugal and Spain than they are. Those advantages have made some people think that though we esteem New England, and the northern colonies, of small advantage to us, yet if things were truly stated, they are as profitable as most other of our plantations, or, which amounts to the same thing, the cause of the profits we reap from those other colonies, which, however, coming to us immediately from thence, seem to enrich us more than they really do, at the same time that they hide from us the true sources of their own wealth. But,

We will now quit this subject, in order to follow the thread of our history, which leads us next to speak of the settling the Bahama Islands, places that have not hitherto answered in any proportion to the great expectations that were raised upon the first grant of them; though this is certainly so little to be ascribed to them, that about twenty-five years ago there was a general disposition in the most knowing people of this kingdom to attempt a new settlement there, which degenerating into a bubble, all hopes of that kind seem to be lost. Our business, however, is not with the modern, but with the ancient, state of these islands; of which, and of the motives for settling them, we shall give the clearest account we can.

10. The Lucayos, or Bahama Islands, are situated in the Atlantic Ocean, and to the north of the island of Cuba, stretching from the north-east to the south-west, between 21 and 27 degrees of northern latitude, and between 73 and 81 degrees of western longitude. The island of Bahama, which communicates its name to the rest, is seated in the latitude of 26 degrees 30 minutes, at the distance of about twenty and thirty leagues from the continent of Florida. It is about fifty miles in length, but very narrow, scarce any where sixteen, and in many places not half so broad, but very pleasant and fruitful; the air temperate and serene; the soil remarkably rich, and the country every where abounding with brooks and springs of fresh water.

Though these islands were the first fruits of the new world, Columbus arriving first at Guanahani, which is one of them, and to which he gave the name of St. Salvador, yet the Spaniards never thought of settling there, but contented themselves with extirpating the native inhabitants; a most barbarous proceeding surely, since at this time they were the best people of any part of all America; so that they wantonly murdered many thousands to no purpose in the world. As these islands lie pretty much out of the course of ships bound to the continent of America, it was long before we had any notice of them; but in 1667 Captain William Sayle, being bound to Carolina, was forced by a storm amongst these islands, which gave him an opportunity of examining them

them carefully, particularly a large island, to which at that time he gave his own name, and is that which has been since known by the name of New Providence.

Upon his return to England, he acquainted the proprietors of Carolina with the situation and circumstances of these islands; observing, that in case they were settled, they might prove a great benefit to this nation, and at the same time a constant bar and check to the French and Spaniards, in case of a breach with either or both of those nations. These reasons being suggested to King Charles the II^d. his majesty was graciously pleased to make a grant of the Bahama islands, between the latitudes of 22 and 27 degrees, to the following proprietors; viz. George Duke of Albemarle, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, John Lord Berkeley, Anthony Lord Ashly, and Sir Peter Colliton, whose heirs or assigns are, as I take it, possessed of these islands at this day; by which I mean the soil and property, for as to the government, it has been for some time in the hands of the crown; upon a supposition that this change would render these islands more beneficial to the nation, as in process of time it very probably may; but hitherto they have not been of any great service to the proprietors, the crown, or the nation; as we shall shew, by entering a little into their history, from their first settlement to the present times, for reasons that in this history will appear.

Providence Island lies in the center of some hundreds of islands, some of them many miles in length, others no bigger than knolls or little rocks, rising above water; so that one may imagine it must be very dangerous for ships to be forced amongst them in tempests. The most considerable profit made by the inhabitants of Providence was, by the misfortune of such as were shipwrecked, or such as, in a winter voyage for the continent of America, were driven to the Bahama Islands, and put into Providence for provisions; for want of which, after they had lain a long while beating off the islands, they used to be in great distress. It is true, this island had little or none but what came from Carolina; however, the traders here kept store-houses to supply those that wanted, and they were a great relief to the unfortunate mariners, of whom we are speaking. The Isle of Providence lies in 25 degrees north latitude, is twenty-eight miles long and eleven miles broad, where it is broadest.

It had the name of Providence given it by Captain Sayle, after he had a second time been driven upon it, when he was bound for the Continent. The first governor that was sent thither by the proprietaries, was Mr. Chillingworth; the time of his going there was about the year 1672; several people went from England, and the other colonies, to settle there, and living a licentious life, they were impatient under government; Mr. Chillingworth endeavouring to bring them to reason, they assembled tumultuously, seized him, and shipped him off for Jamaica, and lived every man as he thought best for his own pleasure and interest. The proprietaries found they had got an unruly colony to deal with, and it was a very small encouragement for any man to put himself into their hands after the treatment Mr. Chillingworth met with from them.

However, six or seven years after, the lords proprietaries made Mr. Clark governor, whose fate was worse still than his predecessor's; for the Spaniards, at that time, being jealous of every new colony of the English towards the south, came upon them in Providence, destroyed all their stock which they could not, or would not, carry off; and burnt several houses that were upon the place. The inhabitants deserted it after this, and removed to other colonies. Mr. Trott, one of Governor Clark's successors, always asserted, that the Spaniards roasted Mr. Clark on a spit, after they had killed him; but perhaps that is said to increase the terror of the story; but it is certain they killed him, and that after this invasion the island was uninhabited till about the time of the
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Revolution, when several persons removed thither from Europe and the Continent; among whom was Mr. Thomas Bulkley, who has printed a large account of his suffering there, during the arbitrary government of one Cadwallader Jones, whom the lords proprietors made governor upon this second settlement of Providence in the year 1690, where he arrived on the 19th of June; but his administration proved very unfortunate both for himself and the colony, in which there arose such troubles and dissensions, that he was once deposed and made prisoner, and again restored.

Nicholas Trott, Esq. succeeded Mr. Jones in his government, and he built a fort in the town of Nassau; notwithstanding which, the famous pirate Avery, forced the inhabitants to let him have what victuals he wanted; but some time after, governor Trott put the island of Providence into so good a condition, that though the French made several attempts, yet they were always obliged to retire with loss. In 1697 Nicholas Webb, Esq. was sent to succeed Mr. Trott, and he held the government about three years; in which time these islands were in a better condition than they have ever been since; and there was, in his time, in Providence and the adjacent islands, near one thousand inhabitants; some tobacco was planted, a sugar mill set up, and other improvements made; but, as we shall see hereafter, these were soon destroyed.

To Mr. Webb succeeded Elias Hascott, Esq. who was so little liked by the inhabitants, that they took upon them to seize him, and put him in irons; and, having sent him away, assumed the liberty of chusing a governor for themselves, one Elias Lightgood, Esq. in whose time the settlements were destroyed; for, in July 1708, the Spaniards and French, from Petit Guaves, landed, surprized the fort, took the governor prisoner, plundered and stripped the English, burnt the town of Nassau, all but Mr. Lightgood's house, together with the church, spoiled the fort, and nailed up the guns; they carried off the governor, and about half the blacks, the rest saved themselves in the woods; but in October they came again, and picked up most of the negroes. Mr. Lightgood having procured his liberty, by exchange or ransom, came to Carolina, and going off thence in a vessel, on some adventure, was never since heard of. The English inhabitants of the Bahamas, after this second invasion, thought it in vain to stay longer; so they removed, some to Carolina, some to Virginia, and some to New England, and other places.

The proprietors having appointed one Mr. Birch to go over governor to Providence, who, not having heard of the desertion of the inhabitants, went thither; but finding it a desert, he did not give himself the trouble to open his commission; he remained there two or three months, and was all that while forced to sleep in the woods; after which he returned back, and left the place uninhabited. This and the other Bahama Islands, were looked upon to be so necessary for the security of our trade in the West Indies, that the parliament of England have not thought them unworthy of their care, as well to have them cleared of pirates, as to defend them against both Spaniards and French, who find their situation very convenient to annoy or befriend their commerce. In Queen Anne's war both Spaniards and French over-ran and plundered the Bahama Islands twice. Upon which, in March 1714, the House of Lords addressed her Majesty, that the Island of Providence might be put in a posture of defence. Their lordships observing it would be of fatal consequence, if the Bahama Islands should fall into the hands of an enemy, they therefore prayed her Majesty to take the said islands into her hands, and give such order for their security as in her royal wisdom she should think fit;

fit; but nothing was done. And for the future guidance of such as have it in their power to do good offices for our American colonies, it is not improper to remember, that their lordships, four years after, took notice of that neglect in an address to his late Majesty King George; in which they say there were not any the least means used in compliance with that advice, for securing the Bahama Islands, and that then the pirates had a lodgment with a battery on Harbour Island; and that the usual retreat, and general receptacle for the pirates, was at Providence. Hereupon his Majesty was pleased to give directions for dislodging these pirates, and making settlements, and a fortification for its security and defence.

Pursuant to this address, Captain Woods Rogers was appointed governor, the same person which went with the Duke and Duchess of Bristol to the South Sea, and made a prosperous voyage, eight years before. He sailed for Providence in 1718, taking with him a naval force for subduing the pirates; in the mean time Colonel Bennet, governor of Bermudas, sent a sloop to that island, requiring them to surrender themselves, pursuant to the late proclamation. The pirates who were then on the island, very gladly accepted of the mercy offered them thereby, and promised to surrender themselves as soon as they could get passage to the English colonies; adding that they did not doubt but their fellows, who were at sea, would gladly do the same after their example. Accordingly, Captain Henry Jennings, and fifteen others, immediately followed the sloop to Bermudas, and surrendered themselves; and Captain Lashie, and Captain Nichols, with a good number of their pirates, sent word that they would also surrender. The above-mentioned proclamation was brought hither by Captain Peers, in the Phoenix frigate, then lately stationed at New York; besides the above, Captain Hernigold, Captain Burges surrendered, and in the whole as many of their men as amounted to one hundred and fourteen, which were followed by many more; however piracy was not suppressed, nor did Captain Rogers answer the expectations of those that employed him; though at his arrival here he seemed very zealous in the service he was sent for.

He arrived at Nassau, in Providence, in July 1718. Vane, one of the captains of the pirates, knowing what errand he came upon, to reduce those robbers by the proclamation or by force, caused a French ship of twenty-two guns, which he had taken, to be set on fire, intending to make use of her as a fire-ship, to burn the Rose frigate, which came with governor Woods Rogers; and, indeed, the Rose would have been in much danger, had she not got off in time, by cutting her cables. But Vane's bold and rash attempt could not have secured him; for besides the Rose, there was at hand the Milford man of war, and another, aboard which was the governor. These were soon after seen standing in for the harbour of Nassau, upon which Vane, and about fifty of his men, made off in a sloop. The governor sent a sloop of sufficient force after them, but the pirates got off; and the Milford, and the other man of war run aground. The 27th of July Mr. Woods Rogers came on shore, took possession of the fort, and caused his Majesty's commission to be read in the presence of the officers, soldiers, and about three hundred people, whom he found there at his arrival; which had been almost daily exercised in arms for their defence, in case of attack by the Spaniards or French. As for the pirates, they were not in so great fear of them, most of them having been themselves of the fraternity, who had surrendered and made their peace with the government. Woods Rogers brought with him above one hundred soldiers, and this joint force which was, and might have been still further, recruited, being sufficient to secure the Bahama Islands against any enterprize of the French and Spaniards;

Spaniards; Mr. Rogers set himself to regulate the government, and restore order in it, which had been neglected several years past.

Of the adventurers who came with him, six were nominated to be of the council, as also six of the inhabitants, who had never been pirates themselves; and thus the appearance of government was renewed. As soon as the governor and council had settled the board, about two hundred of those that had been pirates surrendered themselves to them, had certificates of their surrender, and took the oaths of allegiance, as did, voluntarily, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Providence; wherein, a few years after, were computed to be one thousand five hundred souls, out of these were formed three companies of militia, under officers of their own island; these companies took their turn every night in the town guard at Nassau, and the independent company was always upon duty in the fort here, and another of eight guns erected at the easternmost entrance into the harbour.

It was by these methods that the face of affairs, in this part of the world, was entirely changed; the town of Nassau rebuilt; a regular force established in Providence, and plantations so laid out, that the country looked like an English settlement. Within a short time after, the neighbouring island of Eluthera was settled likewise, upon which, about sixty families fixed themselves, erected a small fort for their defence, and raised a company of militia under their deputy governor, Mr. Holmes, by whose prudent management matters were chiefly brought to bear; the like was done in Harbour Island, where the plantation soon grew more considerable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants. Captain Woods Rogers returning to England, was succeeded in his government by Captain Fitzwilliams, in whose time an independent company, that had been sent thither mutinied, which had like to have produced some very fatal consequences, but was happily suppressed; and by the moderation of the governor, only few of the most guilty were made examples.

This happened in the year 1736, from which time these islands have been improving, though slowly. It may well be wondered at by considerate persons, that considering the number of poor people and men out of employment, which before the war pestered the streets of this city, and of all the great towns in the kingdom; some methods were not taken for sending them over to these islands, which would have been a relief to the people here, afforded them a comfortable subsistence, and have contributed to augment the strength and increase the riches of this nation. I shall content myself with just hinting this as it falls in my way, and proceed to the next corporation formed for enlarging our commerce within the period of time assigned to this section.

11. This was the Hudson's Bay Company, erected by King Charles the II. upon the following occasion; Monsieur Radison, and Monsieur Gooselier, two Frenchmen, meeting with some savages in the lake of Assimponals, in Canada, they learnt of them that they might go by land to the bottom of the bay, where the English had not yet been; upon which they desired them to conduct them thither, and the savages accordingly did it. The two Frenchmen returned to the upper lake the same way they came, and thence to Quebec, the capital of Canada; where they offered the principal merchants to carry ships to Hudson's Bay, but their project was rejected; thence they went to France, in hopes of a more favourable hearing at court; but after presenting several memorials, and spending a great deal of time and money, they were answered as they had been at Quebec, and their project looked upon as chimerical. The King of England's ambassador at Paris, hearing what proposal they had made, imagined he should do his country good service by engaging them to serve the English; who had already pretences to the Bay, persuaded them to go for London, where they

met with a favourable reception from some men of quality, merchants and others, who employed Mr. Gillam, a person long used to the New England trade, to perfect this discovery.

He sailed in the *Nonestuch* ketch, in the year 1667, into Baffin's Bay, to the height of 75 degrees, and from thence southward to 51 degrees, where he entered a river, to which he gave name of Prince Rupert's River; and finding the savages disposed to a friendly commerce, he erected a small fortress there, which he styled Charles Fort. The success of this expedition was so remarkable, that the persons concerned in fitting out this vessel, upon the return of Mr. Gillam, applied themselves to King Charles the II^d. for a patent, who accordingly granted them one, dated the 2d of May, in the 22d year of his reign, A. D. 1670. The first directors of what was called the Hudson's Bay Company, were Prince Rupert, Sir James Hayes, Mr. William Young, Mr. Gerrard Weymans, Mr. Richard Cradock, Mr. John Letton, Christopher Wren, Esq. and Mr. Nicholas Haywood.

The bay lies from 64 degrees north latitude, to 51 degrees, and is 10 degrees or six hundred miles in length. The mouth of the straits lies in about 61 degrees north latitude, and is six leagues over. At the mouth is an island called Resolution; Charles Island, Salisbury Island, and Nottingham are in the straits, and Mansfield Island is in the mouth of the bay. Hudson's Straits, which leads to the bay, are about one hundred and twenty leagues in length; the land on both sides inhabited by savages, of whom we have little or no knowledge. The south coast is known by the name of the Terra de Labrador, the north by as many names as men of several nations have been there, and pretended to the discovery. On the west side of the bay the English made a settlement, built a fort at Port Nelson, and all that country goes by the name of New South Wales. The bay here is called Button's and Hudson's Bay, which is broadest in this place, and may be near one hundred and thirty leagues. On the other shore, or the coast of Labrador, lie several islands, called the Sleeper's Isles, and the Baker's Dozen. The bottom of the bay, by which we understand all that part of it from Cape Henrietta Maria, in New South Wales, to Redonda, below Prince Rupert's River, is about 80 leagues long, and all the way between 40 and 50 leagues over. Here are several islands to which the first adventurers gave the names of some great men in England, or some that employed them; as Lord Weston's Island, Sir Thomas Roe's Island, Charleton Island, and others.

The two opposite shores are called the East Main and West Main; the former is Labrador, and latter New South Wales. The Continent at the bottom of the bay is, by the French pretended to be part of New France; and, indeed, to cross the country from Saint Margaret's River, which runs into the river of Canada, to Rupert's River, at the bottom of Hudson's Bay, is not above one hundred and fifty miles. At Rupert's River the English built their first fort, which they called Charles Fort. They never had any towns or plantations here, but live within their forts in little houses or huts, wherein the builders consider nothing but how to defend them from the cold and rains, though they are not so much disturbed by the latter as by the former. There is an island about five or six leagues from the West Main called the little Rocky Isle, it being a mere heap of rocks and stones, with some small brush-wood growing upon it; it is supposed to overflow with great north-west winds, which make a high tide all over the bay; in this isle is plenty of gulls and sea swallows; about three miles from the south-south-east part of the island lies a dangerous reef of sand, which is dry at low water. Charleton Island is a dry white sand, covered over with a white moss, full of trees, juniper and spruce, though not very large. This island affords a beautiful prospect to such as are near it in the spring,

after a long voyage of three or four months, in the most uncomfortable seas in the world, occasioned by the vast mountains of ice which drive in the bay and streights; against which, if ships happen to strike, they are dashed in pieces, as certainly as if they ran against rocks; for, indeed, they are rocks petrified by the violence of the continual frosts. To see one day the shore on the West Main bare, the mountains covered with snow, and nature looking as if frozen to death; and the next to behold Charleton Island spread with trees, and the branches making, as it were, a green tuft of the whole, is a change capable of giving the greatest pleasure, after the fatigues of an intolerable winter voyage.

The air, even at the bottom of the bay, though by the latitude it is nearer the sun than London, being in 51 degrees, is excessive cold for nine months; the other three months very hot; but on a north-west wind the soil on the East Main, as well as the West, bears no manner of grain; some fruits, gooseberries, strawberries, and dewberries, grow about Prince Rupert's River. The commodities for trade here are guns, powder, shot, cloth, hatchets, kettles, tobacco, &c. which the English exchange with the Indians, for furs, beavers, martins, foxes, moose, and other skins and furs. The great profits acquired by this trade, and the prospect of ingrossing it, wholly engaged the new company to prosecute their measures vigorously, and to do all that lay in their power to settle a good correspondence with the natives, whom they found very tractable in that point, and willing to do any thing they could expect from them upon reasonable terms; for the Indians about Rupert's River, and other places in the bay, are more simple than the Canadians, who have had longer commerce with the Europeans; they are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel, either amongst themselves or others, except the Nodways, a wild, barbarous people on the borders of Hudson's Streights, who sometimes, in slight parties, make incursions on the other Indians, and having murdered eight or ten, return in triumph.

The Indians of certain districts, which are bounded by such and such rivers, have each an okimah, as they call him, or captain, over them, who is an old man, considered only for his prudence and experience; he has no authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain occasions; he is the speech-maker to the English, as also in their own councils, when they meet every spring and fall to settle the disposition of their quarters, for hunting, fowling, and fishing; every family have their boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, except they have no success there in their hunting, and then they join in with some family who have succeeded. Their notions of religion are but very slender; they say there are two Monetoos, or Spirits, the one sends all the good things, and the other all the bad. Their worship consists in songs and dances at their feasts, in honour of their Monetoos that have favoured them; but if they are sick or famished, they hang some little bauble which they set a value upon, on the top of a pole near the tent, to pacify the spirit offended, as they conceive.

But to return to our history: in the year 1670 the company sent over Charles Bailey, Esq. as their governor, who with Mr. Radison, settled at Rupert's River, and another factory was established at Fort Nelson. Some years after William Lydall, Esq. was sent to succeed Mr. Bailey, and one Mr. Bridger was sent to Fort Nelson. In 1683 Henry Serjeant, Esq. was made governor at Rupert's River, with orders to be very careful of the French, who began now to shew themselves very jealous of the trade carried on by the English company with the natives; and at the same time they were not a little perplexed by some bad practices among their own servants; who considering the hardships they endured in that miserable cold country, thought they might

make bold with some part of the profits, which were entirely owing to their labour and negociations with the natives; for the company by their governors and agents, made such contracts with the captains, or kings of rivers, or territories where they had settlements for the freedom of trade there, exclusive of all others, that the Indians could not pretend they had encroached upon them. These contracts were as firm as the Indians could make them by such ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

In the year 1686 we find the company in possession of five settlements, viz. Albany River, Hayes Island, Rupert's River, Fort Nelson, and New Severn; their trade at each of them was very considerable. From Albany River they had generally three thousand five hundred beavers a year, and by Mr. Serjeant's great care and fidelity, their commerce increased so much, that the French began to be afraid all the upland Indians might be drawn down to the bay. They knew they could do any thing with King James II. who then reigned in England; and therefore they resolved to drive the English out of all their places in the bottom of the bay. First they took Hayes Island, and then the fort on Rupert's River. The French company at Canada procured a detachment of soldiers to be sent, under the Chevalier de Troyes, who came over land from Quebec, and in a time of profound peace committed these acts of hostilities. It is worth observing, that the French have so good an opinion of their American colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful means, to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the English, who, next the Spaniards, have the richest plantations in this part of the world, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of July, the Chevalier de Troyes came before the fort at Albany River, where the governor Mr. Serjeant, then resided. Two Indians having informed him of their having surprized the forts at Hayes Island and Rupert's River, and had brought with them the great guns from these places, the governor did all that was in his power to defend the place, but was not able to keep it above a week, as appears by the articles of his surrender, dated July the 16th, 1686, which articles were but indifferently kept. In 1693, the Hudson's Bay Company, being assisted by the government, retook all the forts and factories of which the French had deprived them in time of peace; but they were soon after driven out of them again by the French.

In the year 1696, the Company applied themselves to King William, representing their own incapacity to maintain themselves against the French, and praying the assistance of the crown for their support; upon which two men of war were ordered to their assistance, under the command of Captain Allen, who coming into the River Hayes, sent to summon all the forts to surrender; and the French governor, finding he could not defend them against the English, capitulated; and on the 2d of August, in the same year, surrendered Albany Fort upon certain articles, the chief of which were, that all those in the fort, as well French as Indians, and one Englishman, the governor's servant, should have their lives and liberties; and that no harm or violence should be done to their persons, or any thing that belonged to them; that they should march out with their arms, drums beating, colours flying, match lighted at both ends, ball in mouth, and carry with them the two guns brought from France; that they should all embark with their clothes, and goods, without being visited or pillaged in any thing; and, if they met with any French vessels, there should be a truce between the English and them; and the said French vessels should be permitted to take aboard the persons that came out of the same fort, with all that belonged to them. These conditions were

were a little too honourable to grant, though they were complied with. Captain Allen took the governor, and some of his men, aboard his own ship, the *Bonadventure*; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a merchant-man, called the *Doring*.

In his return he fought the *Mary Rose* frigate, then a French privateer of fifty guns, and was killed in the engagement; which gave the Frenchman an opportunity to bear away. As to the other two forts, they followed the fate of Albany, and Mr. Knight was restored to the government of Fort Nelson. Mr. Knight had served Mr. Sergeant while he was governor of Fort Albany, and was acquainted with the trade. In the year 1697, the *Hampshire* frigate, and *Owners Love* fireship, two of the king's ships, were lost in this bay, and all the men drowned. Indeed the ice rendered it so dangerous, that the commerce seemed not to be worth the risk that was run for it. Whether those two ships ran against those frozen mountains that float in the sea, or foundered, is not known; but it is certain they were lost, and that all the men perished; which was the cause of some inconvenience. After this time it appears very clearly, that the trade of the *Hudson's Bay Company* declined extremely, but whether from any advantage gained in trade by the French, or from any ill management of their affairs at home or abroad, I cannot pretend to say. This, however, is certain, that in the next general war the French had renewed their attacks upon the settlements of the *Hudson's Bay Company*, and this with such effect, that they soon left them nothing but Fort Albany, which very well accounts for the low state of their trade to the end of the war, and some time after. At the making the treaty at Utrecht, great care was taken of this company, who by the 10th and 11th articles have every thing restored to them that had been taken from them, and an equitable satisfaction stipulated for their losses. Since which time the trade of the company has wonderfully increased, insomuch that it became, at least, treble to what it was at the time that peace was made, and is still in a very flourishing condition.

It is very natural for such as reap the benefit of any branch of trade, to be as silent and secret about it as possible, which is the reason that till within these few years both the country and the commerce of *Hudson's Bay* were very little, and indeed scarce at all known here, though carried on entirely by this nation. As for the French, they had so little notion of it that they treated all Mr. Iberville's projects upon this subject as mere chimeras; and when a memorial was presented to the Regent Duke of Orleans, setting forth the great dangers the French settlements in North America must run, if the English should ever lay open this trade, or think of transporting their felons into this part of the world, it was looked upon as a mere vision. But since that time they are become much better acquainted with this part of America, as appears from the account I have already given from one of their authors.

But as to the product and present condition of this country, the best account I ever saw of it, is that published by Mr. Dobbs, from the mouth of one experimentally acquainted with it, and from whom I shall borrow as much as I think may suffice to give the reader a general notion of its nature and importance. "The Indians being obliged to go ashore every day to hunt for provisions, delays them very much in their voyages; for their canoes are so very small, holding only two men and a pack of one hundred beaver skins, that they cannot carry provisions with them for any time. If they had larger canoes, they would make their voyages shorter, and carry many more beavers to market, at least four times as many, besides other skins of value, which are too heavy for their present canoes; this, and the high price of the European goods, by the company in exchange, discourages the natives so much, that if they were not absolutely

absolutely under a necessity of having guns, powder, and shot, hatchets, and other iron tools for their hunting, and tobacco, brandy, and some paint for luxury, they would not go down to the factory with what they now carry. At present they leave great numbers of furs and skins behind them. A good hunter among the Indians can kill six hundred beavers in a season, and can carry down but one hundred; the rest he uses at home, or hangs them upon branches of trees, upon the death of their children, as an offering to them, or use them for bedding and coverings. They sometimes burn off the fur, and roast the beavers like pigs, upon any entertainments, and they often let them rot, having no further use for them. The beavers, he says, are of three colours, the brown reddish colour, the black, and white; the first is the cheapest, the black is most valued by the company in England, the white the most valued in Canada, giving eighteen shillings, when others give five or six shillings; it is blown upon by the companies factors at the bay, they not allowing so much for these as for the others, and therefore the Indians use them at home, or burn off the hair, when they roast the beavers like pigs, at an entertainment when they feast together. He says these skins are extremely white, and have a fine lustre, no snow being whiter, and have a fine long fur or hair. He has seen fifteen taken of that colour out of one lodge or pond.

“The beavers have three enemies, man, otters, and the carcajon, or quecquehatch, which prey upon them, when they take them at advantage; the last is as large as a very great dog, it has a short tail like a deer or hart, and has a good fur, valued at a beaver and a half in exchange. The beavers chiefest food is the poplar, or tremble, but they also eat fallows, alders, and most other trees, not having a resinous juice. The middle bark is their food; in May, when the wood is not plenty, they live upon a large root which grows in the marshes a fathom long, and as thick as a man's leg, the French called it violet; but the beavers are not so good food as when they feed upon trees. They will cut down trees about two fathoms in girth with their teeth, and one of them observes, when it is ready to fall, and gives a great cry, and runs the contrary way, to give room for the rest to get out of the way. They then cut off all the twigs and smaller branches, two or three fathoms in length, and draw them to their houses, which they have built in their ponds; after having raised or repaired their pond head, and made it staunch, and thrust one end into the clay or mud, that they may lie under water all the winter, to preserve the bark green and tender, for their winter provision. After cutting off the small branches, they cut and carry away the larger, until they come to the bole of the tree. The beavers are excellent food, but the tongue and tail the most delicious parts of the whole. They are very fat from November until the end of March; they have their young in the beginning of summer, at which time the females are lean by suckling their young, and the males are lean the whole summer, when they are making or repairing their ponds and houses, and cutting down and providing timber and branches for their winter store. They breed once in a year, and have from ten to fifteen at a litter, which grow up in one season, so that they multiply very fast; and if they can empty a pond and take the whole lodge, they generally leave a pair to breed, so that they are fully stocked again in two or three years. The loup corvier, or lynx, is of the cat kind, but as large as a great dog; it preys upon all beasts it can conquer, as does the tiger, which is the only beast in that country that will not fly from a man. The American oxen or beeves, have a large bunch upon their backs, which is by far the most delicious part of them for food, it being all as sweet as marrow, juicy and rich, and weighs several pounds.

“The

" The Indians west of the bay, living an erratic life, can have no benefit by tame fowl or cattle ; they seldom stay above a fortnight at a place, unless they find plenty of game. When they remove, after having built their hut they disperse to get game for their food, and meet again at night, after having killed enough to maintain them that day ; they do not go above a league or two from their hut. When they find scarcity of game, they remove a league or two farther, and thus they traverse through these woody countries and bogs, scarce missing one day winter or summer, fair or foul, in the greatest storms of snow, but what they are employed in some kind of chase. The smaller game, got by traps or snares, are generally the employment of women and children, such as the martins, squirrels, ermins, &c. The elks, stags, rein deer, bears, tigers, wild beef, wolves, foxes, beavers, otters, corcajon, &c. are the employment of the men. The Indians, when they kill any game for food, leave it where they kill it, and send their wives next day to carry it home. They go home in a direct line, never missing their way by observation they make of the course they take upon their going out, and so judge upon what point their huts are, and can thus direct themselves upon any point of the compass. The trees all bend towards the south, and the branches on that side are larger and stronger than on the north side, as also the moss upon the trees. To let their wives know how to come at the killed game, they from place to place break off branches, and lay them in the road, pointing them the way they should go, and sometimes moss, so that they never miss finding it.

" In winter when they go abroad, which they must do in all weathers to hunt and shoot, for their daily food, before they dress they rub themselves all over with bear's grease, or oil of beavers, which does not freeze, and also rub all the fur off their beaver coats, and then put them on ; they have also a kind of boots or stockings of beaver's skin, well oiled, with the fur inwards, and above them they have an oiled skin laced about their feet, which keeps out the cold, and also water where there is no ice or snow, and by this means they never freeze or suffer any thing by cold. In summer also, when they go naked, they rub themselves with these oils or grease, and expose themselves to the sun without being scorched, their skins being always kept soft and supple by it, nor do any flies, bugs, or musketoes, or any noxious insect ever molest them. When they want to get rid of it they go into the water, and rub themselves all over with mud or clay, and let it dry upon them, and then rub it off. But whenever they are free from the oil, the flies and musketoes immediately attack them, and oblige them again to anoint themselves.

" The Indians make no use of honey ; he saw no bees there but the wild humble-bee ; but they are so much afraid of being stung with them, as they go naked in summer, that they avoid them as much as they can. Nor he did not see any of the maple they use in Canada to make sugar of, but only the birch, whose juice they use for the same purpose ; boiling it until it is black and dry, and then using it with their meat. They use no milk from the time they are weaned, and they all hate to taste cheese, having taken up an opinion that it is made of dead men's fat ; they love prunes and raisins, and will give a beaver skin for twelve of them, to carry to their children, and also for a thrum or jew's harp.

" He says the women have all fine voices, but have never heard any musical instrument. They are very fond of all sorts of pictures or prints, giving a beaver for the least print, and all toys are like jewels to them. When he got to the natives, southward of Pachegoia, he had about thirty cowries left, and a few small bells, less than hawk-bells. When he shewed one of them, they gave him a beaver's skin for it, and they were so fond that some gave him two skins, or three martin skins, for one, to give

give their wives to make them fine. The martens they take in traps, for if they shoot them their skins would be spoiled; they have generally five or six at a litter. He says the natives are so discouraged in their trade with the company, that no skins are worth the carriage; and the finest furs were sold for very little, when they came to the factory in June 1742. The prices they took for the European goods were much higher than the settled prices fixed by the company, which the governors fix so to shew the company how zealous they are to improve their trade, and sell their goods to advantage. He says they gave but a pound of gunpowder for four beavers; a fathom of tobacco for seven beavers; a pound of shot for one; an ell of coarse cloth for fifteen; a blanket for twelve; two fish-hooks or three flints for one; a gun for twenty-five; a pistol for ten; a common hat, with white lace, for seven; an axe for four; a bill-hook for one; a gallon of brandy for four; a chequered shirt for seven; all which were sold at a monstrous profit, even to two thousand per cent.. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the two fleets which went down with him, and parted at the Great Fork, carried down two hundred packs of one hundred each, twenty thousand beavers; and the other Indians who arrived that year, he computed, carried down three hundred packs of two hundred each, making thirty thousand; in all fifty thousand beavers, and above nine thousand martens.

“The furs there are much more valuable than the furs upon the Canada lakes, sold at New York; for these will give five or six shillings per pound, when the others sell at three shillings and sixpence. He says that if a fort was built at the Great Fork, sixty leagues above York Fort, and a factory with European goods was fixed there, and a reasonable price was put upon the European goods, that the trade would be wonderfully increased; for the natives from the southward of Pachegoia, could make, at least, two returns in a summer, and those at greater distances could make one, who cannot now come at all; and above double the number would be employed in hunting, and many more skins would be brought to market, that they cannot now afford to bring, for the expence and low price given for them. The stream is so gentle from the Fork to York Fort, on either branch, that large vessels and shallops may be built there, and carry down the bulky goods, and also return again against the stream; and the climate is good and fit to produce grain, pulse, &c. and very good grafs and hay for horses and cattle; and if afterwards any settlement were made upon Pachegoia, and vessels built to navigate that lake, which is not more northerly than the latitude of 52 degrees, the trade would be still vastly enlarged and improved, and spread the trade not only up the river and lakes, as far as the Lake du Bois and du Pluis, but also among the Assinibouls, and nations beyond them; and the nation de Vieux Hommes, who are two hundred leagues westward of Pachegoia. He says the nations who go up that river with presents, to confirm the peace, are three months in going, and say they live behind a range of mountains beyond Assinibouls; he saw several of them, who all wanted a joint of their little finger, which they said was cut off soon after they were born, but gave no reason for it.

“Whilst he was at York Fort he got acquainted with an old Indian who lived at some distance from Nelson's Bay to the westward, being one of those they call the home Indians, who had about fifteen years ago, gone at the head of thirty warriors to make war against the Attimospiquais, Tete Plat, or Plazcotez de Chiens, a nation lying northward, on the western ocean of America; he was the only one that returned, all the rest being killed, or perished through fatigue or want of food; upon their return, when they went, they carried their own families with them, and hunted and fished from place to place for two winters and one summer, having left their country in autumn,

...and he first following came to the sea side on the western coast, where they immediately made their canoes; at some small distance they lay at anchor, which was about a league and a half long; when the tide was out, or went full, they had no water between them, and the strand, but when it rose, it covered all the passage and the island, as high as the woods upon the flats. There they left their wives and children, and old men to stand their house, and provide them with provisions by hunting and shooting for them upon the land; and he with thirty warriors, went in quest of the opening of the Tete Plat.

“After they parted with their families they came to a strait which they passed in their canoes; the sea coast lay almost east and west, for he laid the sun, red on the right hand, and at noon it was almost behind him, as he passed the strait, and always set in the sea. After passing the strait, they coasted along the sea for three months, going into the country and woods as they went along to hunt for provisions. He said they saw a great many large black fish, spouting up water in the sea. After they had thus coasted for near three months, they saw the footstep of some men on the land, by which they judged they were not far from their enemies; upon which they quitted their canoes, and went five days through the woods and bushes, which were but very low and shrubby, and so close they could with difficulty make way through it; and then came to the banks of a river, where they found a large town of their enemies; and, after making their usual cry, they discharged their arrows and guns against those who appeared; upon which they fled; but finding how few they were, they returned and killed fifteen of them, and wounded three or four more; upon which they fled to the woods, and from thence made their escape to their canoes before their enemies overtook them; and, after a great deal of fatigue got to the straits, and after getting over they all died one after another of fatigue and famine, except this old man; leaving him alone to travel to his own country, which took him up about a year's time, having left his gun when his ammunition was spent, and, and left all his arrows, and upon his return had not even a knife with him, so that he was reduced to live upon herbs and moss growing upon the rocks, and was almost famished when he reached the river Sakie, where he met his friends, who relieved him when he despaired of ever again seeing his own country.”

This, says Mr. Dobbs, is the account so far as Joseph la France could inform me of those countries southward of York Fort, which may be brought to trade there in time. It must be allowed, that this relation is equally instructive and entertaining; it makes us at once acquainted with the country, and with the reasons which should induce us to think it worth our while to enquire about it; it shews us, that these countries are far from being inhospitable, or uninhabitable; that, on the contrary, there are many nations already known, and many more of whom the Europeans have had notice, all of whom are sufficiently in want, and have it at the same time abundantly in their power to pay us for supplies. This, I say, is evidently made appear, since it is affirmed, and the fact is so true as not be disputed, that the French carry on a great trade with these Indians, and that they are very well able to bear the rigour of the seasons in those parts; and if they can bear it, surely so may we.

It may indeed be objected, that the French are very apt to boast of much more than they perform, and therefore we ought not to give an implicit credit to their relations, especially in their own favour.

But this is easily answered, since Mr. Dobbs has also furnished us with English names that prove the very same things; and therefore I shall quote from him what is sufficient for that purpose, and which is no less entertaining than the account given

us by Joseph la France, and of no less authority than his, since it is given us by an Englishman of credit, who reports nothing but from his own experience and observation :

“ Mr. Frost, who has been many years employed by the company in the bay, both at Churchill and Moose River factory, and who was their interpreter with the natives, and travelled a considerable way into the country, both north-west of Churchill and southward of Moose River factory, and has resided at Moose River, since the factory was made there in 1730, gives a very good account of that climate and country there, and up the river southward of it : he says the factory is built near the mouth of the river, in latitude 51 degrees 28 minutes, upon a navigable river, which, at twelve miles distant from the fort, is divided into two branches ; one comes from the southward, the other from the south-west. Upon the southern branch, all sort of grain thrives, as barley, beans, and pease do at the factory, though exposed to all the chilling winds which come from the ice in the bay. Upon the southern part, above the falls, there grows naturally along the river, the same kind of wild oats and rye mentioned already upon the lake of Sieno, the husk being black, but the grain within perfectly white and clear, like rice ; the Indians beating it off when ripe into their canoes, as they pass along the river, it growing in the water, like rice. In their woods, at the bottom of the bay, at Moose and Albany, as well as at Rupert's River, are very large timber trees of all kinds ; oak, ash, &c. as well as pine, cedar, and spruce ; they have exceeding good grass to make hay, which improves every day, as they cut and feed it, and may have every where within land all sorts of pulse and grain, and all sorts of fruit trees, as in the same climate in Europe ; for all the sorts they have tried thrive very well.

“ The ice breaks up at Moose factory in the beginning of April, but higher up in the country in March. It is navigable for canoes a great way up among the falls ; at a considerable distance there is one fall of fifty feet, but above that it is deep, and navigable for a great way ; the climate above the fall is very good, and the river abounds with that wild rice. The French have got a house, or settlement for trade, near the southern branch, above one hundred miles above the factory, where they sell their goods cheaper than the company do, although it be so difficult to carry them so far from Canada, and very expensive ; and give as much for a marten's skin as they do for a beaver, when we insist upon three for one ; so that the French get all the choice skins, and leave only the refuse for the company. The French have also got another house pretty high up upon Rupert's River, by which they have gained all the trade upon the East Main, except a little the company get at Slude river.” He says, “ That upon the south side of the great inland sea, upon the East Main, which has lately been discovered, there is an exceeding rich lead mine, from which the natives have brought very good ore, which might turn to very great advantage, as well as the furs upon that coast, which might be vastly increased if the trade was laid open, and settlements made in proper places. He says, when he was at Churchill, he travelled a considerable way in the country north-westward of the River of Seals, that near the river and sea-coast there were small shrubby woods ; but for many miles, at least sixty farther into the country, they had nothing but a barren white moss, upon which the reindeer feed, and also the moose, buffaloes, and other deer ; and the natives told him, farther westward, beyond that barren country, there were large woods. He was acquainted when there, about fifteen years ago, with an Indian chief, who traded at Churchill, who had been often at a fine copper mine, which they struck off the rocks with sharp stones. He said it was upon islands at the mouth of the river, and lay to the northward of that country where they had no night in summer.

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" As to the trade at Churchill, it is increasing ; it being at too great distance from the French for them to interfere in the trade ; in the year 1742, it amounted to twenty thousand beavers. There were about one hundred up-land Indians came in their canoes to trade, and about two hundred northern Indians, who brought their furs and skins upon sledges ; some of them came down the River of Seals, fifteen leagues northward of Churchill, in canoes, and brought their furs from thence by land. They have no beavers to the northward of Churchill, they not having there such ponds or woods as they choose to feed upon ; but they have great numbers of martens, foxes, bears, reindeer, buffaloes, wolves, and other beasts of rich furs, the country being mostly rocky, and covered with white moss, upon which the rein-deer, or cariboux, feed.

" There is a great deal of small wood, of the spruce or fir kind, near the old factory ; but the wood improves, as it is farther up the river from the bay ; where they have juniper, birch, and poplar. And more southerly the timber is larger, and there are great variety of trees ; they are under great inconveniences at the new fort, which is upon an elevated situation, upon a rock without shelter, close by the shore, surrounded with snow and ice for eight months in the year, exposed to all the winds and storms that happen ; where they can have no conveniency of grafs or hay, or gardening, and yet they had four or five horses there, and a bull, and two cows, near the factory ; but they were obliged to bring their hay from a marshy bottom, some miles up the river, to feed them in winter ; but if a settlement was made higher up the river southward, some leagues from the bay, in shelter, without the reach of the chilling winds, they would have grafs and hay sufficient, and might have also gardens and proper greens, and roots, propagated there. They say there is a communication betwixt that river and Nelson's River, at a great distance within land, or a very short land-carriage betwixt them ; for the Indians who trade here tell them, each season, what chiefs, with their followers, go down that year to Nelson or Albany river."

We may justly wonder that we never had before any clear account of these matters, considering how long we have had factories in these parts ; and that on the contrary all the accounts hitherto given represent the coasts of Hudson's Bay, as the most forlorn and dreadful part of the universe, hitherto discovered ; as regions freezing and frightful, almost beyond all description, and which it would appear dreadful and cruel to send even malefactors to inhabit. But for this the same gentleman has fully accounted ; and it is requisite that the public should be very well acquainted with the account that he has given ; for since the great council of the nation has thought fit to encourage an attempt to discover a passage this way into the South Seas, it is very reasonable to suppose that endeavours will not be wanting to push that attempt to the utmost ; to facilitate which there is nothing of so great importance as the proving that the discouragements which have been hitherto represented as insuperable, have been over-rated, and that notwithstanding all that has been said of them, it is not only possible but probable, that they may be overcome ; towards which nothing surely can contribute more than the pointing out the motives, upon which they have hitherto been constantly represented, in so strong a light, which is very effectually done in the following passage from the same author ; who, as he has studied this point, so it must be allowed he has made it as clear as with reason could well be expected.

" The company avoid all they can making discoveries to the northward of Churchill, or extending their trade that way, for fear they should discover a passage to the western ocean of America, and tempt, by that means, the rest of the English merchants to lay open their trade, which they know they have no legal right to ; which, if the passage was found, would not only animate the rest of the merchants to pursue the trade through

through that passage, but also to find out the great advantages that might be made of the trade of the rivers and countries adjoining to the bay, by which means they would lose their beloved monopoly. But the prospect they have of gain to be made by trading with the Eskimauk Indians, for whale-fin, whale and sea oil, and sea-horse teeth, induces them to venture a sloop annually, as far as 62 degrees 30 minutes, to Whale Cove, where these Indians meet them, and truck their fins and oil with them. But though they are fully informed of a fine copper mine on a navigable arm of the sea, north-westward of Whale Cove, and the Indians have offered to carry their sloops to it, yet their fear of discovering the passage puts bounds to their avarice, and prevents their going to the mine, which by all accounts is very rich. Yet those who have been at Whale Cove, own that from thence northward is all broken land; and that after passing some islands, they from the hills see the sea open, leading to the westward. And the Indians who have been often at the mine say it is upon a navigable arm of the sea, of great depth, leading to the south-west, where are great numbers of large black fish spouting water, which confirms the opinion that all the whales seen between Whale Cove and Wager River, all come there from the western ocean, since none are seen any where else in Hudson's Bay or Streight. All along this coast from the latitude 62 degrees to 65 degrees, a very beneficial fishery of whales may be carried on with these Eskimauk Indians; who, even without the use of iron, can harpoon and kill whales, and if they were supplied with iron harpoons, and proper cordage, they might be brought to kill great numbers of them. At present all their nets, lines, and snares, are made of whale-bone, and most of their boats and other necessaries of the seal-skins, fish-bones, and sea-horse teeth, and in making all things necessary for them, they are very neat and ingenious."

The same judicious person, from whom we have borrowed so much already, has taken the pains to give, from very authentic relations, a very clear, as well as a very copious account of most of the Indian nations that lie at the back of our northern colonies, and between the French settlements in Canada, and on the Mississippi River; with the countries they inhabited, and the product of those countries, which I esteem a thing of very great consequence, and as material a service to this nation, as has been rendered for many years; the account is too long for me to insert, but the inferences he draws from it are so just, and of so high consequence, that I think it would be an injury done the reader not to report them, as it would certainly be doing both him and the subject great wrong, to report them in any other than his own words, which without farther preface I shall use; only it is necessary to premise at the time this gentleman published his book, the war with France was not actually broke out.

"How glorious, says he, would it be for us at the same time to civilize so many nations, and improve so large and spacious a country, by communicating our constitution and liberties, both civil and religious, to so many numbers, whose happiness and pleasure would increase at the same time, that an increase of wealth and power would be added to Britain.

"There is, at present, a beginning of this scheme, by the zeal of Mr. Barclay, who is instructing and civilizing the Mowhawks, among the Iroquese, who from a warlike nation have embarked in trade, and entered into alliances with all nations round the Lakes Huron and Errie, and to the westward as far as the Mississippi, which is firmly established by the gain they make by the trade. The English, from New-York, have fixed at Oswega, in their country, upon equitable terms with all the Indians, who come now from a great distance to trade at that town; Indians coming now to trade there, whose names were never before known to the English. This therefore seems to be the

critical time to begin this settlement, on the banks of Conde River. If there be a war with France, as we are at a great expence to save the liberties of Europe, and support the House of Austria, since we can have nothing in Europe beneficial for us; in case we are successful at the conclusion of the war, we ought to stipulate for something advantageous in America; and the least we ought to claim is our right to the American lakes, and securing the navigation of them. The French have, at present, two little forts, and about thirty men in each; at Niagara, and the streights of St. Joseph; and a few men at Missiliackinac, and at the bottom of the Illinise Lake. These we ought to have from them, either by force or treaty, which would secure the inland trade to us, and prevent their future incroachments, either there or in Hudson's Bay; and to do this effectually, would be to make a settlement near the lake Errie, which may be done with little or no expence, considering our present barrier and alliance, and trade with the natives; and, whenever our troops are disbanded, some of them may be sent over upon half-pay, to fix in proper places and make good our possessions, which would be a fine retreat to our soldiers, who cannot, so easily, after being disbanded, bring themselves again to hard labour, after being so long disused to it.

“By these settlements, and those adjoining to Hudson's Bay, and by opening the trade to the bay, many thousands more would be employed in trade, and a much greater vent would be opened to our manufactures; whereas, all the trade we have at present, whilst it is thus confined to the company, is the employment of one hundred and twenty men in all their factories; and two or three ships in that trade, manned perhaps with one hundred and twenty men in time of war, to enrich nine or ten merchants at their country's expence, at the same time betraying the nation, by allowing the French to encroach upon us at the bottom of the bay, having given up by that means the greatest part of their trade there to the French. It is therefore humbly submitted to the government, whether it is not just, as well as prudent, to open the trade to all the British merchants, and resume, at the same time, the charter, so far as to take from them all the lands they have not reclaimed or occupied, after seventy years possession, leaving them only their factories, and such lands as they have reclaimed, adjoining to them; and to give grants, as usual, in other colonies, to all who shall go over to trade, and make settlements in the country; for no grant was ever intended to be made to them, to enable them to prevent other subjects of Britain from planting those colonies, which they themselves would not plant or occupy; for such a power, instead of being beneficial, would be the greatest prejudice to Britain. It is therefore become a general law in all the colonies, that those who take grants of land, and do not plant them in a reasonable limited time, forfeit their right to those lands, and a new grant is made out to such others as shall plant and improve them; and if this grant be not immediately resumed so far, and the trade laid open, and some force be not sent to secure our southern plantations in the bay by the government, in case there should be a French war, we shall see the French immediately dispossess the company of all their factories but Churchill, and all these countries, and that trade, will be in possession of the French.

“To the making such settlements some objections have been made by the friends of the company, as the great difficulty of getting people to go to settle and plant in so cold a country, and the difficulty and danger attending the making settlements higher up upon the rivers, and navigating them, as they are so full of falls and rapids, that can only be navigated by the natives in small canoes, made of birch bark, which cannot contain above two men with any cargo; and in these they are often overfet, and are in such danger of being drowned, and of spoiling their goods, that they are often obliged to
carry

carry their canoes and cargo from place to place, which obstructs greatly and delays the navigation ; and that scarce five men out of one hundred and twenty, which the company now have in the bay, will venture themselves in, or can conduct such canoes, without imminent danger of being drowned, and consequently these hardships and difficulties will counter-balance the profit to be made of settling higher up in the country, upon the rivers, in pleasanter and warmer climates.

“ To this I answer, that by the accounts already given here of these climates and countries, by impartial persons, who do not want to disguise the truth, it appears that the cold is tolerable, even at these disadvantageous settlements at present in the bay ; and that upon passing only five or six leagues up the rivers into the country, the climate is so altered, as to be equal to those of the same latitudes in Europe ; and that these prodigious accounts of the effects of cold, are calculated only to serve the company, in order to prevent people from going there to settle, and encroach upon the company's monopoly of trade. And to the difficulty they make about navigating these rivers in those small canoes, and the small number employed by the company, who will venture in them, or can conduct them, I answer, that their servants being at present no gainers by trade, will not endeavour to learn to navigate these canoes, where there is any risk, and care necessary to prevent the danger. Besides, the company allows them no time to learn, by confining them to their factories, whilst the Indian trade continues, and the navigation is open ; and at other times keeps them employed in cutting wood for firing, bringing it home, shooting, fishing, and digging in their gardens, to supply themselves with provisions, to lessen the company's expence, so that they are allowed no time to learn to navigate these boats, or to go up the rivers to observe the soil and climate, or what improvements might be made in the country. But if they were masters of their own time, and could advance their wealth by trade, and found a considerable profit to arise to them by their dexterity in managing these canoes, and the great pleasure and satisfaction they would have by living in a fine climate among these lakes and rivers, they would be as enterprising and dexterous as the *Cureur de Bois*, and be as able to navigate among these water-falls, as the French. Neither is it impracticable to prevent even those canoes from oversetting, by outlagers or blown bladders fixed to their sides, or other kind of boats may be used, such as are made at Torneo in Sweden, upon the rivers falling into the Bothnic Gulph, and Laplanders might be prevailed upon to go there to teach them how to make and manage these boats, and train up rein-deer to draw in sledges in winter, and also to use Lapland shoes, which are better than those used in America.

“ If the trade was once made free, the profit made upon it would induce many to go and settle upon those rivers, when not only horses and other conveniences would be had near the water-falls, to assist the land carriage in summer, but also horses and rein-deer to draw their sledges in winter, as in Russia, which is almost as cheap a carriage as by water, when the proper roads are made through the woods, so that objection must be of no force to prevent our opening the trade, and settling these countries. But supposing the worst, that we could not manage these canoes, that could not prevent our settling to advantage upon these rivers and lakes above the falls, for the natives might still be our carriers, in navigating those dangerous places, and taking our goods from one settlement to another, whilst we should be employed in navigation and trade among lakes and rivers where there are no falls, in larger vessels, and push our commerce inward into better climates and richer soils, and put the natives upon improvements by civilizing and instructing them in building convenient houses, and associating

in towns, making gardens, and tilling their lands; providing them with horses and tame cattle, and fowl, for their use, and proper tools which our trade would furnish them with.

“ Another objection is, that it is a difficult and dangerous navigation into the bay, and the trade is not worth the risk. To this I answer, that the navigation is not so dangerous as it is apprehended to be, but appears to be more so by the insinuations and report of the company and their friends, who gave it out in order to deter others from venturing and interfering in their trade, and for that reason they oblige their captains, under a penalty, not to publish any charts of the bay and streight. Captain Middleton, who was in their service, made above twenty voyages to different parts of the bay, and never lost a ship, nor had any accident in these voyages; nor have I heard that the company, in about twenty-three years, have lost any ships in that trade, but two, and the men and cargo were saved by Captain Middleton. Where captains are careful in the ice, there is not much danger; it is of great advantage to them that there is no night at that season they enter the bay, where the quantity of ice is greatest; and when they return in September, or even in October, all the ice is in a manner dissolved or passed out of the streight into the ocean, and none seen that can hinder their passage.

“ It is probable, that during the whole winter, from October to March, there is no ice in the streight to obstruct their passage into or out of the bay; for a ship which chanced to be closed up with ice in an inlet, by breaking of the ice got out, and came through the ice at Christmas, without finding any ice in the streight to prevent her passage; for the ice which is formed in bays and rivers, in winter, does not break up and get into the channel or streight until it begins to thaw upon the shore in March or April; at which time it is carried by the winds and tide into the streight, and obstructs the passage in May or June, until it is dissolved; yet, even then, good pilots know how to avoid it and get into the eddy-tide, out of the current; where the ice is more open, and not drove together by the winds and current, as it is in the channel. But these difficulties would lessen every day, if the trade were opened and the voyages more frequent, by the great number of ships, which would make many more experienced pilots. And as there is now a more accurate chart published of the streight and bay, by Capt. Middleton, with the islands, soundings, tides, and variation, the navigation will become less dangerous daily, and coves, and places of shelter for ships, will be found out, by the number of ships which would then pass, and be trading in those seas which are now unknown. I therefore apprehend, that the danger of the ice is more in imagination than reality, when care and judgment are employed; for ships are mostly inclosed in ice in calm weather and fogs, when the ice prevents the motion of the sea; stormy weather disperses and breaks the ice, unless they get under the lee of a large island of ice; and then they fasten to it, and drive along with it, whilst the smaller ice to leeward is drove from them by the wind, and the large islands, being many fathoms deep in the water, come on ground before the ships are in danger of being forced on shore in shallow water.

“ The greatest danger and delay from the ice is in the entrance into the streight; for the first forty leagues from thence the quantity is less, and they pass on with less difficulty; and after getting into the bay, the north-west side is the freest from ice; the bottom of the bay is full of low flat ice, which is all dissolved in the latter end of summer. Upon the whole, except two ships, which were lost in King William's reign, and a French ship, after an engagement with our ships when they attacked Fort Nelson, I have heard of none, except the ships already mentioned, which have been lost in the voyage. The two ships which went out with Barlow, in 1719, to find the north-west passage,

passage, contrary to the inclinations of the company, if they did not make the passage were probably, in the winter, surpris'd by the natives, and were not lost in the ice; for they say, that the natives, in about latitude 63 degrees, where they suppose they were lost, are shyer since that time in trading with the company's sloop; which they apprehend to be from a consciousness of guilt, fearing that if it were known they should still be punished for it. Since, therefore, the greatest danger from the ice, is in passing the streight, and so few accidents have happened in so many years, the navigation, I think, cannot be called dangerous, though it has been so apprehended, and not equal to the whale-fishers, who go annually to Spitsberg and Davis's Streights to latitudes 78 and 80 degrees, without any objection to that navigation, either by the Dutch, Hamburghers, Danes, Biscayners, or English."

He concludes from thence, that the opening the trade and settling in the bay, would prove a great benefit to, and great improvement of, our trade, which might be vastly increased, as well in respect to furs as to mines, and the whale-fishery; all which might be carried on with the assistance of the Indians, and would turn to a very high profit, even supposing that no passage to the north-west could ever be found; but should future experience demonstrate that this gentleman's notions are, in this respect, well founded, and this long sought for passage should actually be discovered, it would then certainly follow that this country, so little known and so much despised till very lately, would become of more consequence to us, than almost any colony in America. Here let me take the liberty of observing what hitherto, as far as I know, has never yet been considered; that if such a passage to the north-west should be discovered before these countries are tolerably planted, the French would have a fair opportunity of supplanting us in the advantages expected from that important attempt; and perhaps we should then be forced to fight for the possession of countries that are now thought not worth the having.

It may likewise deserve some thought, whether it be not better to attempt such settlements without loss of time, as must at all events be highly useful and serviceable to this nation, by dividing the French settlements in Canada, and on the Mississippi, from each other, than to wait till the importance of such settlements shall appear in so glaring a light, as they must immediately do if such a passage should be discovered; for we ought to remember, from the famous instance of our being disappointed in our design of settling the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, that it is a very difficult matter, in a time of full peace, for us to acquire any advantage in point of commerce, at the expence of the French, who, in such a case, would not fail to take the same vigorous measures that they did in the case before mentioned. I have taken the more pains to place this matter in a fair and true light, because I am persuaded this is the time in which only it can be considered to advantage; for if the case now in view (I mean, the discovery of a north-west passage) should ever come, as I am convinced, sooner or later it will come to be the case in fact, the face of affairs will be quite changed, and this new route to the South Seas and East Indies will produce such an alteration in the whole commercial system of Europe, that things will be seen to be then of the utmost consequence, which at present most people look upon as dreams and visions, notwithstanding the late sanction given them by the wisdom of the parliament.

But it becomes a prudent and sensible people, and above all, it imports a maritime power, to consider things in time, and while what is proposed for their benefit is easy, or at least practicable; and not to defer and delay things till from being troublesome and difficult they come to be absolutely impossible. We know what sharp and cutting remarks have been made on the meannesses of King James's spirit, in suffering the Dutch

to despoil us of the spice trade: we cannot but remember the severe reflection on Queen Anne's ministry, for not securing to us Cape Breton, and therefore we must be cautious of falling a third time into the same mistake, and of running the hazard of making a great discovery, such as all the world allows that of the north-west would be, rather for other people's benefit than our own, since it must pass for a wonder, greater than ever was made by our ancestors, and would render us ridiculous in the eyes of latest posterity.

12. The method we have taken in describing the acquisitions of our north America, leads us next to speak of the noble country of Pennsylvania; the first and one of the most flourishing of our colonies on the continent of North America. We have before mentioned Admiral Penn, who in conjunction with William Penn, conquered the island of Jamaica for this nation; he became afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania, and stood in as high a degree of credit with King Charles II. Duke of York, as any seaman of that time, as indeed he very well deserved, his abilities superior to most, he had as great modesty as any man, and on many occasions, to serve his country in any station that was found proper. He had an excellent disposition of mind that secured him from danger under a false recommendation to preferment under another; for when the Duke of York intended to take the command of the English fleet upon himself in the Dutch war, he made choice of Sir William Penn as the most experienced and capable officer to serve under him, which he did with equal ability and Highness, and credit to himself; establishing thereby such a reputation, which lasted during his life, and proved no less useful to his son.

But Sir William Penn did not long enjoy his high station; he died in the west country where he was born, was buried in Redcliff church in England. His reward for his services, had a promise of the grant of this country from the Duke of York. Sir William had a kinsman who was one of the first planters in New England, and it is, doubtless, from him that he had exact and particular information of the advantages that might be made of lands and settlements in this continent of America. But young Mr. Penn did not for some years apply himself strenuously to follow the promised grant, till at last finding his friends, the Quakers, were persecuted in England and by spiritual courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of a company as would go with him and remove to this country, of which he obtained the first grant in the year 1681.

He gave it the name of Pennsylvania some time before he was actually invested with it, and so it is called in the original patent, bearing date March 4th 1680. It contained all that tract of land in America, with all the Indians belonging to it, from the beginning of the 40th degree of north latitude to the 45th degree, whose eastern bound, from twelve English miles above Newcastle, and Delaware town, runs all along upon the side of Delaware river. So that it is bounded on the east by that Bay and river, and the eastern sea; on the north by the Dutch province of New York, for it runs a great way above the Jerseys; on the south by the Indian nations, above the heads of Susquahanna and Delaware rivers, by which it stretches far within land, that river running through it about two hundred miles, on the south it is bounded by Maryland, and reaching to the mouth of the river to Hanlope, near the mouth of the bay, about fifty miles directly; but it is narrow all along, being very much contracted by the bay of Maryland.

The bounds and extent we have just now described, was the original grant; but Mr. Penn having afterwards obtained part of the Dutch province of New York, he was added to the country in the first grant, and the whole of Pennsylvania, which is divided into

into three upper and three lower counties; the three upper counties, Buckingham, Philadelphia, and Chester, are the Pennsylvania, so called in King Charles's grant. The three lower counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, are taken out of Nova Belgia, or the province of New York. The upper counties end at Marcus Hook, four miles below Chester Town; the lower run along the coast one hundred and twenty miles, and are forty miles deep towards Maryland. Thus the whole province of Pennsylvania, from the Falls Township, to twenty miles below Hanlope or Cape William, is in length one hundred and thirty miles, and in breadth two hundred. The river Delawar, which runs below the Falls, for a good length, is called the Frefhes, and near the mouth is very fertile and profitable.

When Mr. Penn had got his patent, he invited several persons to purchase lands there. Though he did not satisfy himself with the title granted him by Charles the II. He also bought the land of the Indians. The Swedes, who had been here before the Dutch, the first planters here, as well as at New York, settled there in the Frefhes of Delawar. The Fins, or inhabitants of Finland, part of the Kingdom of Sweden, applied themselves chiefly to husbandry. The king of Sweden appointed a governor here, who had often disputes with the governor that presided over the Dutch. The latter applied themselves mostly to traffic, living upon, or near, the bay, and by the neighbourhood of New York. The Dutch also were too powerful for the Swedes, who, finding they could not maintain their ground, submitted to their stronger neighbours. Accordingly John Rising, the Swedish governor, made a formal surrender of the country to Peter Styeriont, governor for the States General, after which this province continued subject to their Republic till the English drove the Dutch out of New Amsterdam or New York, which made the possession of those territories the more easy to Mr. Penn.

There were a few English here before Mr. Penn sent over the first adventurers under his patent, over whom he placed, as governor, Colonel William Markham, his nephew, to whom both Dutch and Swedes submitted. Those that went over, were generally dissenters, from London, Liverpool, and especially Bristol, for the west of England abounded with dissenters more than other counties; they shipped themselves at Bristol in great numbers for Pennsylvania. Mr. Thomas Gouldney, and Mr. Duddleston, two tobacco merchants of that city, about this time fitted out the Unicorn, a ship of three hundred tons, for this voyage, which putting into Start, took in a great many from Bridgewater. Mr. Penn had sold twenty thousand acres of his property to Mr. James Claydon, Mr. Nicholas Moor, Mr. Philip Ford, and others, who formed a company, and had a street, and a side of a street, set out for them in Philadelphia, with four hundred acres of land in the city liberties. They set up a tannery, a saw mill, a glass house, and a whalery; of the two latter, I suppose, they never made any great profit. The proportion conditions of sale were these: Buyers purchased after the rate of twenty pounds for one thousand acres, so that he put four hundred pounds in his pocket immediately, but that was a trifle to what went out of it for the grant and experiments to people and settle the country: the current was twelve pounds for every hundred acres. This was cheap enough, but I think the renters were not so well used, for they were to pay so much as acre yearly. These twenty thousand acres which he sold the company, would, if they had bought him one thousand pounds a-year. Since that time the value of land is so risen, that I have been credibly informed it has sold for twenty years purchase, and is so distant from Philadelphia; and that it is now gone at a pound an acre in some places at more than a pound an acre yearly.





the province, next to that of Philadelphia, and has an iron mine in the neighbourhood of it. The town of Apoquinemink lies upon the river Delawar, south of Newcastle, and is a place of good trade. The county of Kent lies south of that of Newcastle, the chief town whereof is Dover, being a commodious port. The most southern county is that of Sussex, the capital town whereof is Lewes, being a secure harbour and a town of trade.

The air here is sweet and clear; the fall begins here about the 20th of October, and lasts to the beginning of December; frosty weather, and cold seasons are frequent; but as in most countries where are such seasons the air is dry and hungry; the river Delawar is sometimes frozen over, notwithstanding its breadth. The spring lasts from March to June, but the weather then is more inconstant than in the other seasons, which it generally is in other countries. The heats are extraordinary in the summer months, July, August, and September, but alleviated by cold breezes, which make them very tolerable. The wind is south-west during summer, but generally north-westerly, spring, fall, and winter; which blowing from the frosty and snowy mountains, and lakes of the Terra Canadensis, is, doubtless, a main reason of the excessive cold here in winter. The soil in this tract of land is in some places a yellow and black sand, and in others a loomy gravel, in others a fat earth, like the vales in England; especially by inland brooks and rivers, where the lands in this country are mostly three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. There is also found a black hazle mould, on a stony bottom. The earth is fruitful, fat, and easy to be cleared, because the roots of the trees lie almost on the surface of the ground. Some allowance must be made for Mr. Penn's property in the tempting description he gives us of the country. We have laid enough of the rivers and creeks in it, and shewn how commodious they are for navigation and communication; but among other waters Mr. Penn mentions mineral waters; these springs are about two miles from Philadelphia, at a happy distance from water-drinkers, but the number of them is, since that, lessened extremely, and we need not insist on their virtue.

Here are trees of almost all sorts, oak, red, white, and black ash, beech, Spanish chestnuts, cedar, will-nuts, cypress, and swamp; the most durable of all are poplar, gumwood, hickory, salisfras; and as for shrubs, snakeroot, sarsaparilla, salop, spruce, and cranberries; wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, water melons, muskmelons, apples, pears, cherries, apricots, carrots, turnips, parsnips, onions, cucumbers, quinces, &c. are in great plenty here; as also Indian corn, hemp, flax, &c. It is common for one bushel of corn sown here to yield forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty bushels. One Mr. Edward Jones had for one grain of English barley seventy stalks and ears of that corn, in his plantation on the Schoolkill. Of living creatures there are for food and trade, deer, the elk as big as a small ox, rabbits, raccoons, beaver; plenty of oxen, cows, and sheep; of the latter it is common for farmers to have four or five hundred in a flock. Horses, some very good, and handsome enough. Of fowl here are very fine bustards, forty or fifty pounds weight, pheasants, heath birds, pigeons, partridges, clouds of blackbirds, brown geese, brantides, ducks, teal and snipe. The fish here are sturgeons, herring, eel, mackerel, and perch; the latter caught in abundance in Delawar Bay; and the great above the latter, oysters, crabs, cockles, and muscles. There are also rock, fluke, catfish, bluefish, and other fish, not worth our particular regard.

We need not wonder that in a country so fruitful and so pleasant, and where there was so close a society of living happy, with moderate industry, people should resort in such numbers. Without doubt, religion was a strong motive, and the quakers

quakers willingly followed Mr. Penn, from a country where they were persecuted, to a land of plenty and peace. But in time, and indeed in a little time, this argument ceased, and people resorted thither as they did to the other colonies, upon the ordinary motives of gain and trade; we may, however, venture to assert that Mr. Penn's original contract, for so the first constitution drawn by him was stiled, had a very great influence in procuring inhabitants, since it must be allowed there never was a more beneficent scheme of government devised by the wit of man.

By degrees, however, this also has been somewhat altered, not by the proprietor or those acting under his authority, but at the desire and on the request of the people, with respect to whom it may possibly be true, that such alterations, in process of time, might become necessary. The spirit, however, of Mr. Penn's institution is still preserved, and the people here are as free, and as well, and as cheaply governed as in any part of the known world. A very strong proof of this may be drawn from the greatest error in government that was ever committed there, which was laying a tax of five shillings a head upon all new comers; which shews, that they were once in some apprehension of being overstocked; but this law was very soon repealed, as it ought to be. At present it would be a very difficult thing to pretend to compute the number of people in this flourishing colony, but we may form some notion of it from the following instance, which is very certain, viz. that the inhabitants of Philadelphia in 1740 were full fifteen thousand.

14. As to the commerce of Pennsylvania with respect to Europe and America, the case, according to the best accounts we have, stands thus; their merchandize consists of horses, pipe-staves, pork, beef and fish, salted and barrelled up, skins and furs; all sorts of grain, viz. wheat, rye, pease, oats, barley, buck-wheat, Indian corn, Indian pease and beans, pot-ashes, wax, &c. and in return for these, they import from the Caribbee Islands and other places, rum, sugar, molosses, ~~silver~~ sugar, negroes, salt and wine; and from Great Britain household goods and cloathing of all kinds, hard-ware, tools and toys. They have also some rice, but no great quantities, and a little tobacco of the worst sort. Their trade with the Indians consists but in a few articles; they receive of the natives chiefly skins and furs of their wild beasts, for which they give them clothing, arms, ammunition, rum, and other spirits in return. This, as well as other northern colonies, has also a clandestine trade with the Spaniards upon the coast of Terra Firma, &c. furnishing them with European goods and merchandize, for which they receive chiefly dollars in return; and they also trade to the bays of Honduras and Campeachy for logwood, by connivance, as the Spaniards say; but the subjects of Great Britain insist that they have a right to that trade, and as we have already shewn, that they do not insist upon this, without just grounds, in the opinion of those who are the best and properest judges of that matter. But after all it must be admitted, that Pennsylvania has no staple commodity, which, however, is not justly chargeable upon the inhabitants of this colony; who, notwithstanding this, have never set up any manufactures of their own.

But the point to be enquired into is, whether they might not have such a staple commodity if they went about it themselves industriously, and received from hence proper encouragement? It is a point out of dispute, that no country in the world is more proper than Pennsylvania for producing hemp and flax; and with respect to these, we ought seriously to consider, that there is nothing plainer than that hemp and flax are so useful in navigation and trade that we cannot do without them; the first for cordage of all sorts, the latter for making sail-cloth, as well as for the linen manufactures carried on in this kingdom. * The necessity we are under for these commodities ought to put us upon

upon all imaginable care how to provide them, that we may not fall under the same necessity for them that we did in the year 1703 for pitch and tar, when the government of Sweden absolutely refused to let us have them for our ready money, otherwise than in their shipping; from their tar company here, at their own price, and only in such quantities as they thought fit. Upon that disappointment, the government, by allowing a considerable encouragement for carrying on the manufactures of pitch and tar, had sufficient quantities from our own plantations; and it is greatly to be wished the like encouragement was given for raising hemp and flax; and as all sorts of naval stores may be raised with so many advantages to this kingdom, it would be unaccountable to leave us dependent, and at an uncertainty for them. It is very well known, that our land is too dear for hemp and flax, and what does grow here (though it is tough, and makes strong linen) neither dresses so kindly, nor whitens so well as that which grows in hotter climates. In Russia the best hemp and flax grow in the southernmost parts of the empire, where the summer is hot and the air clear, and yet the flax is not accounted so good as that which grows in Egypt or Italy. Egypt has always been esteemed for its linen, and even now supplies Leghorn with large quantities, and the coast of Syria, Asia Minor, Smyrna, Constantinople, and other great cities, have a supply of hemp and flax from thence.

All our colonies (which run twelve or fourteen hundred miles in length, all the way bordering upon the sea) have very hot summers, the southernmost parts of them lie near the same latitude with Egypt, and the north part much about the same with Ancona or Bologna in Italy, where hemp and flax grow; therefore, we have the greatest prospect to receive mighty supplies of hemp and flax from them. Part of the land in the colonies is very rich, and of so small value, there will be opportunity of breaking up fresh as often as there is occasion to change the ground, which if laid down will recover itself again without the charge of manuring, as we do here, to the very great damage of our ploughing lands. Nothing impoverishes land more than hemp and flax; and though it is manured, that alone will not do so well, for the land ought to be changed after three or four crops, and generally the finest and fattest pieces are converted to that use. Those great conveniences of having land so very cheap, and so fine a climate, which we know produces excellent hemp and flax, so commodiously situated along the sea coasts, with such numbers of large rivers running up the country to the most inland settlements, where provisions may be raised at so small a charge, and where work may be done by the labour of slaves, almost as cheap as in India, gives ground to hope, that we may manufacture linen here cheaper than any part of Europe can import them upon us, and the colonies be as profitable to us, by raising rough materials to carry on the linen manufacture, as the Suffex and other downs are, for supplying wool for that manufacture, the profits of which we have valued ourselves so much upon, that we have set the rest of Europe upon being our competitors therein.

Now as the woollen manufacture, especially the coarse part, has spread itself of late into several parts of the kingdom, which has exceeded the demand, and caused great stocks to remain on hand, if those rough materials of hemp and flax were prepared in our plantations, the people in North Britain, &c. would soon find the advantage of falling upon that manufacture; the laborious and coarse part being performed abroad, the rest would invite not only the poor and necessitous, but people of better circumstances to employ their time in it. If these propositions are sufficiently considered, and heartily put in practice, we may hope that by providing the aforesaid rough materials, we shall have the delightful prospect of seeing trade flourish; for as the silk and linen manufactures, where brought to perfection, are altogether as profitable to those nations

as the woollen is to us ; and as we increase in our linen manufactures, those of Silesia and all the hereditary countries of the House of Austria, whence we take such quantities, must abate of course ; their people also will resort to us, and help to carry them on ; for it has always been observed, where new manufactures are set up, the manufacturers will likewise remove. This was the case with the Flemings when Queen Elizabeth gave such great encouragement to have the woollen manufacture remove hither ; and ours, when we had that inundation of China and India wrought silks, our weavers went to Holland, Flanders, France, &c. so that several streets in Spittlefields were almost desolate ; but when these silks were prohibited, the manufacturers returned again.

It is supposed the Russians exported to England, and all other parts, in hemp and flax, above the value of a million a year. If hemp and flax be so valuable a product for merchandize with them, there seems to be a much greater prospect of its being so to ourselves, by raising them in our plantations, because they will not be subject to any land carriage, but shipped immediately from the place of growth ; because land is much cheaper in our plantations than in the south parts of Russia. The climate, being equal with that in Egypt and Italy, is supposed to produce hemp and flax preferable to theirs. We have before shewn, that in the cases of sugar and tobacco, every white man employs four at home, that is to say, finds them work to supply him with utensils requisite for his. If sugar and tobacco employ such a number of hands at home, certainly every person employed in the plantations, in raising and dressing hemp and flax, must by his labour there, return more than twice the advantage that can be produced by sugar and tobacco, for they are manufactured in the plantations ; the refining the sugar and cutting the tobacco, with the little quantity that is rolled excepted. Whereas flax and hemp are materials for employing all idle hands ; and of consequence the poor's rate will soon be abated, and the nation will find in a little time what they save yearly thereby, will be more than sufficient to encourage the people to begin that employment. And if once we come to be employed with hemp and flax by the aforesaid methods, every place will be filled with flax-dressers, and the overseers of the poor of every parish where the wool-spinning trade is not carried on, may very easily come at hemp and flax, which they will find as profitable to them as the woollen is to the other ; and the more distant the employment is, the better ; for many inconveniences have attended one manufacture interfering with another ; besides there will be an intercourse of trade created, by one part of the kingdom supplying the other with their distinct manufactures. This will give full employment to the whole kingdom, and an universal cheerfulness to every body ; for the poor are never happier, nor their minds easier, than when they have full employment ; and when they are employed, riches is diffused throughout the whole nation.

It is a common opinion, that we have above a million of people in the three nations destitute of work ; but if those rough materials (so often mentioned in this discourse) should come to be raised in our plantations, there need not be one idle person ; now, suppose one million of people were put upon manufacturing those rough materials, and each person earned but one penny a day, and allowing but three hundred working days in the year, it would amount to one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds ; a prodigious advantage to the nation, which is still greatly heightened by considering that these people would be then employed, at least in part, and so far as they were employed, would be the better subjects. That all this might be brought about with less trouble than has been given the nation by one Baltic or Mediterranean expedition, and at the tenth part of the expence of a campaign in Flanders, is a thing will be acknowledged

known by all who are capable of judging of this subject; and therefore that it ought to be done, is a point that cannot be disputed. I would not mislead my reader by the comparison, into a bad opinion of such expeditions or campaigns; that is not my business or my intention; the justice of my comparison turns upon this, that the motives to such expeditions and campaigns are, comparatively speaking, near and at hand; whereas we are less acquainted, or at least less affected by the connection between our interests and those of the plantations; though, from what has been said, I think it will plainly appear, that they concern us as much and as nearly, as any interests can do without the limits of our own island.

15. But it is now time to bring this chapter to a close, and after having given the reader, from the best authorities I could find, as clear an account as I was capable of giving of these noble settlements, I come next to add a few general remarks, not upon this or that plantation, but upon the whole body of our American settlements taken together. We have shewn how the outlines were drawn, so early as in the reigns of King Henry VII. and Henry VIII. We have taken notice of the schemes and preparations that were made for settling the countries we had a title to in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. We have given an account how far these were carried into execution in the succeeding reigns. And in this chapter we have plainly exhibited the manner in which this last plan was fully accomplished. By this means the reader sees that the discoveries of the Cabots, though treated by some unskilful writers as trifling things, and matters of no great moment, were in reality the grounds of our pretensions, now converted into the actual possession of that vast tract of country from the northern coast of Hudson's Straights, down to the southern limits of the new colony of Georgia, or of the old colony of Carolina; for the limits are the same. As for the islands, I take the settlement of them to have been occasioned by the old route to Florida, which has been so much ridiculed; but which, notwithstanding, seems to have been the true source of our acquisitions in the Leeward Islands. Jamaica is ours by conquest, and which is another circumstance worth remembering, became so in a great measure by a force raised in our plantations. Whether it be our interest to think of making such expeditions for the future, I shall not determine; but care ought surely to be first taken of the colonies we have; which it never can be till the importance of our plantations in general is thoroughly understood by the bulk of this nation. This is the point I have principally laboured in this work, and I shall close all I have to say with the consideration of three points; which I hope will make the matter plain to every understanding.

The first of these points is, 'What the condition of this country was before we had any plantations?' In regard to this, I think I may safely affirm that it was very low and despicable. In the victorious reign of Edward the III^d. there was a balance of trade struck, and delivered into the exchequer, by which it appeared that the exports of one year exceeded the imports by two hundred and fifty-five thousand two hundred and fourteen pounds thirteen shillings and eight-pence, which for that time was a great deal. At the time Queen Elizabeth entered upon the government, the customs produced thirty-six thousand pounds a year; at the Restoration they were let to farm for four hundred thousand pounds; and produced considerably above double that sum before the Revolution. The people of London, before we had any plantations, and but very little trade, were computed at about one hundred thousand; at the death of Queen Elizabeth they were increased to one hundred and fifty thousand, and are now about six times that number. In those days we had not only our naval stores, but our ships from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails;

nails ; wine, paper, linen, and a thousand other things came from France. Portugal furnished us with sugars ; all the produce of America was poured into us from Spain ; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East Indies at their own price. In short, the legal interest of money was twelve per cent. and the common price of our lands ten or twelve years purchase. We may add, that our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent ; the number of English merchants very small, and our shipping much inferior to what now belongs to the northern colonies. These are plain and certain facts ; but as soon as we began to extend our trade, and to make settlements abroad, the face of our affairs changed ; the inhabitants of the City of London were doubled by the end of the last period, and were again doubled before the end of this ; our shipping increased in a still greater proportion ; we coined within twenty years after that queen's death about five millions at the tower, in twenty years after that seven, and in the next twenty years eight, which are indubitable proofs that we had gained a prodigious balance of trade in our favour.

The next point I shall consider is, ' What our condition has been since ? ' and, with respect to this, I may boldly affirm that it has altered for the better, almost to a degree beyond credibility or computation. Our manufactures are prodigiously increased, chiefly by the demand for them in the plantations, where they at least take off one half, and furnish us with many valuable commodities for exportation. Instead of taking the quantities we were wont to do of goods from other nations, we actually export those very goods, and sometimes to the very same nations ; sugar, rum and tobacco, are the sources of private wealth and public revenue, which would have been so many drains, that would have beggared us, had they not been raised in our plantations. It is no longer in the power of the Russians to make us pay what they please for flax and hemp. The Swedes cannot compel us to pay their own price, and that too in ready money, for pitch and tar, nor would it be in their power to distress us, should they attempt it by raising the price of copper and iron. Logwood is sunk seventy-five per cent. ; indigo, and other dyeing materials, are in our power, and at moderate prices. In short, the advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American empire, where we have, at least, a million of British subjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand sail of ships constantly employed. Such have been the fruits, such is the condition of our plantations, and let any man doubt of the benefits resulting from them to this nation if he can ; or when he reflects on the numbers maintained here by their industry, and even by their luxury, let him deny or envy their wealth if it is in his power.

When our plantations were in their infancy, they were some burthen and charge to this nation, and then it was that some wise and public-spirited persons took upon them to become advocates for a thing which they foresaw would prove highly useful and advantageous. I have read many of their discourses with great pleasure, because I considered them as written with a kind of prophetic spirit, in which their authors have exhibited to the eye of the ages in which they wrote, a very just picture of what has passed in succeeding times ; but with this remarkable circumstance, that though several of them were men as remarkable for bold flights of imagination, as for penetration and judgment, yet in this case they have not reached the truth ; the present state of the plantations exceeding vastly all that they promised, or even hoped from them ; the reason of which I conceive to be their framing conjectures from the state the nation was then in, and our trade was at that time so inconsiderable in comparison of what it is at present, that I think there is no wonder the writers who flourished in those days

days should fall so much short in their expectations from our settlements in America. But, perhaps, it may be objected, that though they did not foresee many things that have since fallen out in those parts of the world, yet it is very evident that they believed many advantages would arise from those colonies that have never yet come to pass; which leads me to the third point I propose to mention in these remarks.

This third point is, 'The improvements and additional benefits that may be still made in, and accrue from our plantations.' We ought, in this respect, to consider of what a vast extent that country is, which we actually possess in the new world, to which I will be bold to say this island does not bear a greater proportion than the county of Norfolk, to the whole kingdom of England; whence we may easily conceive what room there is for making new improvements in such a vast tract of country. It is, indeed true, that some of our settlements on the continent, such as New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, are already tolerably well peopled; but then Nova Scotia is scarce settled, New Britain is a vast country, and capable of being turned to our advantage; is so far from being settled, that it is scarce known to us; and the same thing may be said of all the country bordering upon Hudson's Bay. As to the southern colonies, by which I mean the two Carolina's and Georgia, they are very thinly peopled, and very little improved, though beyond all comparison the most valuable possessions we have in those parts. In regard to the islands of Bermudas and Barbadoes, they are thoroughly peopled, and most of the Leeward Islands tolerably inhabited; but then there are several islands to which we have as clear and as good a title, as to any of these, that are not settled at all, though from the nature of their climate, soil, and situation, they are not inferior to any, but on the contrary, superior to most of those of which we are possessed, as will be hereafter shewn. The noble island of Jamaica, which of itself might serve to enrich any country to which it belonged, is not a third part cultivated, so that there is every where room for us to exert our industry, for the honour and advantage of the British nation; which as it has already drawn such immense profits from its settlements in America, so beyond all question we may still draw much greater, if we proceed with the same spirit and vigour that our ancestors did, having much more power in our hands, much fairer opportunities than they had, besides the light and authority of experience, to guide, encourage, and support us.

In order to this, and that we may actually add these advantages in prospect to those which we at present possess, the steps necessary to be taken fall under the two following heads: the first is, improving such of our colonies as are already well settled; and the next, providing for the thorough planting such as are at present but very indifferently, or scarce at all peopled. It would require a large treatise to expatiate fully on these heads, and therefore I shall content myself with only a few hints as to each of them. In respect to the first, I cannot conceive that any thing would be more advantageous than providing every colony with some staple commodity, which would infallibly produce the following desirable consequences; it would make the inhabitants of those colonies perfectly easy, and at the same time it would vastly enrich us. As for Virginia and Maryland, they are possessed of the tobacco trade, in which, if any ease, encouragement, or advantage can be granted them, they most certainly deserve it; but with respect to New England, Pennsylvania, New York, and the Jerseys, ways and means might be found to increase their commerce with England directly, by promoting their inclinations to furnish us with all kinds of

naval stores, and with iron. There was, as to pitch and tar, a considerable bounty given, and it is very remarkable for many years this produced no effect, which might possibly countenance an opinion, that the friends to the plantations were too sanguine in their notions on this head; but experience afterwards shewed the contrary. For the circumstances of the public making it necessary to try how far this might be practicable, it very soon appeared that the thing could be easily done; and upon sending over persons well acquainted with the methods of making pitch and tar, the people in the colonies soon fell into it, and such quantities were imported, as not only supplied our wants, but enabled us also to supply those of our neighbours; and then upon a supposition that the trade was effectually established, the bounty was discontinued. The consequence of this was, that the importation of these commodities from Russia, Sweden and Norway, was revived; for the people of those countries building large bulky ships, peculiarly proper for transporting those commodities, by navigating these ships cheaper than we can do ours, are thereby able to undersell our countrymen in the colonies, by three or four shillings in a barrel; so that to keep this trade there grew a necessity of granting a new bounty upon pitch and tar from America, or laying a new duty upon what was imported from the north.

We may say the same thing with regard to iron, of which, at present, we import very near double as much from Sweden as is sold to all the rest of Europe, for which we pay mostly in ready money; and yet no question can be made of its being very practicable to bring the best part of the iron we want from our plantations, which has been hitherto prevented by notions so frivolous, that I do not care to mention them. Hemp and flax have been sufficiently insisted upon already, and to these we may add pot-ashes; so that the reader will easily discern, that there is no difficulty at all in the way of enabling the northern colonies to pay us for our manufactures, and prevent their setting up manufactures themselves, but our setting heartily about it. The same thoughts may, in a great measure, serve for our southern colonies, in which tar may certainly be made as good as any in the world; but then there are other things peculiar to those colonies, such as the planting coffee, tea, cocoa, indigo, and the shrub that produces cochineal; but above all, we ought to think of silk, for reasons that shall be given when we come to treat of the colony of Georgia; at present we shall only say, that there is this great and extraordinary conveniency attends the cultivation of the last mentioned commodity, that as it is proper for the same soil and climate, as hemp and flax, so they may be both carried on together; the silk harvest, as they call it, being over before hemp and flax are ripe.

As to the sugar islands, though they have already a staple commodity of very great value, yet this should not hinder us from considering how that commodity may be still rendered more useful, I mean to the planters and to us; and how far other things are capable in the same countries of being improved. It was the opinion of Sir Josiah Child (and I think the subject well considered, it is not ~~new~~ to produce a better opinion) that sugar may be as much made the commodity of this nation, as the gold and silver of Peru and Mexico are the peculiar treasures of Spain. The reasons he gives are very strong, but it is very certain that we have not fallen upon the right method of bringing his doctrine into practice; since instead of exporting one half of the sugar we bring home, as we formerly did, we do not now export above a sixth, and this not from falling off of the demand, but because new markets have been found,

at which foreigners can buy cheaper. To alter this all heads should be set to work, and all arts tried; and till these succeed, it may not be amiss that the inhabitants of the sugar colonies would try to bring some other goods to market.

Thus much for the first head, now for the second:—it has been computed, by some, that there is a million and a half of white people in our plantations, which computation has been judged by others somewhat of the highest; perhaps it may be so, but without all doubt it would be our interest to have two millions of white people there; nor do I think that there is any reason to fear that this would either drain the British dominions, or at all endanger the dependancy of the colonies. I am, on the contrary, very firmly persuaded, that the increase of people in the colonies, as it would certainly increase our trade, so it must necessarily increase the number of our people at home; and that the methods proper to be taken for the better peopling our colonies, and improving them, would infallibly render them more dependant.

But to come closely to the point, and shew how this may be done. Give me leave to observe, that though the general proposition that the number of the people is the riches of a country, be true, yet it is true only of industrious and useful people; and it is in this sense, that the number of the people in Holland is quoted as an example; so that if there be in any country numbers of people useless, they are so far from contributing to the wealth of that country, that they are in fact the causes of its poverty. Now, it is certain, that though this nation might become more powerful and more rich, by being more numerous than it is; yet there is not any more probable method of bringing this about than by employing our useful hands, which perhaps may be easier done abroad than at home. We have vast numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom, who many of them live by pity, but most of them by the folly of better people than themselves; there cannot therefore be any cruelty in sending these people where they must work, and consequently maintain themselves, and be useful to others. We have many people convicted of small crimes, and from the ignominy of the conviction and punishment rendered desperate; it would certainly be a great charity to provide for these. We find multitudes released from time to time out of prisons by acts of grace, which set them at liberty, it is true; but, at the same time, leaves them at little better more than the liberty of starving; and who can say, that it would not be highly laudable to find out some means for giving these people bread as well as freedom? I humbly conceive, that if a proper fund was assigned for sending these people abroad, not like transports or negroes, but like unhappy Englishmen, with due provision for their comfortable maintenance in their passage, and a proper reception in the places they are sent to, this might be found an effectual way of easing our poor-rates, stocking our colonies, and enlarging the trade of the nation.

But in doing this, great consideration is to be used, there ought to be nothing in it of shame, and as little of force as may be. The terms ought to be such as may encourage people in distress to accept them, and the accepting them might be in the nature of a superseadea to all criminal prosecutions, not of a capital nature. They should be sent abroad for a term of years, or till they could repay a certain sum of money to the corporation intrusted with the management of this scheme, and considerable rewards should be given to such as behaved well, and gained a competent settlement during the time limited for their remaining abroad; and if to this certain honorary preferments were added, it would be so much the better. These are the outlines only of a great design, worthy the attention of the legislature, who perhaps may think a tax

on public diversions a reasonable fund for such a service, there being nothing more just than that luxury should contribute to relieve necessity, and that those who are able to be idle should be made willing to help those that must work.

Such, at least, are my notions of these matters, and of the means by which our plantations might be improved, and the advantages we derive from them increased and extended. If what I have said be rational and practicable, or without much difficulty may be altered in such a manner as to become so, I hope it will be thought worthy of consideration ; but if otherwise, let some person better versed in these things, and more capable of treating this subject arise, and set it in its true point of light. For this is the critical time, the season when the friends of trade and the plantations should exert themselves before a peace takes place, and a new scene opens, of which it will be impossible to give our judgment immediately, and as impossible to think of executing those schemes then, that are easy as well as practicable now.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES IN AMERICA,
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DEATH OF HIS LATE MAJESTY KING
GEORGE I.

1. *The Artifices of the French, under the Reign of James II. defeated by the Probity of Colonel Dungan, Governor of New York.*—2. *The Indians, by their Instigation, and with their Assistance, attack the People of New England in 1690, and are repulsed with Loss.*—3. *An Account of Sir William Phipps's unfortunate Expedition against Quebec.*—4. *The History of the Indian War continued to its Close, with other remarkable Occurrences.*—5. *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel incorporated by King William III. and the many Advantages flowing from that excellent Establishment.*—6. *The Affairs of the British Colonies, during the Reign of Queen Anne, briefly considered.*—7. *The unfortunate Expedition against Canada, under General Hill and Sir Howenden Walker.*—8. *The Methods taken by the French for the Benefit of their own Commerce, at the Expence of ours to the Treaty of Utrecht.*—9. *An Account of his Grace the Duke of Montague's Scheme for settling the Islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent.*—10. *The History of the Expedition for that Purpose, under Captain Uring, and his Relation of its Miscarriage.*—11. *Colonel Braithwaite's Report of his being forced to abandon the Settlement of St. Vincent.*—12. *The indubitable Title of the Crown of Great Britain to those Islands asserted, and the Importance of maintaining it demonstrated.*—13. *Remarks and Observations on the most remarkable Passages in the foregoing Chapter.*

IT is generally agreed, that the very worst part of King James's government was the inclination that he had to French counsels, and his falling too readily into French measures, which is the more extraordinary in matters relating to commerce; because never any prince understood them better than King James. It must therefore have been his violent zeal for promoting the popish cause, that induced him to go the lengths he did, in favour of France; contrary most certainly to the interest of this nation, as he would have seen sooner than any body, if that zeal of his had not hindered him. But from hence we see the difference between English and French popery. Our deluded prince, though he understood trade, was inclined to sacrifice it, in some measure, for the sake of his religion; the French King, though of the same religion, and pretending to be as zealous for it as King James, made use of it as a colour to promote his own ambitious designs, and the trade of his subjects at our expence. I know that this is a delicate subject to handle, and I should not have mentioned it at all, but from a just sense of its consequence, and a sincere love for truth and the interest of my country.

The French, in the beginning of King James's reign, finding their colony of Canada in the utmost danger from the Iroquois, a very warlike Indian nation, jealous of their liberties, and very capable of defending them by force of arms, resolved, since force had hitherto failed, to try what might be done towards subduing them by the gentler method of conversion; in order to which they not only employed a multitude of artful jesuits, but contrived likewise, under pretence of extending the Christian faith, to engage King James to countenance and assist this project. In order to this an Irish gentleman,

Colonel Dungan, son to the Earl of Limerick, was made Governor of New York ; and he was directed, by his master, to permit the French jesuits to preach to, and convert, the Indians under the protection of his government. The scheme was certainly well laid, and one would wonder how it came not to take effect ; which if it had done, must have proved the ruin of that colony at least, the conquest of which had been for a long time the object of the French policy. But this Colonel Dungan, unfortunately for the French, was a man of very good sense, and of strict honour ; he obeyed his master's commands, though unwillingly, but he kept so strict an eye upon the French jesuits, that he very soon saw to the bottom of their designs ; and, finding them incompatible with the welfare of the colony he governed, he obliged them to retire ; telling them that they came to promote the commerce, rather than the religion of their nation ; and that if his good friends the Indians were so much in love with jesuits, that they could not be without them, he would supply them with those who should make them good Christians and good Englishmen at the same time.

This greatly provoked the French governor of Canada, Mr. Denonville, who threatened him with the displeasure of his own master, and of the Most Christian King ; but this had no effect upon Colonel Dungan, who would not be either cheated or bullied ; and therefore when the French governor had trepanned some of the Indian chiefs, and sent them over to be made slaves in the French galleys, by the most notorious breach of faith that ever man was guilty of ; the colonel assisted them in a war occasioned thereby, which brought the French colony within a hair's breadth of ruin. This story, which is very remarkable, we have from French as well as English authors, and which is no less extraordinary, they agree in every circumstance of it. Only the former are so partial, as to treat the colonel's character very ill, because he would not sacrifice the interest of his country, his own honour, and conscience to their views. After the revolution, when he was become Earl of Limerick, King William, who was very well informed of his proceedings, procured an offer to be made him of a very considerable command in the Spanish service, but he declined it ; and though he liked not the measures, chose to follow the fortunes, of his master King James.

The French, by the same kind of artifices had very near dispossessed the Hudson's Bay company of that country entirely ; and, as soon as the war broke out, they actually did so, as we have already shewn. They also made a bold attempt upon the colony of New York, with the assistance of the Indians in their interests, but were repulsed ; and Colonel Peter Schuyler, with three hundred English, and the same number of Iroquois, bravely marched from Fort Albany to Quebec, which is four hundred miles ; and finding the French Governor with seven hundred regular troops, and as many Hurons, an Indian nation always at their devotion in the field, they boldly attacked them, and killed three hundred men and thirty officers, with very little loss to themselves ; but having no artillery, and the French retiring into their forts, the colonel made a very honourable retreat, satisfied with the blow he had struck, and securing his own country from any farther depredations. But it was not only on this side that the French attacked our colonies at that time, on the contrary they had framed a design of greater consequence against the people of New England, of which, as it is a matter of great importance, we will give as full and clear an account of it as we can ; for though their intrigues began somewhat earlier than the period assigned for this chapter, yet as our expedition was not made till after the revolution, it comes in very properly here.

2. The French, in a time of full peace, and when, as we have observed, they were soliciting and obtaining favours from King James, excited the Indians on the frontiers of New England, to surprise several out settlements, where they committed several great barbarities ;

barbarities ; of this, complaints were made to the French governor at Quebec, who gave very good words, pretending that he knew nothing of what had happened ; but promised to interpose, and check the designs of the Indians as far as was in his power, which promise was very indifferently performed. The English thereupon tried what fair means, and a peaceable negotiation with the Indians, would do ; in this likewise they were deceived and amused, while their enemies still persisted in their depredations, though they continued to treat, and pretended that all disputes should be amicably settled, well knowing that the colony would take any measures rather than engage in an Indian war. During these transactions, the French and Indians entered into further engagements against the English, who did what they could with honour and justice, to bring matters to a peaceable issue, which was rendered very difficult by the intrigues of the French, who upon King James's withdrawing to France, represented the English nation as in a rebellious and perilous condition, which was sufficient encouragement for the Indians to continue the war, having the promise of powerful assistance from Quebec.

They surpris'd the garrison of Quachecho, by the treachery of Mesandonit, a Sachem, whom Major Waldern, who commanded there, had generously entertained the night before ; and that traitor lying in his house, opened the gates in the morning to a party of savages that lay in ambush not far off, and rushing in killed the major and twenty-two men, burnt four or five of the best houses, and carried away twenty-nine persons into captivity, killing Mr. Broughton in their retreat. The government ordered Captain Noyes, with a strong party, to march to Penocook, and clear the country of the savages ; but they cleared it themselves by running away as soon as they heard news of his coming. Captain Noyes pursued them, cut down all their corn, burnt their wigwams, and laid every thing waste. A party from Saco was surrounded by a great body of Indians, and escaped with difficulty, having lost six of their number ; they afterwards mastered Pemmaquid Fort, by help of intelligence given them by one Mr. Starkey, who falling into their hands thought to get out of them by that service, and told of the weak condition the fort was in by the absence of Mr. Giles, and part of the garrison ; upon whom they fell at Giles's farm, and killed him and fourteen men. They then got upon a rock, when they miserably galled the English, and obliged the governor, Capt. Weems, to surrender on promise of life and liberty. But the savages broke the capitulation, and butchered the greatest part of them, as also Capt. Skinner and Capt. Farnham, who were coming to the relief of the garrison, and Mr. Pedishall, as he lay in his sloop in the Barbran. These losses caused the inhabitants of Sheepscot and Kennebeck to abandon those places, and return to Falmouth.

It was time for the government of New England to look about them, and think of opposing vigorously those murders and depredations of the Indians : They sent Major Swayne with five hundred men from Massachuset, and Major Church, one of their best officers, from Plymouth, with five hundred more, against the enemy in the east, where they had intercepted Lieut. Hutchin, who had drawn off a garrison he had in those parts, to set them to work in the field. The savages coming unexpectedly upon them cut them to pieces, being seventeen in number, and then came to the fort, where were only two boys, and some women and children ; the boys defended it against them, wounded several ; and when they found that the barbarians were about to set fire to the house that was in the fort, and to burn them out, they would not yield but on terms of life ; which these inhuman wretches granted, and afterwards killed three or four of the children, with one of the boys ; the other made his escape. Capt. Garner pursued the enemy, but they were too nimble for him. Another party of them assaulted **Cano**, killed

killed Capt. Brooks, and had put the whole town to the sword, had not Capt. Hall come opportunely with relief. The designs of Major Swayne and Major Church were frustrated by the treachery of some Indian confederates, who being sent out as scouts, discovered all that they knew to the enemy; who understanding the number of the English fled to their inaccessible woods and swamps; so Major Swayne, having garrisoned Blew Point, retired to winter quarters. I enter not into the particulars of the barbarous treatment the English captives met with from the savages, there being nothing in it but what might be expected from their rage and cruelty, and there was no likelihood of their learning humanity towards the English, by lessons from their new allies the French, who were very active in instructing and disciplining them for the better management of the war.

It is plain they had improved in it, both in arms and in action, and had continual assistance from Quebec, without which the English would soon have chastised them for their insolence, and taught them to be quiet. To make the French some returns for the many mischiefs the English had suffered by their means, it was resolved in New England to carry the war home to them. In pursuance of this resolution, Sir William Phipps, who commanded the fleet and forces, sailed from New England the 28th of April 1690, and on the 11th of May following arrived before Port Royal. The French had then a very flourishing colony in Acadia, or, as we call it, New Scotland, consisting of no less than six thousand people, who got a living at least by their trade in lumber, fish, and skins; but for all that the place was so miserably provided for defence, the town being covered only by a slight palisade, and a little fort of no force, that it was very soon reduced; and Sir William Phipps had the honour of recovering this country to the crown of Britain. The people in Nova Scotia had leave by the capitulation, either to retire to Canada, or remain in the country; and about two thousand chose the latter; so that Sir William not only acquired a country, but a people; yet we did not keep the possession of either, for any length of time. To revenge these losses, Monsieur Artel, a French officer from Canada, and one Hoop-hood, a leader among the Huron Indians, confederates with the French, with men of both nations, assaulted Salmen Falls, killed thirty persons, and carried away fifty into captivity; which terribly alarmed all New England, it being the first time that the French had acted openly with the barbarians. And as Quebec was thought to be the source of all their calamities in this war, it was therefore resolved to attack that place, which being reduced, the French would have no city to rest in, and carry on their ill designs against their Christian neighbours.

3. The success Sir William Phipps so lately had, recommended him to the chief command in this expedition; but it seems to have been as ill laid and managed as the other was well contrived; for it is certain, he had a strength with him sufficient to have driven the French out of Canada, had it been well used; he had thirty-two sail of ships, and they had aboard two thousand men, a prodigious armament for such a colony, and sailed from Hull near Boston the 9th of August; but came not within sight of Quebec till the 5th of October. Thus, they were eight weeks in a voyage, that with good winds and weather, might have been made in two or three. The English were so long making up the river of St. Laurence, that the governor, Count de Fontenac, had time enough to prepare for his defence by drawing all the strength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William expected would have been divided by an army marching over land, and attacking Mount Royal Fort on the frontiers of Canada, while he fell upon the capital. This army was to consist of two thousand men from New York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and one thousand five hundred Indians, to whom the French gave the name



name of Iroquois ; but the English distinguished them by the names of their several nations. The English marched as far as the great lake of Canada ; but as there were no canoes provided for them to pass it, they returned ; and it is very strange that there should have been no provision for their passage secured, since the success of the enterprize so much depended upon it.

When Sir William arrived within sight of the place, he fancied that the conquest would have been as easy as that which he had made of Nova Scotia, and therefore he drew up a paper in the nature of a summons to surrender, conceived in very rough terms ; for Sir William was originally a carpenter, and afterwards a sailor ; so that he was very blunt and unpolished, though a very honest and very brave man ; but the French governor, Count Fontenac, was so offended at the style and subject, that he caused a gibbet to be set up, and would have hanged the major that brought the paper, had it not been for the bishop's intercession. He returned, however, a very insolent answer, calling Phipps and his company heretics and traitors.

On the 8th of October the English landed, under Lieutenant General Whalley, to the number of one thousand four hundred, for to these they were reduced by the small-pox, and other diseases ; but had their full complement been preserved, what were two thousand on board the ships to four thousand within the city ; for so many men Fontenac had now with him ? Which Whalley understanding, he re-embarked his troops, though they would very soon have attempted one assault ; but their bravery was ill-timed, considering the inequality of their number to that of the enemy. Some writers make the loss of the English from the opposition they met with on shore, to be six hundred men ; but, I believe, that opposition is heightened for the credit of our nation, that the troops might not be thought to abandon this enterprize without looking the enemy in the face. The best accounts given by the French writers of this matter, do not ascribe the deliverance of Quebec more to the courage of their own people than to the want of conduct and discipline in the English. The truth of the matter is, the scheme was well enough laid, but those who undertook to execute it had not capacities suitable to a design of this nature ; and besides there fell out some accidents that were fatal to them, as well as wholly unforeseen, and to which in a great measure we may justly attribute their disappointment.

The small-pox did not only carry off numbers in Sir William Phipps's fleet, but broke out also in the other army, that was to have marched by land to attack Mount Royal ; and this malady infecting the Iroquois, was the true reason why that expedition was abandoned ; and this being soon known to the French, gave them an opportunity of throwing their whole force into Quebec, which was much too great for Sir William Phipps to struggle with, if he and those who attended him, had been better officers than they really were ; so that there is no great wonder the whole expedition miscarried. This shews, that matters of a military nature cannot be carried on, especially against the French, but by military men and officers well acquainted with service ; yet the zeal and courage of the people of New England, in undertaking and pushing this project of theirs so far as they did, deserves great applause, as it fully demonstrates the spirit of the people, and very plainly proves that with proper encouragement and proper assistance, they are both willing to endeavour and able to perform all that, in their circumstances, a British government can expect from British subjects. In the present case their efforts rather exceeded than fell short of their abilities, for their fleet and army were numerous enough, well provided, and well paid ; the expence of this fruitless attempt falling little short of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, every penny of which was furnished by the inhabitants of this colony, or, which was worse, they ran in debt for it, and were left to pay it ; here at home we do not sufficiently reflect upon the inconveniences

conveniences that such misfortunes as these bring upon our settlements, but are too apt to charge them with want of vigour, want of application, and want of public spirit; whereas, in truth, these wants, generally speaking, lie on our side the water; and it is to cover our own neglects, that we pretend to find faults in them of which they were never guilty.

The ships in their return met with no better fortune at sea than the men had done by land; some of them were driven as far as the Leeward Islands; one was wrecked, another was never heard of, a third foundered with all her crew in her, a fourth was driven ashore on the desolate island of Anticosta, where Captain Rinsford and his crew, forty at first, were reduced through want and weather to half the number in a month's time, and then saved almost miraculously. The loss of men in this unsuccessful enterprise amounted to one thousand, and those as useful hands as any in the country. During the progress of this miserable expedition, a party under Lieutenant Clark, venturing out of Casco, to look for the enemy, met with a body of four or five hundred Indians and French, who killed the lieutenant and thirteen of his men; the rest escaping into the town, were pursued by the Indians and French, who entering the place reduced it to ashes. The garrison surrendered the fort upon conditions of safe conduct to the next English town; but the French basely broke the capitulation, and made them prisoners of war, under a very foolish pretence of their being rebels to their lawful king.

The governor, Major Davis, and some of his men, were sent to Quebec; the rest were murdered by the savages. The garrisons of Papocodack, Spanwick, Black Point, and Blue Point, drew off to Cace, twenty miles within Casco, terrified with the fate of that place; their terror infected that garrison also, and half of them fled. Hoophood, the Huron, pursued them and destroyed all the country, burnt several houses at Berwick, killed thirteen or fourteen men at Fort Point, and carried off six prisoners; but Captain Floyd and Captain Greenleaf coming up with him routed his party, wounded and drove him off to a great distance. He was afterwards fallen on by the French Indians, who taking him for an Iroquois, killed him and almost all that were with him. The Indians and French had after that an advantage over the English under Captain Wiswell, whom they killed, with fifteen of his soldiers, near Wheelwright Pond, the rest were brought off by Captain Floyd. Flushed with this success, the Indians and French made a descent upon Amesbury, near to the Massachusetts, surprised Captain Foot and tortured him to death; but the townsmen returning into the fort, maintained it against them. Major Church passed by sea with three hundred men to Casco Bay, where he landed, and passed directly Pechpysot, an Indian fort, which he found deserted, thence to Amonoscoggin Fort, forty miles up Casco river, which he burnt, after having killed twenty Indians, all that staid in it, and released seven English captives. Having notice that the Indians had agreed to rendezvous on Pechysot plain, in order to attack Wells, he hastened thither to give them battle; which the savages avoided, and the English went into winter quarters. Captain Convers and Captain Plaistead, with one hundred men, remaining in those parts, to scour the woods; and as the English had no reason to be content with the success of the war, so they were well pleased at the sight of a flag of truce, with which the Indians came to Wells, and a cessation of arms till the May following was agreed on by commissioners on both sides.

The time of the cessation of arms with the Indians was scarce expired; but the savages, instead of coming as they had engaged, to restore the captives, and turn the truce into a peace, began to commit new hostilities, and killed several English at Berwick,

wick, Exeter, and Cape Nidduck. To prevent further mischief, Captain Marel, Captain King, Captain Sherburn, and Captain Waters, with four hundred men, landed at Macquoit, and marched to Speaky; but these forces not meeting the enemy, grew secure, and straggled out in parties, which the Indians observing, gathered in a body, attacked them and drove them to their ships, with the loss of Captain Sherburn and several men, who could not get aboard in time. They killed seven persons at Berwick, twenty-one at Sandy-Bear, a family at Rowly, another at Haverhill, both in Essex county. Thus, we find them drawing southward, and extending themselves into the Massachusetts, which they had not done before. The garrison of Cape Nidduck was so thinned by draughts from it, that the remainder thought fit to desert it, though a strong fort. A party of popish Indians assaulted the town of York, killed fifty English, and drove away one hundred into slavery, and the rest fortified themselves; and though they were but a handful, yet the savages, who were several hundreds, durst not attack them. Here Mr. Shubael Dunner, the minister, was shot at his own door, to the great joy of the French papists. A ship was immediately dispatched to Sagadahook, with a commission, and effects to redeem the captives, and those men who remained in the town were now thinking of abandoning it.

Major Hutchinson was in June 1692 sent with a strong party under Captain Convers, Captain Floyd, and Captain Thaxter, to assist them and other Englishmen on the frontiers. Captain Convers was posted at Wells with only fifteen men, in the slight fort there, and fifteen more in two sloops in the river, to be assisting to the others upon occasion. Against him came no less than four Indian kings, Modenkawando, Moxus, Edgerement, Warumbo, and still two greater men, Monsieur Labrocree and Monsieur Barniff, with some French soldiers, and five hundred Hurons. Moxus had not long before attacked Wells with two hundred Indians, and had been repulsed by Captain Convers, who had not a quarter of that number of men with him, which Modenkawando hearing, he said, my brother Moxus has missed it now, but I will go myself the next year, and have the dog Convers out of his hole. But he was mistaken, for the Englishmen in the fort, and chiefs in the sloops, behaved so gallantly, following the example of their brave commander Convers, that after several fruitless attempts of the Indians and French to master them, by land and by water, Monsieur Barniff, and the four Indian confederate princes, were obliged to retire. But Monsieur Labrocree did not live to bear the reproach of so scandalous a retreat, being killed in the first of it. The enemy happened here to take one John Diamond prisoner, whom they used so barbarously, that it would occasion too much horror in the reader to relate it.

Things continued, however, in this situation, till Sir William Phipps came over in quality of governor of New England, who immediately began to think of erecting a new fort at Penmaquid, to cover the frontiers, which he completed in six months time, though it was one of the strongest places in America; but the expence which this occasioned made the people uneasy; who, it seems, never forgave the raising of the money it cost, though they could not but be sensible that it was entirely laid out for their safety; but it seems in New as well as Old England, and indeed in all other countries, it is a much easier thing to serve a society, than to make that society sensible of one's service. In the present case one might have expected things should have taken another turn, since by the care Sir William Phipps took, the frontiers of the plantation were better secured than in times past, and the Indians more than once defeated in general engagements; if the disputes of between two and three hundred men on a side may be called so, and I see no reason why they should not, if we consider that the consequences of these engagements were of the same importance to both nations, as if

had been fought by thousands; and I conceive, that it is the importance of a war, and not the number of men employed in it, that renders it worthy of notice.

These successes, the building the forts in the east, and the augmenting the forces there, inclined the savages to think in earnest of peace, especially upon hearing the Macquas threatened to fall upon them, for killing some of their squas or princesses on Whortlebury Plain. The Indian sachems had a French ambassador at their courts, who was a friar, to stir them up against the English, and keep them in heart. This priest did his utmost to persuade them to continue the war. But the French not assisting them with men, arms, and ammunition, as they promised, the friar could not hinder them from begging a peace, which was concluded at Fort Pennaquid, by thirteen segamores and the English commissioners, who set their names to the instrument, August 11, 1693. By this treaty the Indians renounced their allegiance with the French, owned themselves subjects to the crown of England, confirmed the English in the possession of all the lands they had acquired, and submitted the regulation of their trade to the next general assembly, which gave great satisfaction to the people of New England; the rather, because hitherto the Indians had very honestly kept their treaties, but it was not long before it appeared that their new spiritual guides, the French, had taught them other principles.

4. It was not above a year before the jesuits excited their new converts to break this peace, concluded with heretics; it is true, there was then a war with France, so that as statesmen and politicians the jesuits may be justified, but then they must lay aside all pretences to christianity; for it is certain, there is nothing in our religion that countenances a behaviour of this kind, and therefore we may safely say, that all their labours tended to make these poor people rather tools to France than christians. The first breaking out of the new war, which happened in the spring of 1694, was without any previous declaration, or even complaint that the terms had not been kept on the side of the English, nor indeed was this ever so much as pretended. A body of Indians and French fell suddenly on Oyster River Town, and seized near one hundred persons, twenty of which were of the trained-bands. One Blachford courageously defended his house against them, who despairing to reduce him before succours came, left him, and going to Mrs. Cuts's farm near Piscataway, they murdered her and her family. They made an incursion into Middlesex county, and assaulted Groton, but were bravely repulsed by Lieutenant Lukin, upon which they fell to plundering the plantations thereabouts, killed twenty prisoners, and carried twenty more into captivity. They killed one of the children of Mr. Gresham Hobert, the minister, and carried off another with them; they murdered three persons at work near Spruce Creek, and eight more at Kittery, where they barbarously used a daughter of Mr. Downing. The savages scalped this young woman, and left her for dead, but she recovered, and was living twenty years after. Mr. Joseph Pike, of Newbury, under-sheriff of Essex, was murdered by them, between Amesbury and Haverhill in that county.

To balance these losses the English seized Bommafeen, a famous segamore, one of those that signed the last treaty. He pretended to be just come from Canada, and that he came on purpose to put an end to these hostilities. But it being proved that he was a principal actor in the late murders, he was sent prisoner to Boston. The taking of Bommafeen stunned the Indians a little, and they were quiet for six or seven months. At last a fleet of canoes came to an island a league from Pennaquid, and sent proposals of peace to the garrison. They owned their guilt in breaking the last articles, but threw the blame of it on the French. As a proof of their sincerity now they delivered up eight captives, when they had above one hundred still in captivity. However, a

truce was granted for thirty days, and Colonel Phillips, the gallant Major Convers, and Lieutenant Colonel Hawthorn, were appointed commissioners to treat with them on the part of the Indians, but because they brought not Bommafeen with them, whose release was all they wanted, the Indian commissioners broke off the conference, and went away in disgust. They had left the English planters in their captivity, contrary to their promise to release them as a preliminary, which was a plain indication they were not in earnest. Advice was sent immediately to all the English garrisons in the east to be upon their guard; notwithstanding which, Major Hammond, of Kittery, fell into an ambuscade, and was taken prisoner; but having the good fortune to be transported to Canada, he was very civilly treated by Count Frontenac, who bought him of his Indian master, and sent him to Boston by a vessel that came to Quebec for exchange of prisoners. In August a party of Indians came down to Bellerica on horseback; this was pretty far within the Massachusetts. They killed and took fifteen persons, and plundered Mr. Rogers's house. This was the first time the Indians ever made use of horses. They took nine people out of Newbury in Essex, and being closely pursued by Captain Greenleaf, a valiant and diligent officer, they so wounded them when they found they could not keep them, that they all died except one lad, which was a signal proof of their barbarity.

Captain March, governor of Pemmaquid Fort, desiring to lay down his commission towards the latter end of the year, he was succeeded in it by Captain Chub. He shewed the baseness of his spirit, as well as the weakness of his understanding, in one of his first exploits, after he had the command of this garrison, by murdering Edgeremet and Abenquid, and two other principal sagamores, who had signed the last treaty, and came to him on assurance of security, to confer about a new one. In August the French landed some soldiers out of a man of war, the Newport, which they had taken from the English to assist the Indians in his neighbourhood.

This news so frightened the traitor Chub, that he surrendered the new and strong fort of Pemmaquid, without the firing one gun, within or without, though he had near one hundred men in it double-armed. The surprizing news of this loss caused a mighty consternation at Boston and all over New England. Governor Stoughton and the council, immediately ordered three men of war in pursuit of the French, though it was not probable that these ships could be fitted for that service time enough to come up with the enemy, who having done their business at Pemmaquid better than they could hope for, were gone far enough out of the reach of the English. Colonel Gedney marched with five hundred men to the east, but the Indians were gone home, and he could do nothing but strengthen the garrisons there. The savages, before their retreat, killed five soldiers belonging to Saco Fort, who must not be with their garrison. And one may observe, that the greatest mischief the Indians do, is by these ambushes and surprizes, which, considering how they were almost intermixed with them, it is strange they should not be aware of, and guard against; for the country must by this time, and this means, be in a manner, as well known to them as to the savages. Colonel Gedney arrested Chub, and brought him to Boston; but nothing treasonable being proved against him, the government only took away his commission, and sent him thence to his house at Andover, in Essex county.

Some time after this the Indians entered Haverhill, and carried off thirty captives, one of which was Hannah Dustan, a woman of a masculine spirit. She had lain in not above a week, yet she and her nurse walked one hundred and fifty miles on foot, to the town where the Indian she was to serve lived. This woman being afterwards to travel with the master and his family to a rendezvous of the army of the savages, where,

where, according to the diabolical custom of them, she, her nurse, and other English prisoners, were to run the gauntlet; Hannah watched her opportunity in the night, and having animated her nurse, and an English boy who was with her, they three killed ten of the Indians with their own weapons, and made their escapes; for which action they received a reward of fifty pound, from the general assembly, and presents from particular persons to a good value. The Indians continuing their inroads, killed a man at York, another at Hatfield, a third at Groton, and a fourth at Exeter; which shews us that the New England people were in constant danger, and harassed on every side. The Indians grew every day more barbarous and more implacable, as having the intrigues of the Jesuits added to their own fierceness and thirst of blood.

They surprized and shot Major Frost and his two sons at Berwick, as they were coming from church one Sunday, and going to his own house about six miles off. Two men that rode post to carry this unwelcome news to the governor of Wells, fell into an ambuscade as they were returning, and were killed, as were three men near Nechawannic, and a dreadful desolation threatened the whole province; certainly more for want of management than of power. The savages roasted a man to death a mile and a half from Wells. Three soldiers, at Saco Fort, as they were cutting fire-wood for the fort at Caco Island, were shot dead, while Lieutenant Fletcher, with his two sons, who were appointed for their guard, were fowling in the woods; but the lieutenant and his sons paid dearly for their negligence, for they fell into an ambuscade as they returned, and were all three taken prisoners. The father and one of his sons died in captivity, and the other made his escape.

In the beginning of 1697 the government of New England was alarmed with advice that the French in Canada intended to make a descent there; that a squadron of men of war was come from France to support the army of the Indians and French, that was to attack the English by land. The lieutenant-governor and council prepared for a vigorous defence; the forts about Boston were repaired; the militia throughout the whole province were raised and well disciplined. Major March was ordered to the east, with five hundred, to scour the woods; the Indians, who were gathering together about Casco Bay, retired as he approached them; but the Major having put his men aboard some ships sailed up among the eastern islands, and landed on the banks of Damascatos river; a very prudent measure, for he could not have overtaken the Indians by land, before they had been got into their fastnesses. The Indians seeing this, fell upon his men as they were getting ashore, but could not hinder their landing; upon which a sharp engagement ensued, and the English drove the enemy to their canoes, a fleet of which was in the river to receive them. The English had about twelve men killed, and as many wounded; the enemies loss was much greater; but the main advantage to the English was, preventing the Indians joining the French, who were approaching with the ships of war and transports for a descent; but hearing of the rout of their confederates, they made the best of their way home to Europe, with the French troops on board, to their no small discredit.

A party of savages made an incursion into Middlesex, and plundered Lancaster, killing twenty men, among whom was the reverend Mr. John Whiting, the minister, and carried five into captivity. A month after they killed a poor man in the woods near Oyster River. In the beginning of the next year they made a descent upon Andover, and killed Captain Chub and his family. They also killed Colonel Dudley Bradstreet, took his whole family, and were carrying them off; but being closely pursued, they released them without doing them any mischief. The savages were now in
on to the westward; and killed a man and a boy in the meadows near Hatfield.

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They were pursued by a party of English from Deerfield, of which one was killed by the Indians, who, after that ran to the woods. They had attempted Deerfield on Connecticut River, but were beaten off by the inhabitants, headed by their minister, Mr. John Williams. These small actions seemed to presage the end of this war, of which the savages were as weary as the English, and had no prospect of making any thing of it against a people so much superior to them in numbers, arms and stores; but they ended it with the better grace, by means of the peace of Ryswick, between England and France. Upon which Count Frontenac sent to the sachem of the Hurons, and told them he was no longer to support them in the war against the English, and advised them to make the best terms they could for themselves.

The Earl of Bellamont was by this time arrived at New York, and a treaty of peace with the Indians being set on foot, he dispatched Major Convers, and Colonel Philips, to confer with the Indian sachems at Penabscot. They began the conferences October the 6th, in which the Sachems excused themselves for breaking the peace, saying, the Jesuits would not let them alone till they had done it; and if the Earl of Bellamont, and Count Frontenac, would not banish these devils, they could not promise the next peace would last long. Major Convers and Colonel Philips concluded it with them on the foot with the last treaty; to which they added a more formal submission to the sovereignty of the crown of England; wherein after acknowledging themselves guilty of breaking the last peace, and in not fulfilling their engagements entered into thereby, while they enjoyed the benefit of it, which they charge upon the evil counsels and instigations of the French, they proceed thus:

“Wherefore we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, segamores, captains, and principal men of the Indians, belonging to the rivers of Kennebeck, Amonoscogin, Saco, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreement, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto; do, in all humble and submissive manner, cast ourselves upon his majesty's mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions and violations of our promises; praying to be received into his majesty's grace and protection; and for, and in behalf of ourselves, and of all the other Indians belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his Majesty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and sincere obedience to the crown of England; and do solemnly renew, ratify, and confirm, all and every the articles and agreements contained in the aforesaid recited submission; and in testimony hereof, we, the said segamores, captains, and principal men, have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Casco Bay, near Mares Point, the 7th day of January, in the tenth year of the reign of his Majesty King William III. A.D. 1698-9. Subscribed by Moxus, and the rest of the segamores and petty princes.”

Thus ended, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, the Indian war, with respect to which the French writers have undoubtedly given a very false account, and a still more false account of the peace; for they say positively, that the Indians insisted upon it, that they were not subject to the crown of Great Britain; that they declared against their occupying any of their lands; and that they openly professed they were, and would be friends to the French; every tittle of which, as is manifest by their instrument above recited, and cited for that purpose, appears to be a direct falsehood; but in one thing I believe the French writers speak truth, which is, with regard to the policy of the Indians, who made use of the small-pox for a pretence to quit the English army, in its march to attack the French colony of Canada by land, from a foresight that if this expedition had been attended with success, the French

must have abandoned their country, and they were unwilling to be left wholly at the mercy of the English.

Many of our authors indeed, represent the Indians as not capable of so great a stroke in politics; but I have seen papers of Governor Dudley and William Penn, who were very well acquainted with them, that seem to countenance this opinion; for they say, they have strong natural parts, understand their own interest thoroughly, and do every thing with great deliberation. It is, indeed, certain, that they are wedded to their own sentiments, and to their own manner of living, and therefore we must refer their politics to their maxims, and not pretend to judge of them by our own, with which they have not the least affinity or connection.

5. We have, in the course of this work, given so full and clear an account of the manner in which all our colonies were settled, and of the motives upon which different sorts of people resorted to them, that the reader cannot be surprized at hearing their religious affairs were in a very indifferent situation, when in respect to temporal concerns their condition was most flourishing. Several worthy persons in the reign of King Charles II. had used their endeavours to correct this evil, but their pious desires did not meet with proportionable success, which, however, was far from discouraging others from following their example; but though they were somewhat more fortunate, chiefly from the assistance given them by the pious Queen Mary, whose character for religion and virtue will live as long as there is either religion or virtue in the world, yet it was at last found, that nothing could be effectually done, unless the encouragers of this noble design of spreading the christian faith through the British dominions in America, were incorporated by charter, the necessity and expediency of which Dr. Thomas Tenison, then Archbishop of Canterbury, undertook to represent to King William III. and upon his representation a charter was obtained, dated the 16th of June, in the 13th year of his reign, by which several persons, equally distinguished by their titles and virtues, were incorporated for that purpose, under the most honourable of all names, "The society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts."

This truly, says the author of the history of this society, Dr. Humphreys, was an action suitable to Archbishop Tenison's public spirit and honest zeal for the Protestant religion, and exceedingly becoming his high station and authority in the church. The American colonies, sure, can never, without the greatest veneration and gratitude, remember him, when they shall, many ages hereafter, feel the happy effects of having the christian religion planted among them; and reflect how hearty and forward Archbishop Tenison appeared to obtain that charter, which gave life and authority to so glorious an undertaking; nay, that his zeal and spirit did not rest here, he continued to promote and guide, by his wise councils, the affairs of the society; he paid them an annual bounty of fifty pounds, during his life, and at his death bequeathed them a thousand pounds, towards the maintenance of the first bishop that should be settled in America. A charter being thus obtained, the next endeavour was to carry their laudable design into execution; accordingly his grace the archbishop, as empowered by the charter, caused summons to be issued for the members of the corporation, to meet within the time limited; and several met at the place appointed, on the 27th of June 1701, and chose proper officers for transacting the business. At following meetings they made divers rules and orders for their more regular proceedings in the administrations of their trust, and subscribed, among themselves, near two hundred pounds; for defraying the charges of passing the charter, making the common seal, and other necessary expenses; they also ordered five hundred copies of the charter to be printed

forthwith, and distributed amongst the members, to be shewn by them to all proper persons, the farther to notify the design they were engaged in, and to invite more persons of ability and piety to assist in carrying it on.

This step was but an opening of the matter to the public; the society were diligent to consider of farther and more effectual ways and means to obtain subscriptions and contributions, sufficient to enable them to maintain the expence of sending many missionaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the best argument to mankind was example, and the most effectual means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the way themselves, by subscribing towards the support of the work. Accordingly Archbishop Tenison, the president, the vice-presidents, all the bishops and members then present, did subscribe a yearly sum to be paid to the treasurer of the society for the public uses, according to the form of subscription drawn up for that purpose; having now made this advance themselves, they gave out deputations, under their common seal, to several of their members, and other persons of figure and interest in the counties of England and Wales: signifying their being constituted and appointed by the corporation to take subscriptions, and to receive all sums of money which should be subscribed or advanced for the purposes mentioned in the charter; and here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that several worthy persons did, with a public spirit, take these deputations to help on with a work so truly for the national interest, and the honour of common christianity; and did, by their example and instances, so influence several well-disposed persons, that considerable remittances of benefactions to the corporation were soon made, which enabled them to enter on the work with success. There were likewise several considerable sums of money sent into the society by persons who desired to conceal their names; and the same spirit and ardour has continued; neither has the society wanted the encouragement and protection of the successors of their royal founder, particularly his late majesty King George I. and the society have still increasing views of success through the favour of his majesty now reigning, from his known zeal for the Protestant religion, and royal care for the colonies, so considerable a branch of the British monarchy.

It is a thing that will certainly excite wonder in the minds of all calm and considerate people, let their religious sentiments or persuasions be what they will, that this society, with scarce any settled fund, should be able to maintain, for between forty and fifty years, so extensive a scheme as that of their charter, which tends to correct almost all the errors and mistakes that have hitherto happened in the management of our colonies; for by their prudent and pious care, great check has been given to atheism and irreligion, a thing of great consequence in our settlements, considered in a political as well as christian light; for without it there is no restraining the Indian traders from being guilty of such immoralities, as render us despicable in the eyes of the heathen Indians; which, as may be easily conceived, must tend vastly to our disadvantage, more especially, if at the same time we reflect on the management of the French in this particular, who are very careful in their endeavours to convert the Indians, and keep up a great outward appearance of zeal for religion, which makes strong impressions on the minds of the savages, even though they are not converted, nor have any inclination to become Papists. If by such methods they should so far compass their ends, as to convert many of the Indians, and by that means awe and influence the rest; it must be accompanied with circumstances very disagreeable to the inhabitants of our colonies, as from the foregoing history of the Indian war will appear.

But besides the many and great advantages that would result from the thorough establishment of the Protestant religion through the colonies, with regard to the conduct
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and behaviour of the people, and the great enlargement of power that would follow in case the conversion of the Indians was undertaken by practice as well as preaching, by the example of the laymen, as well as the exhortations of the few clergy that are sent thither ; there is yet another point that deserves as serious regard. The negroes in the service of our planters, are a prodigious body of people, and as there are but too many just causes given for apprehending the destruction of whole countries from their plots and conspiracies, which have been sometimes prevented by accidental, or rather providential discoveries, when they were upon the very point of being executed ; so it is certain, that if these people, or the greatest part of them, could be converted, it would not only prove a means of taking away these apprehensions, but would also add a great strength to the colonies, in which they are obliged to make use of negroes ; for these people would then conceive new notions of their condition, and consider their being servants to Christians in the light rather of a blessing than a calamity ; it would not only make them easy, but cheerful in their servitude, and by degrees would be attended with more advantages than we can foresee, and yet a very ordinary degree of foresight will not fail to shew us a great many. That this is, and must be, attended with many difficulties, will be readily granted, but that it is very far from being impracticable, will appear from what Dr. Humphreys tells us has been in this respect already done, and which I take to be as material a point as any that occurs in the history of this period.

The negro slaves, says he, even in these colonies, where the society send missionaries, amount to many thousands of persons of both sexes, and all ages, and most of them are very capable of receiving instructions ; even the grown persons, brought from Guinea, quickly learn English enough to be understood in ordinary matters ; but the children born of negro parents in the colonies are bred up entirely in the English language. The society looking upon the instruction and conversion of the negroes as a principal branch of their care, esteeming it a great reproach to the Christian name, that so many thousands of persons should continue in the same state of Pagan darkness under a christian government, and living in Christian families, as they lay before under in their own heathen countries ; the society, immediately, from their first institution, strove to promote their conversion, and inasmuch as their income would not enable them to send numbers of catechists sufficient to instruct the negroes, yet they resolved to do their utmost, and at least to give this work the mark of their highest approbation. They wrote, therefore, to all their missionaries, that they should use their best endeavours, at proper times, to instruct the negroes ; and should especially take occasion to recommend it zealously to the masters, to order their slaves, at convenient times, to come to them, that they might be instructed.

These directions had a good effect, and some hundreds of negroes have been instructed, received baptism, and been brought to the communion, and lived very orderly lives. It is a matter of commendation to the clergy, that they have done thus much in so great and difficult a work. But alas ! what is the instruction of a few hundreds in several years, with respect to the many thousands uninstructed, unconverted, living and dying downright Pagans ? It must be confessed, what hath been done is as nothing, with regard to what a true Christian would hope to see effected. But the difficulties the clergy meet with in this good work are exceeding great. The first is, the negroes want time to receive instructions ; several masters allow their negroes only Sundays for rest, and then the ministers of the parishes are fully employed in other duties, and cannot attend them. Many planters, in order to free themselves from the trouble and charge of feeding and clothing their slaves, allow them one day in a week to clear ground and plant it, to subsist themselves and families ; some allow all Saturday ;

day; some half Saturday and Sunday; others allow only Sunday. How can the negro attend for instruction, who, on half Saturday and Sunday, is to provide food and raiment for himself and family for the week following; the negro will urge in his own excuse, that the support of himself and all that is dear to him, doth absolutely depend upon this his necessary labour on Saturday and Sunday; but if this be not strictly justifiable, yet it is certain the miserable man's plea will engage the reader's compassion.

This is the case in some colonies, in others it differs. In some places the negroes do the whole labour of the country in the field, in others they are used only as house servants. Another difficulty arises from the habitations and settlements of the masters being at a great distance from each other in most places in the colonies, for which reason neither can a minister go to many families, if the negroes were allowed time to attend him, nor can a proper number of them assemble together at one place, without a considerable loss of time to their masters. But the greatest obstruction is, the masters themselves do not consider enough the obligation which lies upon them, to have their slaves instructed. Some have been so weak as to argue the negroes had no souls, others that they grew worse by being taught and made Christians. I would not mention these, if they were not popular arguments still, because they have no foundation in reason or truth.

After the Society had given the general order mentioned before, to all their missionaries, for the instruction of the slaves, they agreed to use another method, which they believed would more successfully promote this work. They opened a catechising school for the slaves at New York, in the year 1704, in which city there were computed to be about one thousand five hundred negro and Indian slaves, and many of their masters well disposed to have them made Christians. The Society hoped this example set, might kindle a zeal in some other good people, to carry on this work which they were unable to effect, and to erect schools for the instruction of the negroes, and to employ catechists to teach them at appointed times; and that the legislature of the colonies would by a law oblige all slaves to attend for instruction. The Society found soon, it was not easy to procure a person proper to be a catechist: Mr. Elias Neau, a layman, then living in New York city as a trader, was represented to be the properest person for that office. He was by nation a Frenchman, and made a confession of the Protestant religion in France, for which he had been confined many years in prison, and seven years in the galleys: when he got released, he went to New York, and traded there; and had the character, from people of all persuasions, of a man of piety, of sober deportment and serious life. He accepted of the offer of being catechist; and his former sufferings on account of his religion did, with great advantage, recommend him to be a teacher of the Christian faith, and his humility enabled him to bear with the many inconveniences in teaching these poor people.

He entered upon his office in the year 1704 with great diligence. At first he was obliged to go from house to house to instruct the negroes; this was out of measure laborious; afterwards he got leave that they should come to his house; this was a considerable relief. There were two obstructions still; the time was much too short, and the place inconvenient, for teaching the great number of negroes; a little time in the dusk of the evening, after hard labour all day, was the whole time allowed them for learning and for relaxation, and to visit their wives and children, which were generally in other families, not in their masters. At this time their bodies were so fatigued that their attention could not be great. They were dull and sleepy, and remembered they must rise early the next day to their labour; the place also was incommodious, being the uppermost floor of Mr. Neau's house, and was not able to hold conveniently a small

part of the slaves that might resort thither. Besides, the negroes were much discouraged from embracing the Christian religion, upon account of the very little regard shewed them in any religious respect. Their marriages were performed by mutual consent only, without the blessing of the church; they were buried by those of their own country, or complexion, in the common field, without any Christian office, perhaps some ridiculous heathen rites were performed at the grave by some of their own people. No notice was given of their being sick, that they might be visited; on the contrary, frequent discourses were made in conversation that they had no souls, and perished as beasts.

Mr. Neau contended with these difficulties, and notwithstanding all, proved an instrument of bringing many to the knowledge of the Christian faith: he took great pains in reading to them, in making short collections out of books on the catechism, and in making an abstract of the historical part of the Scriptures; so that many who could not read, could yet, by memory, repeat the history of the creation of the world, the flood, the giving of the law, the birth, miracles, and crucifixion of our Lord, and the chief articles and doctrines of Christianity. This was a work of great pains and humanity. Mr. Neau performed it diligently, discoursing familiarly with those poor people, and labouring earnestly to accommodate his discourse to their capacities. His labours were very successful. A considerable number of the slaves could give a sufficient account of the grounds of their faith, as several of the clergy, who examined them publicly, before they gave them baptism, have acquainted the Society. In the mean time, while the Society was thinking of farther ways to advance this work, a calamity appeared, which mightily discouraged this country from promoting the instruction of their slaves.

In the year 1712 a considerable number of the negroes of the Carmantee and Pappanations, formed a plot to destroy all the English, in order to obtain their liberty, and kept their conspiracy so secret that there was no suspicion of it, until it came to the very execution; however, the blow was, by God's assistance, happily defeated. The plot was this: The negroes set fire to a house in York city, on a Sunday night in April, about the going down of the moon; the fire alarmed the town, who from all parts run to it. The conspirators planted themselves in several streets and lanes leading to the fire, and shot or stabbed the people as they were running to it. Some of the wounded escaped and acquainted the government, and presently by the firing a great gun from the fort, the inhabitants were called under arms, and prevented from running to the fire; a body of men was soon raised, which easily scattered the negroes; they had killed about eight persons, and wounded twelve more. In their flight some of them shot themselves, others their wives, and then themselves; some absconded a few days, and then killed themselves, for fear of being taken, but a great many were taken, and eighteen suffered death. This wicked conspiracy was at first apprehended to be general among all the negroes, and opened the mouths of many to speak against giving the negroes instruction. Mr. Neau durst hardly appear abroad for some days, his school was blamed, as the main occasion of this barbarous plot. But upon the trial of the wretches, there were but two of all his school so much as charged with the plot, and only one was a baptised man; and in the people's heat, upon slender evidence, perhaps, too hastily condemned; for soon after he was acknowledged to be innocent by the common voice; the other was not baptised. It appeared plain that he was in the conspiracy, but guiltless of his master's murder, who was Hooglands, an eminent merchant. Upon full trial, the guilty negroes were found to be such as never came to Neau's school; and what is very observable, the persons whose negroes were found to be most guilty,

guilty, were such as were the declared opposers of making them Christians: however, a great jealousy was now raised, and the common cry was very loud against instructing the negroes.

The common-council of New York city made an order, forbidding the negroes to go about the streets after sun-set without lanthorns and candles. This was in effect, forbidding them to go to Mr. Neau's school; for none of them could get lanthorns, or come to him before sun-set; but some time after, the more serious and moderate people abated of this violence; it appearing to be a plot of a few only, not a general one of all the negroes, no consequence attended the action, and the people grew more composed. Robert Hunter, Esq. the governor of the province, observed their fears were ill grounded, and that Mr. Neau's scholars were not the guilty negroes; and therefore, in order to support the design of instructing them, he was pleased to visit his school, attended by the Society's missionaries and several persons of note, and publicly declared his approbation of the design; and afterwards, by a proclamation put out against immoralities and vice, he recommended to the clergy of the country, to exhort their congregations from the pulpit, to promote the instruction of the negroes. This gave new life again to the work, and the negroes frequented Mr. Neau's school as before; several were instructed, and afterwards examined publicly in the church before the congregation, by the Reverend Mr. Vesey; and gave a very satisfactory account of their faith, and received baptism.

The Society had accounts from time to time of Mr. Neau's diligence and success, particularly one very ample testimonial, signed by the governor (Robert Hunter, Esq.) the council, the lord mayor, and recorder of New York, and the two chief justices, setting forth, That Mr. Neau had demeaned himself in all things as a good Christian, and a good subject; that in the station of catechist he had, to the great advancement of religion in general, and the particular benefit of the free Indians, negro slaves, and other heathens in those parts, with indefatigable zeal and application, performed that service three times a week; and, that they did sincerely believe, that as a catechist, he did in a very eminent degree deserve the countenance, favour, and protection of the Society. The Society were fully satisfied with Mr. Neau's behaviour, and continued to send him numbers of catechisms and small tracts of devotion and instruction, to give among the slaves and servants at his discretion. Mr. Neau persevered with the same diligence till the year 1722, in which he died, much regretted by all who knew his labours.

The Society have been very careful in carrying on that great and good work, as far as in their power lay, ever since; and though they have not been so successful as they could have wished, yet their disappointments have not been of a nature to make them despair, and we may reasonably presume, that by degrees, and by a constant perseverance, they will, in process of time, overcome all difficulties.

6. After the accession of Queen Anne to the crown, and this nation's engaging in another general war against France, it was thought a thing of very great consequence to secure the five Indian nations bordering upon New England and New York; and therefore, instead of waiting for an application from the Society, an order was directed to them from the Privy Council upon this subject; and they were directed to send over missionaries without delay, with a promise that they should be properly supported; and this in terms that very plainly shewed the Government looked upon it as a matter that did not only regard the Church, but the State. The Society, upon this, sent over, very soon after, one Mr. Moor, and intended to have sent over other missionaries if his endeavours had met with any success. The scheme was very wise and very good, yet

it did not answer in the execution, for want, as I conceive, of proper expence about it. In a national concern like this, money should not have been spared, and great care ought to have been taken in preparations before any thing had been hazarded in the execution; so that a number of missionaries should have entered the Indian countries at once, some or other of which would certainly have fallen upon the right way of gaining the affection of these people, which it seems was not the good fortune of Mr. Moor; who arriving at New York in 1704, was very well received by Lord Cornbury, who was then governor of that colony, and who also gave him all the assistance he could desire in his mission; but the Mohocks, to whom he addressed himself, did not treat him as he expected; for at first they seemed to express very great satisfaction at his arrival, and to be extremely well pleased with his concern for their salvation; but they trifled with him afterwards, and at last gave him plainly to understand, that his coming amongst them would be to little purpose; for under pretence that religion was a public concern, in which all their families and little clans had an equal concern, so that he could not be received by any without the common consent, they put him off from time to time, and would have put him off for ever, if, after a year's waiting, he had not returned to New York; where he embarked on board a ship for England, but was unhappily lost in his passage.

Thus was the attempt frustrated; but the Society received accounts that this ill success was owing not only to the aversion of the Indians to Christianity, but was very much occasioned by the artifices of the French Jesuits, who industriously obstructed the labours of the English missionaries among them, and left no means untried to seduce them from their fidelity to the crown of England, and keep them in a continual war with the English. And indeed all the evils that the English colonies have undergone during the last war, have been occasioned by the Indians, that is, those Indians which the Jesuits have by their artifices corrupted; for among the five nations there is a great number of French Jesuits, who are incorporated, by adoption, into their tribes, and as such they ostentatiously assume Iroquois names; and the chief of the poor silly Indians, considering them as persons of their own blood, do intirely confide in them, and admit them into their councils, from whence one may easily imagine what disorders the Jesuits make in their affairs. Besides, the Indians bordering on New England are the most cruel and barbarous of all the savage nations, and have destroyed all their innocent neighbours. They are always unfixed, either rambling for several months together, or hunting, or upon warlike expeditions; and at their return to their villages, have generally forgot all their former instructions, and it is impossible for any minister to accompany them in their rambles of three or four hundred leagues at a time. After this good endeavour was defeated, the Indians remained without instruction, except that some few were taught by the Dutch minister at Albany. But the year 1709 produced an event, which the Society hoped might have had very happy consequences, and fixed Christianity among the Iroquois. Four sachems, or four chief persons of four nations of the Iroquois, came in the nature of ambassadors to England, confirming the peace made with the governor of New York, and requesting her majesty would be pleased to direct that their subjects might be instructed in Christianity, and ministers might be sent to reside amongst them.

The Archbishop of Canterbury received thereupon, the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland, then one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

" My Lord,

Whitehall, April 20, 1710.

" The inclosed being a copy of what has been given to the Queen, by the ambassadors lately arrived from the five Indian nations; I am ordered by her majesty to trans-

nuit it to your Grace, and to signify to you her pleasure, that you lay it before the Society for propagating religion, that they may consider what may be the most proper ways of cultivating that good disposition these Indians seem to be in for receiving the Christian faith, and for sending thither fit persons for that purpose, and to report their opinion without loss of time, that the same may be laid before her majesty.

“ I am, &c.

Sunderland, &c.”

The archbishop was then much indisposed, and confined to his house with the gout, and therefore signified to the secretary of the Society to call a committee to meet at Lambeth; a committee met, and it was agreed there, and afterwards by the Society at a general meeting, that two missionaries should be sent to the Mohock and Onkydes's Indians, with a salary of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling each, together with an interpreter and school-master, to teach the young Indians; and this opinion was humbly laid before the Queen; her majesty was farther pleased to direct, that a fort should be built among the Mohocks, at the Government's expence, with a chapel and a mansion house for the minister, for his greater conveniency and security, and that the religious offices might be performed with due decency; a fort was soon after built one hundred and fifty feet square, and garrisoned with twenty soldiers and an officer, and a house and chapel completed. The Reverend Mr. Andrews was appointed missionary, and Mr. Claufen, who had been several years employed as interpreter by the government of New York, in transactions with the Indians, was received as interpreter to Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Oliver made school-master. Mr. Andrews was particularly directed by the Society, to use all possible means to persuade the Indians to let their children learn English; and the school-master was to make it his whole business to teach them. The Society was now in good hopes this attempt would prove successful, since her majesty was so graciously pleased to provide for the security of the missionary, by building a fort just by the Mohocks' castle, to which the men and children might easily resort to be instructed; and the sachems, the chief persons of this people, had been in England, received many marks of royal favour, had been eye-witnesses of the greatness of the nation, had been nobly entertained here, and carried home to their own countries safely and honourably, and had themselves also desired their people might be instructed in the Christian faith.

Mr. Andrews arrived at Albany in November 1712. The sachems who had been carried home before he went from England, were convened by order of the governor of New York, to meet Mr. Andrews and the commissioners for Indian affairs at Albany, in order to give a public authority and sanction to Mr. Andrews's mission, and that the sachems might receive him their minister with greater solemnity. The sachems came to Albany, met the commissioners for Indian affairs, and Mr. Andrews, the missionary, made a long speech to the sachems, reminding them how gracious her majesty was in building a fort, sending a minister to them; put them in mind how earnestly they had requested it; and set forth what advantages they and their children would reap by being taught our religion and learning. A letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury was delivered to them, and afterwards read to them in Indian by Mr. Claufen, the interpreter of the province. Some of the sachems made speeches, and returned thanks to the queen, expressed a great satisfaction in having a minister sent them, and received Mr. Andrews as such, and promised him all civil and kind usage.

The whole affair was transacted with much ceremony, the sachems returned home, Mr. Andrews staid some time at Albany to refresh himself; soon after he went up to the fort, two hundred miles from New York, accompanied by Robert Livingston, Esq,

the mayor of Albany, Capt. Mathews, Mr. Stroopman of Schenectady, the Reverend Mr. Barclay, and several other gentlemen: he was presently visited by a great many Indians, men, women, and children, who saluted him with abundance of joy, and bid him welcome to their country. The castle or chief town of these Mohocks is neighbouring to the queen's fort, consisting of about fifty wigwams or houses; these wigwams are huts made of mats, or barks of trees put together with poles about three or four yards high. The Mohocks clothing is a short cloke, like a mantle, made of a blanket, or bear-skin. Their bed is a mat, or skin, laid on the ground. They paint and grease themselves very much with bears fat clarified. They cut the hair off from one side of their heads, and tie up some of that on the other side in knots, on the crown, with feathers. The men are very slothful, the women very laborious, mere servants to their husbands. They carry all burdens, fetch the venison home their husbands kill (the men are too lazy to bring it), get in the wood to burn and dress it; carry their children on their backs in their rambles of many hundreds of miles; hoe the ground and plant all the Indian corn that is raised. The language of these people is very difficult, their ideas are very few, and their words therefore not many, but as long as sentences, expressing by a long rambling sound what we do in a short word. There is here no manner of conveniency of life for a missionary; for four or five months in the year there is scarce any stirring abroad, by reason of the extraordinary coldness of the weather, and the deep snows that fall; and in the summer-time, the flies and musketoes are almost intolerable, and the rattlesnakes very dangerous: the nearest place of getting any provisions is at Schenectady, twenty-four miles distant, or from Albany forty-four miles off. The road to these places is, for the most part, only a small, rough Indian path through vast woods, where riding is very dangerous, by reason of the road being in many places stopped with fallen trees, roots, stones, and holes; besides many steep hills, and dead swamps or bogs in the way; there was nothing desirable to be seen; the face of the earth rude and uncultivated, like the wild inhabitants; no pleasure to be found but that of doing good to the miserable natives.

These were the circumstances of the place and people, whither Mr. Andrews was appointed; and notwithstanding all these inconveniencies he resided there, and invited the Indians to come to him; many came: he used very often to discourse with them, instructing them in the chief articles of the faith, and giving them short general accounts of our religion. This was done by the help of Mr. Clausen, who always attended and interpreted to the Indians. Mr. Clausen had been formerly taken prisoner by the Indians, lived long among them, and understood their language sufficiently. Mr. Andrews used to draw up short accounts of the Christian doctrines, and some historical parts of the Bible; particularly the creation of the world, and miracles of the Lord. The interpreter used to read them to the Indians, and divine service used to be performed in English to the soldiers in the garrison. The schoolmaster, Mr. Oliver, opened his school; the Indians, at first, sent many of their children; he began to teach them English; the parents obstinately refused to have them taught English; all possible endeavours were used to persuade them, they still persisted. Mr. Andrews sent this account to the Society, and rather than quite break with the Indians, the schoolmaster, and interpreter, began to teach the children a little in Indian. The Society were forced to comply with the Indians obstinacy: they procured an impression of horn-books and primers in Indian, for the children, sent them great numbers, as also leathern ink-horns, pen-knives, a quantity of paper of several sorts, and several other little necessaries. The children were now taught in Indian, and were treated with great kindness; no correction dared to be used, for the parents were so fond of their children,

children, and valued learning so little they thought it not worth gaining, at the least displeasing of their children.

To engage them farther to learn, Mr. Andrews used to give the children who came to school victuals, and some small utensils for their parents. The children used often to come for the sake of getting victuals, for the Indians are frequently drove to great extremities on account of their making little or no provision before hand. The children had a good natural capacity, and an aptness for learning; many of them begun to read, and some to write. This method of giving them victuals, engaged the parents to send them for some time to school. In the mean time Mr. Andrews proceeded to instruct the grown Indians by help of the interpreter, in some of the chief articles of faith, and rules of life; divine service was constantly performed on Sundays and holidays in English, to the soldiers, and such Indians as understood any English frequently attended in the chapel: the chapel was very decently adorned; Queen Anne had given a handsome furniture for the communion-table; the imperial arms of England painted on canvas were fixed up in the chapel. Archbishop Tenison gave twelve large Bibles very finely bound, for the use of the chapel, with painted tables containing the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Mr. Andrews was very civil to all the Indians who came to hear him; used frequently to entertain them at his house, and give them provisions home with them when they wanted very much, and that they often did.

The Society, since they could by no means prevail with the Indians to learn English, neither young nor old, laboured to get some good translations made of parts of the Scripture, at least, into the Indian language, though exceeding improper to convey a due idea of the Christian doctrines; as being willing, by all methods of compliance, to gain something upon them: the Society were much assisted in this by Mr. Freeman, a very worthy Calvinist minister; he had been five years minister at Schenectady, to a Dutch congregation, and had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont, in the year 1700, to convert the Indians. He had a good knowledge of the dialect of the Mohocks, which is understood by all the Iroquois, who reach near four hundred miles beyond Albany. The Society applied to him for any proper papers wrote in that language, which he might have. He acquainted the Society, that he had translated into Indian, the Morning and Evening Prayers from our Liturgy, the whole Gospel of St. Mathew, the three first chapters of Genesis, several chapters of Exodus, several Psalms, many portions of the Scripture relating to the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; and several chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, particularly the fifteenth chapter, proving the resurrection of the dead. He very frankly gave the Society a copy of these translations, which were sent to Mr. Andrews for his help, and they were a great help to him. He used frequently to read some of these to the Indians, and they could comprehend well enough by his reading. But the Society were desirous some part of the Scriptures might be printed in Indian, and the copies given to the Indians, and they taught at least to read that; accordingly the Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany, the Church Catechism, Family Prayer, and several chapters of the Old and New Testament were printed at New York. The copies were sent to Mr. Andrews, and he gave them to such of the Indians as knew any thing of letters.

He had hopes now of some success in his mission; several of the women and some men began to lead more orderly lives. They were instructed, and retained well in their memory what the chief articles of our faith are, and rules of life; a good number were baptized, and particular accounts were sent regularly to the Society. Mr. Andrews was willing to try what good he could do in another nation of the Indians; he travelled

travelled to the castle of Onydans, one hundred miles distant from the Mohocks; the country all the way was a vast wilderness of wood, and the road through it was a narrow path. He was forced to carry all necessaries with him, and at night to lie upon a bear's skin. When he arrived at the castle he was visited by more than one hundred people, who seemed all glad to see him; he read several papers to them, staid some time with them, and, after instruction, baptized several, whose names have been transmitted to the society. Mr. Andrews afterwards returned to the Mohocks, his place of residence. In a short time the Indians grew weary of instruction; the men grown would go out in bodies a hunting for several months, and forget all they had been taught; and the young boys, when they grew up, were taken out by their fathers to hunt, and so lost all they had got. This roving life utterly destroyed all the missionary's and school-master's labours.

But besides this difficulty, and the natural averfeness of the Indians to learning, two misfortunes happened which created a jealousy, and afterwards a hatred in the Indians against all the English as well as against their religion. Some jesuits, emissaries from Quebec, among the Canada Indians, adjoining to the Iroquois, had infused into the minds of those people, that the English did not intend, by building a fort among the Iroquois, to teach them their religion, but to cut them all off at a proper juncture; and that a box had been found accidentally, left by the English when they attempted Quebec, containing papers which discovered this intention of the English. The Canada Indians believed this idle story, and spread it among all the Iroquois. This stirred up some jealousy, but a further misfortune quite set the Indians against the English; some of the Tuscararo Indians who had fled from North Carolina after the war there with the English, came and settled in the country of the Onontages, one of the Iroquois nations bordering on the Mohocks. These people being enraged at the English, stirred up the Onontages against them, telling them they had been most barbarously used and drove out of their country, and the English watched only for an opportunity to extirpate them too. The other Indians were too easily persuaded to believe every thing the Tuscararo Indians told them; so that when any of these people came by the Mohocks Castle and the Queen's Fort, in their way to Albany, to trade and buy themselves necessaries, they used only to mock at Mr. Andrews when he would offer to talk to them about religion, and when he proffered to go to their abode they absolutely forbade him.

In a little time the old Mohocks left off coming to the Chapel to Mr. Andrews, and the children came no more to school. Mr. Andrews wrote the society word of the ill success of his mission, though he had spared no pains; that the hopeful beginnings proved of no effect at last; and that he began to despair of converting the Indians. The society found now, from several accounts, that the mission among the Indians proved fruitless; that it was not possible to teach them the Christian religion, before they were in some degree civilized; and they found the following difficulties did only hinder that. No way could be found to engage the Indians to lead a settled life, to apply themselves to cultivate the ground, to build towns, and to raise cattle; they would still rove through their vast woods many hundreds of miles, depending for their subsistence upon the game they could kill. They would eat all sorts of carrion, and in some long rambles, when by various accidents they could get no game, would kill and eat one another, even their wives, and that without any concern or remorse. Generally half of a hord or nation went out a hunting or a warring upon a neighbouring nation together, and on those expeditions forgot all the little they had learned, and at their return were as mere savages as ever. They could not be dissuaded from taking wives and leaving them at their pleasure; this not only hindered religion from being fixed among them, but
was

was the cause that a great many aged men and women perished miserably, as having no one to take any care of them.

They would, in their wars, use the greatest barbarities, and destroy all the prisoners they could take; by such extreme tortures, it would move too much horror in the reader to repeat in this place. It is true, they were very fond of their children, but they perverted even so good a principle; they would not oblige them to learn any manual art, or our language, but let them live a lazy bestial life: nay, some of the young children who have by chance fallen into the English hands, and lived in families, been taught our language, learnt a decent behaviour, and known something of tillage or handicraft; when they have grown up have run wild again, have thrown off their clothes, and chose rather to ramble naked almost in the woods with their own people, than to live a sober and settled life. But the greatest obstruction to their being civilized, was their greediness of strong liquors, especially rum, and the fatal effect drunkenness hath upon them. When they drink they will never leave off till they have gone to the greatest excess, and in this condition they are most wretched objects. They grow quite mad, burn their own little huts, murder their wives and children, or one another; so that their wives are forced to hide their guns or hatchets, and themselves too, for fear of mischief. And if the men, through this excess, fall into any sickness, they perish miserably, as having no methods of helping themselves by physic or otherwise.

It is, indeed, matter of great wonder, that these wretched people who have lived joining to the English settlements so many years, and cannot but observe that the English, by agriculture, raise provisions out of a small spot of ground, to support in plenty great numbers of people; whereas they, by their hunting, cannot get a wretched subsistence out of all their wildernesses of several hundred leagues in extent, should still refuse to till their ground or learn any manual art; should still live a brutal life, insensible of shame or honour. It is true, the English have taken from them exceeding large countries, yet this, far from being a prejudice, would be a vast advantage to them, if they would but learn the English language, arts, and industry. They have still an immense extent of land, part of which, if duly cultivated, is able to maintain many millions of people more than they are. It might have been imagined the Sachems, that is, those petty kings who were in England in the late Queen's time, should have been so strongly affected with seeing the grandeur, pleasure, and plenty of this nation, that when they came to their own countries, they would have tried to reduce their people to a polite life; would have employed their whole power to expel that rude barbarism, and introduce arts, manners, and religion; but the contrary happened; they sunk themselves into their old brutal life; and though they had seen this great city, when they came to their own woods they grew all savage again.

Mr. Andrews wrote several accounts more in 1718, that all his labours proved ineffectual. That the Indians would not send their children to school, and nobody came to the chapel; that the four other nations of the Iroquois, as they came by the Mohocks Castle, insulted and threatened him; that the interpreter and school-master perceived all their labour was lost, and that they were frequently in danger of their lives if they went out of the fort. The society received these accounts with much dissatisfaction, as being extremely contrary to what their good desires had made them hope. However, they were so unwilling to abandon this wretched people to themselves, that they would not dismiss Mr. Andrews from his mission, upon his own representation of his ill success. They wrote to the governor of New York, Robert Hunter Esq., acquainted him with the accounts they had received, and requested the favour of his Excellency to cause an inquiry to be made, whether Mr. Andrews's labours were so
fruitless

fruitless among the Indians, and submitted to his judgment to dismiss Mr. Andrews if they should be so found. The accounts transmitted hither were found true upon examination, and Mr. Andrews left that miserable race of men.

We have chosen to give the whole of this remarkable account together, that the reader may see, and be fully apprised of the many and great obstacles that lie in the way of our bringing the Indians to embrace our interest together with our religion; but there are still hopes, that as the society proceeds in the great design of settling a regular clergy in our colonies, and thereby influencing the planters, not only to profess, but to shew themselves Christians; these obstacles will be lessened by degrees, and the Indians come to have a better opinion of our faith, in the same proportion that they grow better pleased with the justice and regularity of our behaviour towards them; but in the mean time what has been related shews that this important task has not remained unattempted, and that if it has been in some measure interrupted, this interruption was occasioned by accidents unforeseen, inevitable, and in their nature hitherto unconquerable.

7. But it is now time for us to proceed to that great and singular expedition, undertaken in the Queen's reign, for dispossessing the French of Quebec, and driving them entirely out of Canada. This was first conceived practicable, and measures taken for putting it in execution, in the year 1707, at which time the Earl of Sunderland, then secretary of state, wrote to the government of New England, to prepare for giving what assistance lay in their power, towards a design of such importance to, and so often recommended by, the people of that colony; who from the time Sir William Phipps miscarried in it, were continually wishing for an opportunity to recover their credit, and to revenge their loss upon the French, by renewing their attempts upon Canada. The person then intended to command the land troops, was General Maccartney, and every thing was settled with respect to his voyage, when the fatal battle of Almanza, in Spain, made it absolutely necessary to send the troops designed for this service into that country, to prevent the total ruin of the late Emperor's, then King Charles, affairs. The circumstances of the war in succeeding years hindered the revival of this project till the change of the ministry, and then it was resolved upon afresh, as the most effectual means of forcing France into a speedy and solid peace.

How it was executed is a very hard task to say; but we will make use of the account published by the secretary of the admiralty, who had it in his power to give the fullest and fairest relation of this matter; and if he has not done so, we know not where to find a better. He tells us the Queen's instructions to Sir Hovenden Walker, Rear Admiral of the White, were dated the 11th day of April 1711, by which he was ordered to take under his command, the *Torbay*, a ship of eighty guns, the *Edgar*, *Swiftshure*, and *Monmouth*, of seventy guns; and *Dunkirk*, *Sunderland*, *Kingston*, and *Montague*, of sixty guns, with two bomb vessels; as also the *Leopard* and *Saphire*, one of fifty and the other of thirty guns, sent before to North America; with all these, except the two last, together with the store-ships and transports designed on the expedition, he was, as soon as might be, to rendezvous at Spithead; and when Mr. Hill, General and Commander in Chief of the forces, should be embarked, and the troops on board, he was, with the first opportunity of the wind, to proceed to Boston in New England, without touching at any island, country, or place, if it could possibly be avoided; and as he was required to appoint proper signals and places for rendezvous, in case of separation, so was he to give strict orders to the captains of the ships under his command, that if they happened to be so separated, they should not inform the enemy, or any other, on what design they were going.

In his passage to Boston, the chief town in New England, he was, when himself and the General should judge it most proper, to detach one ship of war or more to convoy directly to New York the transport ships, in which were laden artillery, silks, cloaths, and accoutrements, with other things, for the use of the forces to be raised there, as well as in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania; the same to be delivered as the General should direct; and then the ships of war were to be ordered to return to Boston; but if it should not be judged proper to make such detachment, the transports were to be sent to New York, under a sufficient convoy, when he arrived at Boston; and the said convoy, to bring there such necessaries and stores as should be provided for the Squadron and forces. When he arrived at New England, he was to take the Leopard and Saphire under his command, and consider whether it might be necessary to make any addition to the Squadron by the convoy to the New England mast ships or others stationed on the coast of America, which he was empowered to do; and if the General should, upon advising with him, think it practicable to send any of the transports with some of the new raised troops in New England, to garrison Annapolis Royal, lately called Port Royal; and to bring from thence the marines left there, or any part of them, or the artillery, or stores of war, he was to appoint a sufficient convoy, with directions for them to return forthwith to New England.

He was, when at Boston, to take under his care all transport vessels, ketches, hoys, boats, and other necessaries provided in New England; and as soon as the forces from thence, and those raised there, should be on board, he was to sail with them into the river of St. Laurence up to Quebec, in order to attack that place; and being arrived, to make a proper disposition of the ships for that purpose, as well of such as might be fit to be employed before the town, as others; upon consulting with the General to pass the place, and proceed up the river towards the lake, not only to prevent any communication with Quebec, but to protect the canoes and boats with the forces from New York, to which end he was empowered to convert some of the small vessels sent from thence to New England, into frigates suitable to the navigation of the upper part of the river, and to man and arm them accordingly at New England, or elsewhere; he was to assist the General with vessels and boats proper for landing the forces and embarking them again, but more especially upon his arrival at Quebec, or fresh transporting them from place to place.

He was also ordered to send to the General such marine soldiers as should be on board the Squadron, when he should demand the same; which he was to have the command of while employed on shore; besides which, he was to aid him with such a number of seamen, gunners, guns, ammunition, and other stores from the ships, as he should demand for the land service; which seamen were to assist in drawing and mounting the cannon, or otherwise, as should be found necessary. He was strictly required to lose no time in proceeding to New England, and proceeding from thence to the River St. Laurence; nor in putting in execution the service at Quebec; but that on his part, all expedition should be used in the reduction of the place, and of the country of Canada, or New France; and in the seasonable return of the Squadron and transports. Her Majesty empowered him to direct the commissary of the stores to deliver to any ship or vessel, whether of war or otherwise, any provisions or liquors under his care; he was likewise to provide any other naval stores for the use of the Squadron; and in case of success it should be found necessary by him and the General to have a naval force left in the river of St. Laurence, he was to appoint such part of the Squadron to remain there as might be judged proper for taking care to make suitable provision for the maintenance and repair of such ships; and the like liberty was given as to any of the smaller vessels,

such as transports or otherwise, or to make use of any of the enemy's ships that might be taken, if proper, to bring into Europe such governors, regular troops, religious persons, or others whom the General, by his instructions, was directed to send away from Canada, with commissaries, stores, and provisions for their transportation.

These services being directed, he was to take on board the General, if he should think fit to return, and such of the forces as might not be left in Canada, and hasten with the squadron and transports out of the river; and if the season of the year would permit, he was to proceed to, and summon and attack, Placentia in Newfoundland, in such manner as General Hill should direct; which service being over, he was to order such ships of war as did not properly belong to the squadron under his command, to return to their several stations, directing the masters of the transports which he should have no occasion for, to go and seek freight either upon the continent of America or in the islands, to ease the public of the farther charge of them, and for the benefit of the trade of Great Britain. Lastly; it was recommended to him, as it was to the General of the land forces, to maintain a constant good understanding and agreement, and on all occasions to render each other all necessary and requisite assistance; and if any differences should arise between them, upon any construction of command, or the nature of command in the service, or otherwise howsoever, the Queen was pleased to reserve the determination of the same to herself, at their return to Great Britain, without prejudice to either of them in submitting to each other for the good of her Majesty's service.

And that he might be sufficiently informed of her Majesty's design upon Canada, and of the preparations directed to be made for the carrying it on, to the governors of New York and Massachusetts Bay, and New Hants; as also of the additional instructions to the governors of New York, and of those to Francis Nicholson Esq. and the several governors of the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Providence Plantations, and Pennsylvania.

These were the contents of the Queen's orders to Sir Hovenden Walker, prepared without so much as consulting the then Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, either as to the fitness of the ships appointed for the expedition, or the nature of the navigation; but on the contrary, the design on which they were bound was rather industriously hid from them, as may appear by some letters to Sir Hovenden Walker, before he sailed from Spithead, by which the secretary seemed to value himself very much, that a design of this nature was kept a secret from the admiralty, who, had they been consulted, would not, I am apt to think, have advised the sending ships of eighty and seventy guns to Quebec, since the navigation up the river of St. Laurence, was generally esteemed to be very dangerous; nor were their lordships permitted to know any thing of this matter, at least not in form, until advice received, that the French were equipping a considerable squadron at Brest, which some of the ministry might be apprehensive were designed to intercept Sir Hovenden Walker; but it was too late to take any proper measures for preventing it, if the enemy had really had any such intention. Having thus given a brief account of what steps were taken to set forth this squadron, which, ere it returned, put the nation to a very considerable expence, it remains that we accompany them on the expedition, and I shall give as particular an account of their proceedings as the papers which I have before me, will enable me to do.

Sir Hovenden Walker was under sail with the ships of war and transports off of Dunnoke on the 29th of April, 1711; but coming off of the Start the 1st of the next month, a westerly wind obliged him to put in at Plymouth; being the length of the

Dead Man the 4th, he met with the Kent, Essex, and Plymouth, which ships he took with him some leagues into the sea, and then left them to their former service of cruizing from the soundings. The 24th of June he arrived at Nantasket, near Boston in New England, having then with him five ships of the third rate; six of the fourth, one of the fifth, and two bomb-vessels. But not meeting with that ready assistance which was expected from the government and people of that country, it was the 30th of July before he sailed from thence, and then he was on his way to Quebec, with the British and New England forces. The 14th of August he got the length of the Bird Islands, which lie about two hundred and fifty leagues from Cape Ann; and having sent the Chester, Leopard, and Saphire, to cruize between Placentia and Cape Breton, on the island opposite to Newfoundland, expected their joining him in his passage to Quebec; the former of which ships had taken and sent into Boston, before he sailed thence, a ship of about one hundred and twenty tons, with ten guns, and had seventy men on board, whereof thirty were soldiers for the garrison of Quebec.

The Leostoff, FEVERSHAM'S Enterprize, and TRYON'S Prize, all small vessels, which were stationed at New York and Virginia, he ordered to join him off of Cape Breton, being impowered by her Majesty's orders so to do, if he should find it necessary, and this the rather because they might be of good use to him in his proceeding up the river to Quebec, which navigation most of the people with whom he had spoken represented to be very dangerous; and therefore he rightly judged the Humber and Devonshire, which mounted eighty guns each, too big to be ventured thither; for which reason he sent them home, and shifted his flag on board the Edgar, a ship of seventy guns, General Hill removing into the Windsor, which carried ten less; but since he had information that a ship of sixty guns, and another of thirty, were expected from France very shortly; he ordered the aforesaid ships Humber and Devonshire, to cruize in the opening of the bay of St. Laurence, until the last of August, and then to pursue their voyage home.

He had very fair weather until he got into the aforesaid bay, when it came changeable, sometimes thick and foggy, and other while calm and little winds, and the navigation appeared to be intricate and hazardous. The 18th of August, when he was off Gaspe Bay, near the entrance of the river Canada, it blew fresh at north-west, and lest the transports should be separated, and blown to leeward, he anchored in that bay; where, staying for an opportunity to proceed up the river, he burnt a French ship which was a fishing, not being able to bring her off. The wind veering westerly the 20th of August, he had hopes of gaining his passage; but the next day afternoon it proved foggy, and continued so all night and the day following, with very little wind till the afternoon, when there was an extreme thick fog and it began to blow hard at east-south-east, which rendering it impossible to steer any course with safety, having neither sight of land or soundings, or anchorage, he, by the advice of the pilots then on board him, both English and French, who were the best in the fleet, made the signal for the ships to bring to with their heads southward, at which time it was about eight at night, believing that in that posture they should not come near the north shore, but rather have driven with the stream in the mid-channel; but on the contrary, as they lay with their heads southwards, and the wind easterly, in two hours time he found himself on the north shore among the rocks and islands, at least fifteen leagues farther than the log-line gave, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost; the men of war escaped with the utmost difficulty, but eight transport ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiers, and seamen perished.

The French pilot, who, as it was said, had been forty voyages in this river; and eighteen of them in command, informed him, that when it happens to be so foggy as to prevent the sight of the land, it is impossible to judge of the currents, or to steer by any course; for he himself had lost two ships, and been himself near the south, inasmuch that it was extremely difficult to procure men in France to proceed on so dangerous a navigation, since almost every year they suffered shipwreck. Thus it appeared how things have been misrepresented in Great Britain, by those who pretend to aver that fleets of ships might safely proceed up the river to Quebec; and it was demonstrable that the people of Boston knew not any thing of what they proposed, when schemes were laid for such an expedition. After this unhappy disaster, and when Sir Hovenden Walker had plied two days with very fresh gales, between the west and the south, to save what men and other things he could, he called a council of war, and upon enquiring of the pilots (who had been forced on board the ships by the government of New England), and duly examining into every circumstance, it was judged impracticable for a fleet to get up to Quebec, since there were so many apparent dangers, and no pilots qualified to take the charge; besides it was the opinion of them all, both English and French, that had the squadron been higher up the river, with the hard gales they met with, all the ships would have been inevitably lost. At this council of war there were besides the Rear Admiral, Captain Joseph Soames, Captain John Mitchel, Captain Robert Arris, Captain George Walton, Captain Henry Gore, Captain George Paddon, Captain John Cockburn, and Captain Augustine Rouse. The consultation being over, the *Saphire* was sent to Boston, with an account of the misfortune, and the *Montague*, to find out the *Humber* and *Devonshire*, and to stop all ships bound up to Quebec; and the *Leopard* being left with some sloops and brigantines, to take any men from the shore that might be saved, and to endeavour to weigh some anchors left behind, he proceeded to Spanish River, in the island of Breton, the rendezvous he had appointed, there to be perfectly informed of the state of the army and fleet, and to settle matters for their further proceedings.

But all the ships did not join till the 7th of September; the day following, by consent of the General he called a council of war of sea and land officers, where it was considered, whether under their present circumstances it was practicable to attempt any thing against Placentia, which all of them very much inclined to; but upon examining into the state of the provisions on board the men of war and transports, it was found there was but ten weeks provision at short allowance, in the former, and in the latter much less, so that it was unanimously agreed not any thing of that kind could be undertaken; but that it was necessary the squadron and transports should proceed to Great Britain, since they had but barely provisions sufficient for the voyage, and that there was not any prospect of a supply from New England, and the season of the year being too far advanced for navigating safely in those parts of the world. At this council of war there were, besides the sea officers of the last, General Hill, Colonel Charles Churchill, Colonel William Windresse, Colonel Campenfelt, Colonel Clayton, Colonel Kirk, together with Colonel Vetch, and Colonel Walton, who commanded the forces raised in New England.

It was in pursuance of this resolution taken in Spanish River, that he sailed on the 16th of September for England, where he arrived the 9th of October following, and not long after his return, the *Edgar*, a seventy-gun ship, on board of which he hoisted his flag, took fire, and blew up at Spithead by some accident, the cause of which was never known; and thus ended an expedition every way unfortunate, and
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which brought nothing but discredit and blame upon those who contrived, and those who were concerned in the executing it, and particularly Sir Hovenden Walker, a very honest plain spoken man; who, if there was any dark secret in this business, was most certainly ignorant of it. His opinion always was, and he died in the full belief of it, that though the expedition might be justly styled unfortunate, inasmuch as it miscarried, and the fleet never reached Quebec; yet it would have been much more so, if they had got up the river of St. Laurence, and had actually landed their men, as they were by their instructions directed to do; and the reasons he gave for it are very well worth the hearing, especially at this juncture, when an expedition of the same kind is said to be under consideration. The reasons that he gave for it were these:—"That in case the French had retired from Quebec, they would have carried their provisions with them, and have destroyed what they could not carry, so that the English would have had nothing but a wild, barren, uncultivated country before them, with the conquest of which they might please themselves; but in which, nevertheless, they would find it impossible to subsist.

"For, continues he, our people's provisions would have been reduced to eight or nine (perhaps to six) weeks, at short allowance; no relief could possibly be hoped for in less than ten months, if so soon; the *Feverham*, and three store-ships, laden with the provisions designed for their supply, being cast away in their passage; so that if they had escaped shipwreck, which would have been a very great chance, between ten and twelve thousand men must inevitably have perished with hunger and cold, and the ship have become a prey to the returning enemy. On the other hand, had the enemy held out till our people had spent all their provisions, they must have laid down their arms, and have surrendered to the French at discretion, to avoid death in its most frightful shape, famine; or if they had taken the place, either by storm or capitulation, the remaining provisions of a small garrison would not have gone far towards subsisting so large a number; nor could they at that season of the year, have marched through the country in search of more: and this would have been the case, had they afterwards attempted Placentia."

How far this gentleman might be in the right or in the wrong, I shall not at present desire the reader to enquire; but, most certainly what he says has at the first sight the appearance of sincerity and truth, and therefore we ought to be very cautious of running any fresh hazards of this nature; but the driving the French from Canada is most certainly a thing very possible and very practicable, provided the scheme be laid by those who are well acquainted with the state and force of our colonies, the navigation of the river of St. Laurence, and the condition of the colony we propose to dislodge; and if it be executed by seamen and officers of experience in their respective professions, and who found the hopes of promoting their private interest on the solid basis of exerting their utmost abilities in the public service.

8. The French, during the whole course of the last war, were particularly attentive to the preservation of their own colonies, and annoying of ours, in both which schemes they were but too successful, which however was not owing so much either to the wisdom of their councils or the vigour of their arms, as to the faults in our measures, and the miscarriages of our sea officers. I shall not pretend to enter into a strict detail of these disagreeable points, but shall content myself with a few general points, which I flatter myself will be sufficient for my purpose. At the very beginning of the war, the gallant old Admiral Benbow was sacrificed by some of his officers who had a pique to him. He was a man of great honour and strict discipline, but had some of the roughness of a tar about him, which rendered him very disagreeable

to the fine gentlemen of the navy, amongst whom were three of the captains that deserted him ; their conduct indeed had the look of cowardise, and of that they were found guilty by a court martial, and suffered death for it very deservedly ; but they only acted the cowards and were not so, for they had behaved gallantly upon other occasions, and never man looked death in the face with more intrepidity than Captain Kirby did, which however was so far from extenuating, that in my opinion it heightened his offence.

The executing severe justice upon those three gentlemen, which certainly was a very wise and right step, and was taken by the mildest government this or perhaps any other nation ever saw, had a very good effect, and taught people to fear the justice of the nation, in case they sacrificed the concerns of the public to their particular resentments or private views ; but that it did not entirely put an end to the evil is very certain, since something of the same kind happened afterwards to Sir Charles Wager, and prevented his taking at least another galleon. The admirals also, and great sea officers, that were stationed at Jamaica, for the protection of the island and security of commerce, did not behave so well as they might have done, as appears from those authentic registers, the votes of the House of Commons, where the reader will find, that after long and strict enquiries, in which the merchants were admitted to make particular charges, and allowed to support them by evidence, censures were passed upon those officers who appeared to be guilty ; and both Houses shewed a warm zeal for redressing those mischiefs occasioned by the ill conduct of the navy, and thereby left ample testimony of their regard for the public, though it was not attended with that success that might have been wished.

In the meantime the French went on in quite a different way ; and, when they found their fleets were able to do little against ours, they very wisely declined wasting their naval force in combats at sea, and applied it almost entirely to the protecting their own trade, and distressing ours. They undertook the escorting the Spanish plate fleets, and were, generally speaking, but too successful in that undertaking. Notwithstanding our superior force, they attempted a commerce with the Spanish settlements in the South Seas ; and in this too they succeeded, notwithstanding the dangerous navigation round Cape Horn, and from thence they reaped two great advantages, viz. maintaining and improving their manufactures, even in a time of war, and bringing vast sums into France, without which she could not possibly have continued the war.

Yet, in some respects, it manifestly appeared that her force was very insufficient for supporting her views in the West Indies, since, in an attempt they made upon Carolina in 1706, they were shamefully repulsed by the natural force of that colony, without any assistance from hence. And, on the other hand, our people succeeded in their attempt to drive the French out of what they possessed in the island of St. Christopher's ; which plainly shewed what might have been done, in that war, towards destroying their sugar colonies, if, as our interests most certainly led us, we had considered that point more attentively than we did some others, which did not concern us near so much. For, had we used the opportunity that was given us to have driven the French out of all or most of their islands, it must have turned so much to our advantage, in point of trade, that, in all human probability, we should have had no reason to regret the vast expences of that long and consuming war.

But, instead of doing this, our views were almost entirely confined to Europe, where our success was indeed very honourable for our arms, but was very far from procuring us any advantages in respect to trade ; which I do not say with any design of reflecting on the ministers by whom that war was managed, who perhaps might mean us well, and

and did for us as much as was in their power ; but to shew where the fault really lay, which was our entering into many engagements that were either useless or detrimental to our commercial interests.

Whereas the French, who had but very lately entertained any thoughts of trade, kept that continually in view, both in their operations during the war and in their negotiations for bringing about a peace. In respect to the former, besides what they did against us in the West Indies, they attacked the Portuguese in Brazil, ruined the commerce between the Dutch and Spaniards, and established their own ; and, besides all this, when they had actually begun to treat with us, and our Court considered them in a manner as friends, they sent a fleet to distress us in the Leeward Islands ; which excessively provoked our ministry, though they were too far advanced in their pacific measures to retreat.

At the conclusion of the treaty, the French shewed the same care for, and the same steadiness in, supporting their commerce. It was with difficulty that they were prevailed upon to restore what they had taken from our Hudson's Bay company. Nova Scotia we had, and, because they could not take it from us, they left it to us ; but they plainly cheated us out of Cape Breton. And though they pretended to renounce all pretensions on Newfoundland, yet they preserved what they never had any title to, and what, with respect to that country, was all they ever wanted. By these arts they secured great advantages to themselves, which were all at our expence ; brought a heavy load of reproach on the ministers who transacted with them, and left the treaty of Utrecht as a memorial to all succeeding ministers of the danger of entering into any separate negotiations with France.

9. After the accession of his late Majesty King George I. to the British throne, there followed several disturbances at home and abroad, which might very well hinder the ministers from contriving any new schemes for the advantage of our colonies, or from perfecting those which had been formerly laid for that purpose. The rebellion in Scotland first, and after that the quadruple alliance, and the measures which preceded and followed it, sufficiently occupied their thoughts, and if they went on in the ordinary way, in protecting them, and providing for their security, they might very well be excused for postponing thoughts or projects of another nature to more favourable times.

But the French, always watchful for their own advantages, at the very time when they seemed most solicitous in cultivating the friendship of Britain, and were daily receiving benefits from it, projected the settlement of the island of St. Lucia, which had been always included in the commission of the governor of Barbadoes ; and for that purpose the French King thought fit, in the year 1719, to make a grant of that island to the Marshal d'Etree, who immediately made the necessary dispositions for establishing a colony in that island, and sent over people for that purpose. The governor of Barbadoes, as it was his duty, opposed this settlement vigorously, and declared roundly, That, if the French persisted in settling, he should find himself under a necessity of driving them off that island, which belonged to the King his master, by force.

At the same time our minister at the court of Paris presented a memorial, in which he set forth the title the Crown of Great Britain had to this island, and, consequently, the great injustice of the French King's grant, which was very apparent from the following particulars in relation to the history of this island, in which both English and French writers agree. The English settled on the island of St. Lucia in 1639, and lived there near two years without any interruption or disturbance ; but in 1640 they were driven
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off from the said island, and the governor and most of the inhabitants killed by the Caribbeans, and, as the English suspected, by the instigation and encouragement of the French; which the French generals, Parquet and de Poincy, however, both disowned. Nor did the French at that time, or any other time, make any sort of pretension to the island. A tacit acknowledgement, undoubtedly, of the right of the English."

The civil wars in England breaking out, the English neglected this settlement; and Monsieur du Parquet sent thirty or forty Frenchmen to take possession of the island. The Sieur de Rouffelan governed here till 1694, and was succeeded by De la Riviere, whom the Caribbeans killed with several of his men, and carried off his wife and two of his children. He was succeeded by Monf. le Breton, he by Monf. Agremont, who was also destroyed by the Caribbeans. After this the English made a treaty with the Caribbeans for the purchasing the island from them; and in 1663, sent fourteen or fifteen hundred men on board of five men of war, who, being joined by six hundred of the Caribbeans in seventeen canoes, came before the island in June 1664, which was delivered to them without resistance, on condition that the French governor and garriſon in the fort, which amounted only to fourteen men, should be transported to Martinico, with their cannon, arms and baggage. In 1666 the English governor, Mr. Robert Cook, by reason of the mortality of his people, want of necessaries, &c. abandoned the island, and set fire to the fort; yet, two days afterwards, a bark arrived from Lord Willoughby, governor and captain-general of Barbadoes, and the other English Caribbee islands, to windward of Guardaloupa, with provisions, ammunition, and all necessaries for the colony. In this deserted condition it remained thenceforward, but was always considered as a part of the British dominions. The interposition of our minister produced the desired effect, and the French desisted at that time from their settlement.

10. This attempt, however, so much alarmed our court, that the Duke of Montague resolved, at a vast expence, to settle that island and St. Vincent, which was so agreeable to the ministry and to his late Majesty, that by letters patent, dated the 22d of June, 1722, both those islands were granted to his Grace, that he might be encouraged to put so generous and public-spirited a design in execution; and for the further benefit and advantage of the new colonies which he was to settle, the Duke was also constituted captain-general of the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which till that time were included in the commission, and remained under the government of the governors of Barbadoes. His Grace having appointed Captain Uring his deputy governor, and provided seven ships or vessels to carry over the planters, with such provisions and necessaries as were requisite to settle colonies in those islands, obtained of his Majesty the Winchelsea man of war, commanded by Captain Orme, to convey, attend, and protect the planters.

Mr. Uring embarked on board the Winchelsea, on the 10th of September 1722, and sailing to Ireland to take in provisions, made it the 15th of December before he arrived at St. Lucia. Being come to an anchor in Pigeon Island Bay, a Barbadoes sloop soon after arrived from Martinico, the master whereof communicated to Mr. Uring the copy of a mandate by the king of France, which he said was published by order of the French general in all the churches of that island, and in all the towns by beat of drum; which contained in substance, That if the English did not leave the island in the space of fifteen days, they were to be expelled by force of arms. The next morning Mr. Uring weighed from Pigeon Island Bay, and stood for the harbour of Petite Carenage, which they found to be a very good one, and in it several places fit for careening ships, sheltered from every wind; in one of which, ships of sixty guns and
upwards

upwards may careen very conveniently: the land is very hilly all round the harbour, and in most places steep, ascending from the water side. At two in the afternoon we landed fifty men to cut down the trees and bushes on the point that lay fit for a battery of guns to command the entrance of the harbour. The same day he sent Mr. Faulkner to Martinico, with letters from the Duke of Montague and the Admiralty, directed to Captain Charles Brown, commander of the *Feverham* man of war, and Captain Brand, commander of the *Hector*; who were then at Martinico; and acquainted them, that the Duke had appointed him deputy governor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, and being come to settle those islands under the protection of the *Winchelsea* man of war, he desired that in pursuance of the orders they had received from the admiralty for that purpose, they would join him as soon as possible, being apprehensive the governor of Martinico designed to molest the colony. In the mean time he proceeded to land his people, guns, tools, planks and stores, to fortify the harbour, and build a large house to shelter the workmen.

On the 22d of December Captain Brand and Captain Brown arrived from Martinico, with his Majesty's ships, the *Hector* and *Feverham*, and soon after a French sloop, which brought a letter from the French general, to acquaint Mr. Uring that he had heard of his landing English forces in the island of St. Lucia, and desired to know his intentions; and at the same time he received the following copy of the French king's mandate, viz. A mandate of the King to the *Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire*, governor and lieutenant-general of the Windward Islands in America. "His Majesty having been informed that the King of England has given the islands of St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, to the Duke of Montague, has made his complaint of it to the court of England, and has alledged that neither the one nor the other of these islands belong to that crown. The first of them ought to remain to the Caribbees, according to conventions made with that people; and the second does belong to France, who has been willing to suspend the settlement of that island on the request of the King of England; notwithstanding those reasons, his Majesty hath not been informed that there has not been any revocation of this grant; on the contrary, he understands that the Duke of Montague is repairing to send and take possession of those islands, and to transport numbers of families thither. This undertaking being contrary to the rights of his Majesty, his intention is, that in case the English should take possession of St. Lucia, and settle there, the *Sieur Chevalier de Feuquire* shall summon them to retire in fifteen days, in regard that island belongs to France; and if they do not depart, he shall compel them to it by force of arms. He shall take care to charge some of the wisest and most experienced of his officers with this expedition. His Majesty desires there should be as little effusion of blood as possible, nor will he have any pillage made; he only wishes the English would retire, and not possess themselves of a country which belongs to him. Done at Versailles the 21st of September 1722, signed, &c."

Upon reading the mandate, and the French governor's letter, in which it was inclosed, Mr. Uring sent to Captain Brand, and Captain Brown, to know if he might depend upon their assistance if he was attacked by the French; but they would give him no positive answer, and soon after sailed to Barbadoes; he also sent a letter to the governor of Martinico, to acquaint him that he had orders from the Duke of Montague, the lord proprietor, under his British Majesty's patent, to plant St. Lucia and defend it, but proposed suspending all acts of hostility, till they could hear from their respective courts of Great Britain and France. Mr. Uring also thought fit to write to the president of Barbadoes, that the governor of Martinico had threatened to drive the English

from the island, if they did not depart in fifteen days, and to desire his assistance to support this part of his Majesty's dominions. To which the president answered, That he was ready to give him all the assistance in his power.

But the Captains Brown and Brand remained so long absent from St. Lucia, that the French had an opportunity of sending between two and three thousand men from Martinico, and landing them on the island; the captains of the men of war also refused to give him assistance, towards fortifying and defending the colony by land, and a great many of the planters falling sick, and other deserting over to the French at the same time, Mr. Uring had not fourscore left to bear arms, which compelled him at length to come to a treaty with the French general, the Marquis of Champigny; and the following articles were concluded between them: First, That the English should quit the island of St. Lucia within seven days, provided that the ships of the English nation should at all times have liberty to come into the ports of the said island, and wood and water there, and serve their other occasions, as the French also might. Secondly, That the English colony should be at liberty to reimbarc all their cannon, stores, arms, baggage, and every thing belonging to them, without molestation. Thirdly, That all deserters should be given up. And Lastly, That immediately after the English had evacuated the island, the French forces also should evacuate it, and that the island should remain in the same state it was till the controversies between the two crowns, relating to this island, were decided. In pursuance of which agreement Mr. Uring embarked with his people, and sailed to Antigua, sending the *Winchelsea* man of war, and Captain Braithwaite, in the *Griffin* sloop, to take a view of the island of St. Vincent, and see if it was practicable to make a settlement there. In the meantime a considerable reinforcement arrived at Barbadoes, from the Duke of Montague, with ammunition and provision, and orders to attempt a settlement upon St. Vincent, if the planters were driven from St. Lucia.

II. In order to this he had instructions, and a commission given him by Mr. Uring, which were perfectly well adjusted to the design upon which he was sent; and in the meantime Governor Uring remained at Antigua, where he had all the civilities paid him, and all the services done him by the governor, and other persons in authority, that he could either desire or expect; which, in some measure mitigated his sharp sense of the misfortunes he had met with; for he was both a capable and an honest man; one who had the service very much at heart, and who discharged his duty so punctually, even in this disastrous undertaking, as to preserve his reputation, and to merit a kind reception from his generous master the Duke of Montague, who was so wise as to expect no more from a man than was in his power, and so good as to commend and reward him who did that, though it was not attended with the happy consequences that might have been expected from it. This gentleman did not remain long at Antigua before he was made sensible that there was as little, or rather less hopes of making a settlement at St. Vincent, than he by experience had found there was of fixing a colony on St. Lucia; for Captain John Braithwaite, returning from his unsuccessful expedition, delivered to Governor Uring, in justification of his own conduct, and for the satisfaction of his grace the Duke of Montague, the following account of the measures he had taken for executing the commission granted to him, in order to fix a settlement on his Majesty's island of St. Vincent. This paper being equally curious and important, and also entirely historical, we shall give the reader an extract of it in that gentleman's own words.

The Report of Captain John Braithwaite to Nathaniel Uring, Esq.

"In pursuance of a resolution in council, and your order for so doing the day you sailed with his Grace's colony for Antigua, I sailed with the Griffin sloop, in company with his Majesty's ship the Winchelsea, to St. Vincent: we made the island that night, and the next morning run along the shore, and saw several Indian huts, but as yet no Indians came off to us, nor could we get ashore to them, by reason there was no ground to anchor in. Towards the evening two Indians came on board, and told us we might anchor in a bay to leeward, and when we were at anchor they would bring their general on board. Here we came to an anchor in deep water, and very dangerous for the sloop. One whom they called general came on board with several others, to the number of twenty-two. I entertained them very handsomely, and made the chief some trifling presents; but found him to be a person of no consequence, and that they called him chief to get some present from me. Here two of the Indians were so drunk that they would not go ashore, but staid on board some days, and were well entertained. After this, little winds and great currents drove us off for several days, but at last we came to an anchor in a spacious bay to the leeward of all the island, the draught of which I ordered to be taken by our surveyor, for your better understanding the place, being the only one where a settlement could be made. The ship and sloop were scarce come to an anchor before the strand of the shore was covered with Indians, and amongst them we could discover a white man, who proved to be a Frenchman. I took Capt. Watson in the boat with me, with a Frenchman, and immediately went on shore. As soon as I came amongst them, I asked why they appeared all armed, for every man had a cutlass; some had muskets, pistols, bows, and arrows, &c. They with very little ceremony enclosed me, and carried me up the country for about a mile, over a little rivulet where I was told I was to see their general: I found him sitting amidst a guard of about an hundred Indians; those nearest his person had all muskets; the rest bows and arrows; and all observed a great silence: he ordered me a seat, and a Frenchman stood at his right hand, for an interpreter: he demanded of me, What brought me into his country; and of what nation? I told him, English; and I was put in to wood and water, as not caring to say any thing else before the Frenchman; but told him, if he would be pleased to come on board our ships, I would leave Englishmen in hostage for those he should be pleased to take along with him. But I could not prevail with him, either to come on board, or suffer me to have wood or water. He said, he was informed we were come to force a settlement. And we had no way to remove that jealousy but by getting under sail. As soon as I found what influence the Frenchman's company had upon him I took my leave, after making such replies as I thought proper, and returned to my boat under a guard; and when I came to the shore, I found the guard was increased by a number of negroes all armed with fuzes. I got into my boat without any injury, and went on board to Capt. Orme, and told him my ill success. Immediately after I sent ashore the sloop's boat with a mate, with ruin, beef, bread, &c. with some cutlasses; and ordered a Frenchman who went with the mate, to desire the guard to conduct them to their general, and to tell him, that though he denied me the common good of water, and a little useless wood, nevertheless I had sent him such refreshments as our ships afforded. Our people found the Frenchman gone, and that then the Indian general seemed pleased, and received what was sent him; and in return, sent me bows and arrows. Our people had not been long returned, when the general sent a canoe with ten chief Indians, who spoke very good French,

French, to thank me for my presents, and to ask pardon for his refusing me wood and water, and assured me I might have what I pleased; and they had orders to tell me, if I pleased to go ashore again they were to remain hostages for my civil treatment. I sent them on board the men of war; and with Capt. Watfon went ashore. I was well received, and conducted as before; but now I found the brother, the chief of the negroes, was arrived with five hundred negroes, most armed with fuzees. They told my interpreter, they were sure we were come to force a settlement, or else they would not have denied me what they never before had denied any English, viz. wood and water; but, if I thought fit, I might take what I pleased under a guard. Finding them in so good a humour, I once more introduced the desire I had to entertain them on board our ships, and with some difficulty I prevailed with them, by leaving Captain Watfon ashore under their guard as a hostage. I carried them on board the king's ship, where they were well entertained by Captain Orme, who gave the Indian general a fine fuzee of his own, and to the chief of the negroes something that pleased him. Captain Orme assured them of the friendship of the King of England, &c. The negro chief spoke excellent French, and made answers with all the French compliments. Afterwards I carried them on board the duke's sloop; and after opening their hearts with wine, for they scorned to drink rum, I thought it a good time to tell them my commission, and what brought me upon their coast. They told me it was well I had not mentioned it on shore, for their power could not have protected me; that it was impossible; the Dutch had before attempted it, but were glad to retire. They likewise told me, that two French sloops had, the day before we came, been amongst them, and gave them arms and ammunition, and assured them of the whole force of Martinico for their protection against us; they told them also, that they had driven us from St. Lucia; and that we were come now to endeavour a settlement there; and notwithstanding all our specious pretences, when we had power we should enslave them; but they declared that they would trust no Europeans; that they owned themselves under the protection of the French, but would as soon oppose their settling among them, or any act of force from them, as us. They had lately given an example, by killing several; and they further told me, it was by very large presents the French ever got in their favour again, but they resolved never to put it in their power, or of any Europeans, to hurt them: they advised me to think what they said was an act of friendship. This being all I could get from them, I dismissed them with such presents as his grace ordered for that service, with a discharge of cannon; and received in return as regular volleys of small shot as I ever heard. In the night the Winchelsea drove from her anchors, which as soon as I perceived, and had received Captain Watfon from the shore, I got under sail and stood to the man of war. This is a faithful report of all I, John Braithwaite, can recollect."

12. Mr. Uring having read the above report of Captain Braithwaite, he judged there was like to be little good done at St. Vincent, and the second scheme on St. Lucia being laid aside, he determined to unload all the stores, and discharge the vessels, and proposed to Lieutenant General Matthews, to do it at Antigua, which he said he thought could be done with more ease and security, and in much less time, and would save a great deal of charge and trouble, and less hazard than at St. Christopher's; the lieutenant-general answered, that in his house at St. Christopher's was room enough to hold all the duke's stores, and should cost his grace nothing; and, that as he had the government of that island, he had such an influence over the people, that the duke's servants would be more secure there, and that he could better provide for the officers, than at Antigua; and further said, that the servants could be kept together in Charles

Fort,

Fort, where they might have an opportunity to discipline them against any new undertaking; and accordingly asked leave of General Hart to discipline them, which was granted. Mr. Uring taking notice of the advantages that the lieutenant-general proposed, and seeing him so very earnest for the stores to be lodged at St. Christopher's, agreed to it, and accordingly ordered them down thither, during their attending the Griffin's return from her errand to St. Vincent and Martinico.

Mr. Uring frequently visited the transports, to see things were in good order; Lieutenant General Matthews went in the Charles and Freemason, to St. Christopher's, with them; and as soon as they arrived at that island, he, in concert with Mr. Uring, cantoned the officers in several places, as there was conveniency, and they were ordered to their respective quarters. They had now four vessels to unload at the same time, and at a considerable distance, and a difficult way to carry the stores to the store-houses. Mr. Uring ordered such a number of servants ashore from the vessels, as he thought useful for carrying up the stores; and officers were appointed at different places in the avenues, to keep the people from running into the country; but notwithstanding all the care they could take, great part of them were gone by night. He ordered more ashore next day, and continued landing the stores, cannon, arms, ammunition, &c. and as the casks very often came to pieces in getting up to the store-houses, Mr. Uring, for the most part, stood by till they were repaired, and was, at least, thirty times a day from the landing-place to the store-houses, in order to prevent any embezzlement, and to hasten the work. The officers thinking the work too hard for them all day, though they generally stood in one place, Mr. Uring divided them, the one half to attend in the morning, and the other in the afternoon; though he was obliged to attend the whole day, in order to preserve the stores, which he hoped was in a good measure done; the goods landing from so many vessels at one and the same time, so many sorts loose, as well as in casks, made it no easy matter to keep an exact account.

The whole care of every thing, as well as the stores, was upon Mr. Uring. However, the goods were landed and stored, and after the ships were unloaded, he searched every ship by warrant, to see if there remained any thing belonging to the Duke of Montague on board them, which the masters said there did not; several provisions were found on board the Charles and Freemason, which were put ashore. When every thing was landed out of the several ships, his next care was to put them in good order; many of the casks being broken, they would not hold the weight in them, therefore they started them into other sound casks and chests, which were made for that use. He also caused all the provisions to be turned out of the store-houses and looked over, and such as were in casks, or wanted pickle, were put into better, and new pickled; and he directed the worst to be first used. He fitted up a smith's shop, kept the smiths and armourers at work, and cleaning the arms. The men were disciplined, so that they could do their exercise very well, and made as regular fires as the king's troops.

Mr. Uring paid off several of the seamen belonging to the Griffin sloop, to ease the charge, and ordered such servants on board her as were seamen, and as many more as he dared trust. By that time they had put things into tolerable order, the Hopewell arrived, with about ninety servants and several officers, a great quantity of provisions, with cannon, ammunition, and warlike stores, which were also landed under the care of Mr. Uring, who had letters by this ship from the Duke of Montague; which informed him that his grace was in treaty for five hundred English families, and five hundred Irish, which he intended to transport to St. Lucia as soon as possible. The Hopewell brought from Barbadoes a number of live sheep, which had been carried thither.

thither by the Leopard, which was arrived at that island, laden with boards, plank, and frames of houses, for the use of the colony.

When Lieutenant General Matthews returned to Antigua, he left Mr. Uring his house to live in, where was room for most of the officers. He sent then to acquaint them, that he had conveniency for them, and designed to keep a table for their entertainment, considering it would be much more convenient and less charge to his grace, for them to keep together, than be separated. All the servants that were not lent to the planters were lodged in the out-houses, and due care was taken both of the sick and the well, to have their provisions at proper times, and well ordered. Mr. Uring seldom went to dinner before he saw all the sick provided, and well served with fresh meat and broth, which was for the most part four times a week, and those that were sick, every day. The lame, though there were a great many of them, he dressed himself for several days, when he had no surgeon. The servants were all well supplied out of the duke's stores, with clothing and necessaries, though they often strayed about the country and sold them, and then complained to the planters that they were naked; for which they were punished and again supplied. He frequently sent out the serjeants with parties, to bring in the stragglers, and had no little trouble to keep them in a tolerable decorum; he also put up advertisements at all the port towns, to warn the masters of ships from entertaining or carrying any of them off the island; and in the beginning of May sent Captain King in the Griffin sloop to Barbadoes, to bring down the run-aways from thence, and such letters as were lodged there from the Duke of Montague for him; and after her return he ordered Captain Watson to careen her, in doing of which she sunk.

Mr. Uring having notice thereof, went to see her condition, and hired two sloops to weigh her, and the Griffin was made again fit for the sea. Mr. Uring having been informed that many of his grace's servants had made their escape to St. Eustatia, he wrote several letters to the governor of that island, by officers of the duke's, which were sent for that purpose, to acquaint him therewith, and to desire him to secure them, that they might be returned to St. Christopher's, and accordingly two men were brought back from thence. He had ordered the Griffin sloop to Antigua, to lie there during the hurricane months; when he had a letter from Lieutenant General Matthews, which advised him that the Duke of Montague had impowered him to have the sole disposal of all his affairs in the West Indies, and sent him a copy thereof. Mr. Uring then observed his direction, until his grace had wholly laid aside the thoughts of any new settlement; and had given him orders to deliver up every thing belonging to him, into the hands of the Lieutenant General, to whom his grace had given direction to discharge all, and pay them their salaries to that time, with an allowance for their passages for England. After Mr. Uring had delivered up all stores, arms, cannon, &c. to the agent of Lieutenant General Matthews, he went up to Antigua, to finish his affairs with him, and from thence to Barbadoes, where he was received very kindly by Mr. Worsley. He staid a week at that island, and then returned to Antigua, and from thence to St. Christopher's, where he took a passage for England, and arrived at Dover the 28th of May 1724.

Thus we have given a large and circumstantial account of this expedition, from the beginning to the end of it, from the authentic papers of the two gentlemen chiefly concerned in it, and very frequently in their own words. From whence it appears, that it was in all respects the greatest and most expensive scheme that was ever undertaken by a subject of this crown, or of any other; for besides the ships, naval and military stores, cannon, small arms, &c. he maintained four hundred and twenty-five servants for a year

year and a half, besides eighty-five tradesmen and artificers of several sorts, who had from twenty to thirty pounds a-year wages; and upwards of fifty officers, with salaries from fifty to four hundred pounds a-year, all duly paid, and themselves victualled in a very dear part of the world, during the greatest part of the time. The computing, therefore, of the Duke of Montague's expence at forty thousand pounds is rather under than over doing the business; and nothing can induce us to suspect the largeness of the sum but the very singular circumstance that attends it, of its coming out of a private purse for the public service. This, indeed, and the time at which this expedition was undertaken, renders it almost incredible; but whoever considers that in seasons of the greatest corruption (as surely that of the South-Sea, and the bubbles that attended it, was here) Providence usually raises up some extraordinary instances of a contrary spirit, such as Phocion in the decline of the Athenian commonwealth, and the younger Cato when the Roman republic was on the point of ruin, will the more readily credit this, and admire it the more. I should insist farther upon this noble and memorable example but for two reasons; the first is, that as the illustrious person to whom it relates is living, amongst the many instances of freedom of speech that may be met with in this work, I should be ashamed to mix any thing that might be suspected of flattery. The second reason is, that the virtues of the duke are so well known, and so universally confessed, that I could do no honour to any but myself, by endeavouring to celebrate them.

But though I am willing to decline a task to which I confess myself unequal, I shall not be afraid of observing that this is the only proper time of reviving our claim to those islands, at least to that of St. Lucia, to which our title is unquestionable. If we were not the first discoverers, we were at least the first planters of that island, and besides the title which this gives us, we have another, and perhaps a better, viz. that of purchase from the natives, and original inhabitants of it. The French, it is true, have also settled upon that island, but as intruders only, and as such were obliged to quit it in the reign of King Charles II. since which our rights to that island have been confirmed by treaties. But their last quitting it, in 1719, is the strongest and clearest proof of all. For had they not been sensible of their having no just pretensions to St. Lucia, it is impossible to suppose that men who so vigorously exerted themselves to prevent our establishment, would so tamely have given up their own. What their motives might be to so strange a conduct, in the compass of so short a time, I shall not pretend to guess, but this I may safely and honestly say, that no change in their conduct could possibly create a change in their title or ours: if our right in 1719 was certain, it must have been as certain in 1722, and if certain then, it must be so still; which gives us a fair demand to have this right of ours acknowledged by the next treaty of peace, that can never be concluded on good terms for this nation, if while we struggle to make France do justice to others, we suffer her to persist in acts of injustice to ourselves. We see very clearly, that the general expressions contained in former treaties avails nothing against France in a time of full peace, and therefore common sense teaches us, and a due concern for the good of our country requires, that we should have justice done us on this head before the conclusion of the present war, because unless it be done now, past experience shews us that we can never expect it for the future; that we may very rationally hope for it now, appears to every man of tolerable understanding, who reflects that France, in this respect, gives us nothing of which she is in possession, or to which, in her own opinion, she has any just title; so that to refuse it when she pretends to be in a pacific temper, must be a plain proof that she dissembles and then it would be madness to trust her.

There is, however, one particular in relation to this affair that ought to be discussed before we leave it, which is, what proceedings have since happened between the two crowns in relation to this island, after the expedition before mentioned; and as to these, I have received two remarkable papers while this was printing, which I shall give the reader immediately. In the mean time it is requisite to observe, that his present majesty King George II. having constituted and appointed Henry Worley, Esq. governor and commander in chief of this island, as all his predecessors had been, who were governors of Barbadoes, he was graciously pleased to send him the following instruction, in reference to the disputes that had happened about it.

“ GEORGE R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: Whereas the French for some years have claimed the island of St. Lucia, and do insist that the right to the islands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, under your government, is in the Caribbeans, now inhabiting the same, although we have an undoubted right to all the said islands; yet we have thought fit to agree with the French court, that until our right be determined the said islands shall be entirely evacuated by both nations. It is therefore our will and pleasure, and you are accordingly to signify the same to such of our subjects as shall be found inhabiting any of our said islands, that they do forthwith quit the same until the right shall be determined, as aforesaid; and that they do comply with this our order within thirty days from the publication hereof in each of the said islands respectively, under pain of our highest displeasure; and you are to use your best endeavours that no ships of our subjects, or of any other nation, do frequent the said islands during the time aforesaid, except coming for wood or water. But it is our will and pleasure, that you do not execute this our order until the French governor of Martinico shall have received the like direction from the French court, and shall, jointly with you, put the same in execution without any exception. And you are hereby further ordered to transmit to us, by the first opportunity, a full account of your proceedings, as likewise of those of the French in this behalf, taking care by all opportunities to inform yourself whether our subjects, and those of the French king, do comply punctually with the true intent and meaning of this agreement, until such time as the right to the said islands shall be absolutely determined as aforesaid. And for your so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at St. James's, the 30th day of November, in the fourth year of our reign, by his majesty's command.

“ *Holles Newcastle.*”

It appears plainly from this instruction, and it will appear still more clearly from the French king's letter upon this head, that the two courts had come to an agreement about this matter, that is, about the immediate settlement, not as to their rights; for our king declares fully and plainly, that he looked upon his to be wholly unimpeached by this dispute; and so to be sure it was, and is. But let us see the instructions from France, which are referred to in the foregoing paper, which were conceived in the words following:

The French king's letter or mandate, to the governor of Martinico, dated December 26, 1730.

“ Monsieur De Champigny,

“ The English have, for some time past, laid pretensions to the island of St. Lucia, which belongs to me, and to which I have an incontestable right. The same pretensions they have laid to the islands of St. Vincent and St. Dominico, laid to belong to the

the Caribbeans, natives of the country, according to the treaty of the 31st of March 1660; and in the possession of which it is my intention to support them. I have, nevertheless, agreed with the court of England, that until these pretensions shall be determined, the said islands shall be evacuated by both nations. And this is to acquaint you, that it is my pleasure, that you make it known, &c." As in the former.

Upon these papers I shall make but one remark, which is, that they clearly unravelled and exposed the true intention and design, and, indeed, the whole workings and policy of the court of France. There were many who saw and said this at the time, but thought it indecent and improper to publish so much, when our court had consented to accept of this expedient. But now that reason is removed, and we are at full liberty to say whatever can be said with truth upon this subject; I cannot avoid doing so, and shall dispatch it in very few words. The French had not, in their own opinion, any title to the island of St. Lucia, but what arose from expediency. They saw it lay near them, and they very well knew the consequences that would follow from its being settled by the English, and this, more than any advantages they expected from it, put them upon the attempt to settle it.

The reader may possibly imagine, that I only assert this, but the fact is otherwise; I can really prove it. The French writers on geography and trade, nay the French politicians, never dreamed of any such thing, as appears from the books; and the famous Mr. Savary, in his Dictionary of Commerce, tells us plainly, that the French possess or claim ten of the Caribbee islands, eight entirely, and two in conjunction with the Dutch; all of which he names, but does not include St. Lucia; which shews that such people in France, as must soonest have heard of this claim, if they had any, knew nothing about it. When I say that this settlement was made to prevent our gaining the island, rather than from any great hopes of profit, I mean, that these were the motives of the French ministry, because they had been long of opinion, that Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, ought to be the great object of their concern in those parts of the world, for many reasons, which will fall properly in another place. All, therefore, that they desired, with respect to the islands, was to prevent our settling upon them, which, besides an immediate loss, might prejudice their future views; and therefore they were willing to take possession of St. Lucia as an out-work. If they kept it, it was well, but if they kept it only from us it was better; and this was the true reason of their proposing the expedient contained in the foregoing papers, which actually answered their ends better than if the island had been absolutely yielded to them by us.

But if the situation of affairs in Europe fifteen years ago was such, as made it reasonable for us to suspend our right, which I lay down as a supposition, but am far from asserting as a fact; the face of affairs is since changed, and gives us now the fairest opportunity to establish that right; if the war continues we may, and we ought to do it by force; and whenever there comes a peace, the French can assign no colour or pretence whatever, against the confirming that right, by renouncing their unjust and ill-founded claim, to the preventing our settling on it. If they took advantage of a past conjuncture, when it was not convenient for us to break with them, it is our business, as I hinted before, to take the benefit of the present conjuncture; when, without question, it is the interest, and will be consequently the business, of France to deny us nothing of this kind, if we insist upon it, that is to say, if we shew we have it at heart; and that we are determined to exert our naval power, and to employ our negotiations for the service of our own country, for the promoting our trade, securing our navigation, and extending our interest in the West Indies.

But the question may be asked, what is the real value and importance of the thing for which you would have us contend? What is this St. Lucia worth? What can be made of it? Why should we trouble ourselves about it. In answer to this, I can only say in few words, that it has been computed, that the product and commerce of this island might, in a few years, be brought to yield Great Britain an annual rent of two hundred thousand pounds; but to shew the possibility or rather the probability, if not the certainty of this calculation, I shall give the reader Captain Uring's description of this island, who went thither on purpose to settle it; who was a man of great understanding in matters of this nature, and whose honesty was as little questioned as his capacity; so that I cannot discern any objection that can be reasonably made to his account, which is also remarkably plain and succinct, and with which, as to this subject, I shall conclude.

"St. Lucia is about twenty-two miles in length, and eleven broad; the greatest part of it very good land, and in many places hilly, and many very rich valleys very well watered with fine rivers all through the island, which makes it exceedingly pleasant and delightful, and it must be very healthful by its being so narrow; and the hills being not so high to intercept the continual trade-winds, that always fan it from the eastward, whereby the heat of the climate is mitigated, and made rather agreeable than troublesome. The variety of situations that it affords by the hills and vales, makes it both convenient and delightful, as well as the pleasantness of the prospects; and it is full of all trees, amongst which are great quantities of good timber, fit for building houses and windmills; from whence both Barbadoes and Martinico have been furnished with very great quantities, and are still; the cacao or chocolate nuts grows here very well, and there grows also a great deal of fustic, and there is abundance of wild fowl. It lies west-north-west from the island of Barbadoes, about twenty-four leagues; south from Martinico about seven leagues; and the same distance north by east from St. Vincent; and hath several good bays, and excellent harbours for ships to anchor in; one of which is the Petite Careenage, where we designed the first settlement. This harbour is on the north-west part of the island, and is much the finest and most convenient in all the Caribbee Islands; great numbers of ships may be there safe in all kinds of weather, and it is very commodious for careening ships of war and other vessels. If this island had been settled, as was intended by his grace the Duke of Montague, proper forts built, and garrisons placed therein, for the protection and defence thereof, it would have been of the greatest importance for the securing the Leeward Islands, and even Barbadoes, from being invaded by France in time of war for no armament can be made, nor any expedition carried on by the French at Martinico, against any of those colonies, but must be known at St. Lucia, almost as soon as the design is formed, by the nearness of its neighbourhood to that island; from whence, likewise Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands might have notice to provide for their better defence. If St. Lucia were well inhabited by the English, the people of Martinico would know their interest better than to enter upon any expedition against Barbadoes or the Leeward Islands, when they had an enemy so near them; for they must needs consider, if their men were sent off that island to invade the Leeward Islands, the Barbadians would join the people of St. Lucia, and fall upon Martinico in the absence of their men; which would endanger the loss of that island, or at least the plunder or spoiling of it; and would be more damage to them than any benefit they can propose to themselves, by invading the Leeward Islands, and so the same if their design is against Barbadoes; the Leeward Islands people joining these of St. Lucia, Martinico will be in the same danger, and by that means our plantations in those parts will be entirely secured by the possession of St. Lucia, and it will also be in the

power of the English to disturb the French, and not in the power of the French to hurt the English. But if both nations should sit still without hurting each other, yet St. Lucia will be of the greatest advantage to Great Britain, if it were appointed the place of rendezvous for his Majesty's ships of war; from whence they might continually relieve each other, if need were, and keep always cruizing on the French, that they could not be able to have a vessel go in or out of their harbour, but what might be intercepted by the king's ships, and so the trade of our plantations would thereby become secured, and the Martinicans would have no reason to boast as they did in the late war, that they maintained their islands chiefly by privateering on the English, which is too well known to the merchants that have been traders to those parts. But in case St. Lucia was settled, and proper measures pursued, it would entirely prevent such mischiefs for the future, and the English would soon grow too powerful for the French, who at present have greatly the advantage of the English; and the Leeward Islands are in the greatest danger, in case of a war with France, of being invaded, which the English planters are most sensible of, and it is what the wisest of them apprehend every day."

13. The remarks that have been already made in the course of this section, upon the several subjects to which it relates, make it unnecessary for me to detain the reader very long with observations at the close. But, however, some things are both fit and requisite to be said here, for the information of my readers in general; and for reminding those in particular who have it in their power to be useful to the colonies. It is certain, that from the very time Sir Walter Raleigh, the father of our English colonies, and his associates first projected those establishments, there have been many who have either found an interest, or took a pleasure, in misrepresenting or lessening the value of them. When the intention of improving these distant countries, and the advantages that were hoped for from it, were first set forth, there were some who treated them not only as chimerical, but as dangerous; they said that it was very uncertain whether we might meet with success, and if we did, it might dispeople the nation. These, and many other objections, flowing partly from a narrowness of understanding, but I am afraid chiefly from a narrowness of heart, have been disproved by experience, which has shewn that what was then proposed was practicable in itself, profitable in its consequences, and attended with none of those mischiefs that these timorous or ill intentioned people either apprehended or seemed to apprehend.

The difficulties which attended, and which will always attend settlements at the beginning, proved a new cause of clamour; and many spiteful things were said about the sacrificing so many Englishmen, to the obstinate desire of fixing colonies in countries, which at that time did not produce any great advantages. But by degrees, as these difficulties were overcome those complaints likewise ceased, and we heard no more of these pretended hardships; which, in reality, were no other than the sending such, as from the perverseness of their own dispositions were capable only of doing mischief here; such as the severity of their creditors would have destined to perpetual imprisonment; and such as, either from laziness or indigence, would have perished in our streets, to be useful to themselves and to the community in the colonies.

But when these complaints ceased, others rose in their stead; and when it could be no longer said that the colonies were useless, it was alledged that they were not useful enough to their mother country; that while we were loaded with taxes, they were absolutely free, and that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of Great Britain laboured hard for a tolerable subsistence. This produced customs and impositions upon all plantation commodities, which if they are grievous, to the inhabitants of the plantations,

plantations, must turn to our disadvantage as well as theirs, and consequently become a great prejudice to both. At present there is a vast change in the face of affairs in these parts of the world, which has consequently produced a change in the notions and sentiments of those who are settled there, and ought likewise to produce a change in our conduct. The principal point in this change is, the surprizing growth of the French power in America, from whence we have had many warnings given us, which certainly were not received with so much attention as they ought to have been. If we had considered, that in the reign of king Charles II. when France had very little trade, and her colonies were of no great consequence, she was almost a match for all Europe beside, and that too when the maritime powers were in their most flourishing condition; we might have easily foreseen to what a height her power would increase with the help of colonies and commerce; but either we did not foresee it, or we suffered ourselves to be so much taken up with nearer objects, that we did not sufficiently provide against an evil, which of all others we ought most to apprehend.

The very thing that has hitherto hindered us from conceiving as we ought to do of our danger in this respect, would have convinced us most fully, if we had viewed it on the right side, and reasoned upon it as became us. If we find that in conjunction with the greatest powers upon the continent, we have not been able for fifty years past, to set any bounds to the ambition of France in Europe, what limits are we like to set to her power America, when it comes to bear any proportion there, to what she has attained here, and towards which, as we see she has already made large strides?

It may be answered, that at present she is very far from being equal to us in strength in that part of the world; that the colonies are very apt to think themselves in danger, long before they are so; and that if their fears were really so great as they would sometimes represent them, as they have a force sufficient, it is scarce to be doubted that they would at length find a will to help and relieve themselves. We may answer to this, that if the French had a power in America, in any degree approaching ours, our care might probably come too late, especially considering the great change that has happened there, where, instead of having all the world for allies, we have hardly so much as a friend in appearance, the Spaniards being become friends to France, and the Dutch having neither force, nor perhaps inclination to assist us. The nature of their government also, though it makes their subjects less happy, makes their colonies more formidable, and enables the prince to protect them more effectually, and to grant them from time to time greater encouragements; so that we need not wonder they have overcome so many difficulties, or that the trade of the French islands should be so much more considerable now than it was at the peace of Utrecht. We may be likewise sure of this, that the more their trade increases, the more it will be encouraged; because the French ministry pay a particular regard thereto; and as we have already shewn in our history of the East India Company, they are never wanting to such as are not wanting to themselves; but from the great principle of promoting the grandeur of France, yield all the assistance they can to what they visibly perceive will increase the wealth and augment the naval power of the kingdom.

As to the apprehensions of the colonies, time has shewn they are but too well founded; our settlements upon the continent are in a manner surrounded by them; the correspondence between Canada and Louviana is in some measure settled; and, though a great length of time may be necessary to perfect the designs they may have formed on that side, yet if we do not interpose, as indeed we might easily do, they will be some time or other perfected, and then we shall find our circumstances very uneasy. This to every man who will but turn his thoughts upon the subject, must appear very plain and very

very certain ; we should not therefore wonder that those who both see and feel it, express themselves with some warmth upon this topic : and at the worst, our colonies had better alarm us too soon than slumber themselves, and suffer us to slumber till it is too late. The French have already a great power in the islands, and if ever they should become entirely masters of Hispaniola, which we know not how soon they may, the effects would be fatal to us. We have, at present, no idea of the importance of that island, or at least no adequate idea of it ; because the Spaniards, who are possessed of the greatest part of it, either from their laziness or their weakness, make no use of it ; but we should find it quite otherwise if the whole was in the French hands ; and therefore amongst all our guarantees, it would be very right to have a general guarantee for the Spanish dominions in the West Indies.

As to our colonies helping themselves, there is no doubt they do so, or their situation would be very bad. We hear daily of great things done by their privateers, but our squadrons perform very little ; and whoever compares the exploits done by the Buccaneers, who were but West Indian privateers, with what has been done by regular naval force, would scarce believe they were of the same nation : men of war in their ports, and commodores and captains on shore, do our colonies very little service ; for they neither protect our own trade, nor distress that of the enemy ; so that whatever expence this may create to us we ought not to charge it upon them. If any expedition is concerted here, we find the people in Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, ready enough to expend both their treasure and their blood in the execution of it ; and in case of miscarriages, we have seldom had reason to lay the blame at their doors. As to the northern colonies, we have known them do some, and attempt many great things ; so that it is barbarous to accuse them of being wanting to themselves.

The truth is, we want a proper military force in America ; and I have often wondered that some way was not contrived to send our half-pay officers thither ; I do not mean to send them thither upon half pay ; but to take such measures as that they should have whole-pay, one half from home, and the other raised there. We might likewise make it worth the attention of our invalids, both soldiers and seamen, who, if they have common sense, would like a comfortable establishment in New York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, with their wives and families, full as well as an apartment in any college, or being cooped up in our garrisons, or in the Scilly Islands. If by these, or by any other methods, we could establish a regular military force, and even in time of peace keep the men some way or other in action and discipline, our colonies would be a match or overmatch for the French, as experience shews from the colony of Georgia, where we have been always a match, and once an over-match for the Spaniards, by mere dint of military discipline, though we had but a very handful of people.

These are things that demand immediate and general consideration. Our colonies were always of great consequence, but they are now of the greatest consequence to the nation ; for at least one half of our commerce depends upon them, as the whole of our strength and happiness depends upon it : our wealth produces liberty, and our wealth was produced by trade, whatever lessens that will therefore effect these, and if ever it should be taken away, we must certainly feel what we felt before, poverty and arbitrary power. The wisest use therefore that we can make of wealth while we have it is to secure its sources, by employing our fleet in that part of the world where their success must be attended with certain and immediate advantages : for distressing the trade of the French must benefit ours. In King William's war we had Spain for an ally, and therefore we could not then take any advantage from her weakness. In the next general war we were neither her friend nor foe ; we did her some hurt, and out-

selves no good. But the French have been gainers by both wars; they had plundered the Spaniards in the first as open enemies; they stripped them of their money in the last by being pretended friends. In the present war we have done pretty well, and the French have perhaps been no great gainers by their friendship with Spain. This ought to teach us the wisdom of living with that nation always either upon the best terms or the worst; as cordial allies or as open enemies; for whenever we are between both of these we are sure to be the sufferers, and the French and Dutch run away with all.

It is our business therefore to continue always armed in this part of the world, where we have a superior force, and where we should be ever ready to exert it, not against innocent and inoffensive neighbours, but against false friends and treacherous allies. If our legal trade with the Spanish West Indies were restored we ought to make it our business to see that it be a legal trade; for it is certain that the nation neither gets nor loses, while the same quantity of goods are disposed of by different hands; we ought therefore to convince the crown of Spain, that we can treat, and mean to treat them well; and at the same time, we should shew them, that as it is not their interest to treat us ill, so it is not our nature to bear it; illicit trade and conventions may do well enough for a feeble republic, but are beneath a powerful kingdom; that, as it owes its power to, ought to be always able and willing to protect its trade. Such are the sentiments which ought to inspire the breasts of British statesmen. The rest of the world are convinced that we have not the talents of negotiation; we ought therefore to convince them, that we do not stand in need of such talents; but that we can do our business without them. The Dutch, whatever language they may use in Europe, have always talked in this tone in the East Indies, and we ought to use it in the West; while our power is great there, we should exert and increase it; when once it begins to decline, advice will come too late, and therefore no man can be blamed for giving it in time, whether it be followed or not. It is the privilege of every freeman to speak and write for the service of his country, and the privilege only of a few to act; but if the former excite, and the latter will perform, nothing is clearer, than that our country must be served; which in this world is the worthiest end of men, and therefore what we should all pursue.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE COLONY OF GEORGIA;

WITH THE ATTEMPT MADE UPON IT BY THE SPANIARDS, AND THEIR TOTAL DEFEAT.

INTERSPERSED WITH ORIGINAL PAPERS.

An introductory Account of the Motives which gave Rise to this Design of settling to the South of Carolina, and the Nature of the Colony proposed.—2. A large Extract of the Charter granted by his present Majesty, for incorporating the Trustees, and enabling them to carry their Design into Execution.—3. The Resolution taken by the Trustees when incorporated, for securing Estates in Lands to the original Planters and their Heirs Male, and for the perpetual Exclusion of Negroes.—4. The first Colony sent over under the Direction of James Oglethorpe, Esq. the Town of Savannah laid out, and the first Treaty with the Creek Indians.—5. The Return of Mr. Oglethorpe to England in 1734, and his bringing with him Tomochichi and other Indians; the Acts prepared by the Trustees for the Government of Georgia, approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and ratified by his Majesty.—6. The great Embarkation in the Year 1735, on the extraordinary Grant of Twenty-five thousand Pounds by Parliament, grounded upon a Memorial from South Carolina; with a Copy of that Memorial.—7. The History of the Colony farther continued, together with an Account of the Improvement made therein, and Indulgencies granted to the Planters by the Trustees.—8. The same Subject pursued to the Year 1740, and a View of the Number of People sent over by the Trustees, from the Time their Charter was granted to the Close of that Year.—9. A Prospect of the Country of Georgia as it is now settled, the Number, Situation, and Importance of the Towns, Forts, &c. erected there; with various other Particulars.—10. The Condition of the People in this Colony on the breaking out of the War with Spain, and the Resolution taken of acting in Conjunction with the Carolinians, offensively, against the Spaniards.—11. A succinct Account of the Expedition against Fort St. Augustin, and the Consequences of that Expedition.—12. The Grand Invasion on that Colony by the whole Force of New Spain, and the true End of this extraordinary Armament.—13. The total and wonderful Defeat of that great Force by his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General Oglethorpe.—14. The Congratulations on the News of this important and decisive Action, from the Governors of our several Colonies, to General Oglethorpe; which shew their Sense of the Consequences of this happy Repulse.—15. The present State of the Colony of Georgia considered, and its Importance demonstrated, as a Frontier against the French and Spaniards, as an Asylum for distressed Englishmen, and foreign Protestants; as a necessary Means for maintaining a good Correspondence with all the Indian Nations, as an excellent Support to the Islands of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and as a Colony from whence we may reasonably expect Silk, Wine, Pot-ashes, &c.

1. **T**HE last of the British colonies in point of settlement, and of which hitherto we have had no accurate or just account, much less a clear and authentic history, is Georgia; of which I intend to treat with as much perspicuity as possible, that the

the reader may apprehend the nature of the country, the importance of its situation, the motives upon which it was settled, the progress of that design, the attempts and disappointments of the Spaniards, the present situation of things there, and the hopes that we may rationally entertain as to its fate and success. This is certainly a very extensive plan; but at the same time it is the only plan upon which we can proceed, in order to give the inquisitive and public-spirited reader, a true notion of the nature and importance of this new settlement; which is undoubtedly of far greater consequence to this nation than hitherto it has been generally conceived to be; and therefore such a history as we propose will be equally necessary and entertaining; necessary, as it effectually compleats the history of the British America, of which this is not only the last colony in point of time, but the last also in respect to situation, inasmuch as it extends as far southward as we claim any right to, and fills up entirely the discoveries of the Cabots, which have been so often mentioned; entertaining, as it consists almost wholly of new matter, and as it shews that even in this age, when luxury and all its attendants, seem to be so firmly established in Europe, a scheme has been formed for erecting in the pleasantest and most fruitful part of North America, a British settlement, upon the truest principles of virtue, industry, and freedom, which cannot fail of striking firm and deep root, and of flourishing in such a manner as to do honour to those worthy, disinterested, and public-spirited persons who were first concerned in laying the foundation of this design, and by whose hearty and vigorous endeavours it has been so far as it is carried into execution.

In order to proceed regularly, it is requisite to observe, that about fourteen years ago, when this nation enjoyed a profound peace, and when there appeared no just cause to apprehend its being speedily interrupted, some persons of great distinction, from principles of true patriotism, and love to mankind, observing what great numbers of people there were in these kingdoms, who from a variety of misfortunes and untoward accidents, found themselves in no condition of subsisting, at least of subsisting in such a way as to be useful to themselves and the community, which is the sole means whereby a number of people become a blessing, generously turned their thoughts towards the means of employing such multitudes of distressed and indigent persons for their own and the public good. These speculations produced at first some thoughts of improving the most northern parts of our plantations on the Continent of America; but upon more mature reflection, and for very good reasons, they changed their purposes, and turned their thoughts to the south, particularly to that part of America which makes properly our frontier towards the Spaniards and the French, and which, though within the bounds of the province of Carolina, as described in its charter, was in reality no part of it, as not being at all settled; and for that reason rather a burden than an advantage to the province to which it belonged. Upon confining their thoughts to this country, they very quickly perceived, that though it had been so long neglected, it was nevertheless the most valuable part of our possessions in North America, and the most capable of being made a fruitful, populous, and useful country, though at that time lying entirely waste, overgrown with vast woods, which gave shelter to a few Indians, runaway negroes, and other banditti; affording great advantages to the Spaniards in time of war, and upon the extremities of which great incroachments might be made before this nation could have proper intelligence of them. They saw that as to climate and situation no country could claim a better, that it extended seventy miles from north to south, and that it was three hundred miles from the midst of the coast to the Apalachian mountains, the country widening all the way; they were convinced that when a little open and cleared, there could not be a pleasanter or healthier country

country upon the face of the globe; that the soil ~~would~~ prove fruitful and easy to be cultivated; that therefore people might subsist there upon very moderate labour; which circumstances induced them to think, there could be no place more proper found for the habitation of the unhappy people before mentioned.

But besides these sentiments of private pity, they were influenced likewise by motives of public utility. They foresaw that if this project could be brought to bear, it would turn vastly to the advantage of North and South Carolina, then lately purchased by the crown, by providing an effectual frontier against the Spaniards and the French, which they had hitherto wanted, and of the want of which they had loudly complained: they judged by this means, that new alliances might be contracted with the Indians; or in case that could not be effected, the new colony must certainly keep them in awe, and prevent their being so terrible as within a few years before they had been to the people of Carolina: And they saw just reasons to believe that this new colony, when established, might cultivate many rich and valuable commodities for the service of Great Britain. These, and many other reasons of like nature, engaged them to think seriously of bringing so compassionate, so practicable, and so useful a project to bear; in order to which they found it necessary to apply themselves to the crown for sufficient powers, to enable them to set this undertaking on foot. They did so, and received all the countenance and encouragement they could desire or expect, as will appear by the following extract from the instrument by which they were incorporated, and so put into a condition of legally executing what they had so charitably projected.

2. "His Majesty King George II. by his letters patent, bearing date the 9th day of June 1732, reciting, amongst other things, that many of his poor subjects were, through misfortunes, and want of employment, reduced to great necessities, and would be glad to be settled in any of his Majesty's provinces in America; where, by cultivating the lands waste and desolate, they may not only gain a comfortable subsistence, but also strengthen his Majesty's colonies, and increase the trade, navigation, and wealth of his Majesty's realms; and that the provinces in North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South Carolina, whose southern frontier continued unsettled, and lay open to the neighbouring savages; and that to relieve the wants of the said poor people, and to protect the subjects of South Carolina, a regular colony of the said poor people should be settled and established in the southern frontiers of Carolina; and for the considerations aforesaid, constitute a corporation by the name of the 'Trustees, for establishing the colony of Georgia in America,' with capacity to purchase and take lands; to sue and to be sued; to have a common seal, and to chuse members in the said corporation on the third Thursday in March yearly; with restraining clauses, that no member of the said corporation should have any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit, or profit whatsoever, for acting therein; or should have any office, place, or employment of profit under the said corporation; with a direction to the said corporation, every year to lay an account in writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Master of the Rolls, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or any two of them, of all money or effects by them received or expended, for carrying on the good purposes aforesaid; with a power to make bye-laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances; and granted, amongst other things, to the said corporation, and their successors, under the reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided parts, (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided), of all these lands, countries, and territories, situate, lying, and being, in that part of South Carolina in America, which lies from the most northernmost stream of a river there, called the Savannah, along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream

stream of a certain other ~~great~~ water or river, called the Alatomaha, and westward from the head of the said rivers, respectively in direct lines to the South Seas. To have and to hold the same to them, the said corporation, and their successors for ever ; for the better support of the said colony, under the yearly rent of four shillings proclamation money of South Carolina, for every hundred acres of the said lands, for every of which the said corporation should grant, demise, plant, or settle, but not to commence until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling ; and erected and created the said lands, countries, and territories, into one independant and separate province, by the name of Georgia ; and made the inhabitants who should reside therein free, and not subject to any of the laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of South Carolina, except the commander in chief of the militia ; and authorized the said corporation, for the term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, to form and prepare laws, statutes, and ordinances, for the government of the said colony, not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England ; to be presented under their common seal to his Majesty in council, for his approbation or disallowance ; and that the said laws so approved of, should be in full force and virtue, within the said province ; and impowered the said council for the time being of the said corporation, or the major part of them, to dispose of, expend, and apply all the money and effects belonging to the said corporation, and to make contracts for carrying on and effecting the good purposes therein intended ; and that they should from time to time appoint a treasurer, secretary, and such other officers, ministers, and servants of the said corporation, as they should see proper for the good management of their affairs, and at their pleasure to remove them, and appoint others in their stead ; and that they should appoint reasonable salaries, perquisites, and other rewards for their labour or services ; and that such officers should be sworn before they act, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places ; and declared that the treasurer and secretary for the time being, should be incapable of being members of the said corporation ; and granted to the said corporation, that it should be lawful for them, their officers and agents, to transport and convey, into the said province, such of his Majesty's subjects, and foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit, and reside there ; and declared all persons born within the said province, and their children, and their posterity, to be free denizens, as if they had been born within any of his Majesty's dominions ; and impowered the said common council, in the name of the corporation, and under their common seal, to distribute, assign, transfer, and set over such particular portions of the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, unto such of his Majesty's subjects and others, willing to live in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations, and conditions, as the same might lawfully be granted ; and as to the said common council, or the major part of them, should seem fit and proper, provided no grant should be made of any part of the said lands, unto, or in trust for, or for the benefit of, any member of the said corporation ; and that no greater quantity of the said lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to, or to the use of, or in trust for, any one person, than five hundred acres ; and declared that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be absolutely null and void. And granted, that the said corporation, for the term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, should have power to erect and constitute judicatures, and courts of record, or other courts to be held in his Majesty's name, for the hearing and determining all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, plaints, actions, matters, causes, and things whatsoever arising or happening within the said province, or between persons inhabiting or residing there ; and for awarding and making out executions thereupon, and directing the said corporation

ration to register, or cause to be registered, all leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements and improvements whatsoever, as should at any time be made of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, within the said province; and yearly to transmit authentic accounts thereof, unto the auditor of the plantations, or his deputy, and to the surveyor of South Carolina, to inspect and survey the same, to ascertain the quit-rents, which should become due according to the reservation before mentioned. But not to have or take any gratuity, fee, or reward, for such survey or inspection, on forfeiture of their office; with a proviso that all leases, grants, and conveyances, to be made of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance thereof, should be registered with the auditors of the plantations, within one year from the date thereof; otherwise that the same should be void. And directed, that all rents, issues, or profits, which should come to the said corporation, issuing or arising out of or from the said province, should be laid out and applied in such manner, as would most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same. And directed the said corporation, from time to time, to give in to one of the secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progress of the said colony. And directed that the said common council should, from time to time, for the said term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, have power to appoint all such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers, and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said district, as they should think fit and needful for the government of the said colony, (except such officers as should be appointed for managing, collecting, and receiving such of his Majesty's revenues as should arise within the said province), with a proviso that every governor so appointed, should be approved by his Majesty, and qualify himself as other governors in America are by law required to do, and give security for observing the acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation, and obeying all instructions from his Majesty, or any acting under his authority, pursuant to the said acts. And granted, that the said corporation, for the said term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, should have power by any commander, or other officer, for that purpose appointed, to train, instruct, exercise, and govern a militia for the special defence and safety of the said colony, to assemble in martial array; and put in warlike posture the inhabitants of the said colony; and in time of actual war, invasion, or rebellion, to use and exercise the law martial, and also to erect forts, and fortify any place within the said colony; and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provision, and stores of war, for offence and defence, and from time to time to commit the custody and government of them to such person or persons as to them should seem meet; declaring that the Governor or Commander in Chief of South Carolina, should have the chief command of the militia of Georgia, and that they should observe his orders. And granted, that the said corporation should have power to import and export their goods, at and from any port or ports that should be appointed by his Majesty, within the said province, for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in South Carolina. And declared, that after the end of the said twenty-one years, such form of government, and making of laws and statutes, and ordinances, for the government of the said province, and its inhabitants, should be established and observed within the same, as his Majesty, his heirs and successors, should ordain and appoint, and should be agreeable to law; and that after the end of the said twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, civil and military, within the said province, should be appointed by his Majesty, his heirs and successors."

3. As soon as they had obtained this gracious and extensive charter, the following noble and honourable persons undertook, in quality of trustees, to engage vigorously in the execution of this design, viz. Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury, John Lord Viscount Percival, since created Earl of Egmont, John Lord Viscount Tyrconnel, James Lord Viscount Lymerick, George Lord Carpenter, Edward Digby, Esq. James Oglethorpe, Esq. George Heathcote, Esq. Thomas Tower, Esq. Robert More, Esq. Robert Hucks, Esq. William Sloper, Esq. Francis Eyles, Esq. John Laroche, Esq. James Vernon, Esq. Stephen Hales, A. M. Richard Chandler, Esq. Thomas Frederick, Esq. Henry L'Apothecary, Esq. William Heathcoate, Esq. John White, Esq. Robert Kendal, Esq. Richard Bundy, D. D. Their first care was to obtain a fund sufficient for the sending over a considerable number of people, and providing them with all kinds of necessaries, towards which they subscribed liberally themselves; obtained considerable sums by way of collection from well-disposed people, and had besides a grant from the parliament of 10,000*l*.

They next turned their thoughts, as to the most proper method of settling these people, when sent over to Georgia, so as that they might be enabled to live comfortably themselves, and at the same time answer all the ends for which they were sent thither; it being judged highly reasonable, that those who were thus provided for, at the public expence, should be made in every respect, as useful to the public as possible. They resolved therefore to consider each inhabitant in a double capacity, as a planter, and as a soldier, who were consequently to be provided with arms for their defence, as well as tools for the cultivation of their land, and taught the exercise of both. They also resolved, that upon the first settling of this colony, towns should be laid out, and lands allotted to each of them for their maintenance, as near those towns as possible; that the former might serve for their defence, and the latter for their subsistence. In consequence of these resolutions, it was agreed that every lot or portion of land, should consist of fifty acres; and that it should be granted them in tail male, as the properest tenure for the colony in its infancy, and the fittest to preserve it from those inconveniences to which it was most obnoxious; and with respect to any hardships that might arise from this tenure, they determined to remedy them occasionally, till such time as the condition of the colony should render an alteration necessary.

They likewise determined to prohibit negroes, the use of them seeming absolutely inconsistent with the design of this colony, and besides this, in many respects inconvenient and dangerous. Inconvenient, as the first cost of a negro is about thirty pounds; a sum, that it was not to be supposed many of the people sent to Georgia could lay out for themselves; nor was it fit that the trustees should do it for them, since this would pay the passage, provide tools, and defray the expence of a white man's subsistence for a year, who would then become a security to the province. It was foreseen, that if a white man kept a negro, he would be less willing and less able to labour himself. If such as were in circumstances to go over at their own expence, were allowed to make use of negroes, it was judged that this would dispirit the poor planters, would incline such as were possessed of negroes to absent themselves, as in other provinces; might enable them, if successful, to eat up and oppress their poorer neighbours; or tempt them, if unsuccessful, to mortgage or sell their lands to the negro merchants. These were apparent and great inconveniences, but the dangers were still more numerous and more certain. In the first place, it was evident that as the planters in Georgia were to be sent over with their families, if negroes were allowed, whenever the men were absent from their plantations upon any duty, their wives and children would be at the mercy of

of these negroes ; and thus, besides the case of securing themselves against foreign invasions, they would be likewise under a necessity of providing for their domestic safety. In the next place, it was foreseen that the Spaniards at St. Augustin would be continually enticing away the negroes, or inciting them to insurrections ; the former of which would have been very easy, as they had only a small river or two to swim over, which they might do singly as well as in parties ; the latter was so much the more to be dreaded, as an attempt or two of this kind must have greatly discouraged, if not totally subverted, the English colony ; and the certainty of these evils was the greater, because in a time of profound peace, the Spaniards had practised both in regard to the colony of South Carolina, though at a greater distance, from whence negroes had often fled in little boats to the Spaniards, and been protected ; and they have likewise been incited to rise in large bodies, to the great terror of the inhabitants, and to the no small hazard of the loss of that province ; besides, the allowing negroes in Georgia, would have facilitated the desertion of the Carolina negroes, through this new province ; and consequently the colony, instead of proving, as it was intended, a frontier, and thereby adding strength to the province of South Carolina, would have proved a means of drawing away their slaves, to the great prejudice of the planters ; and which was much worse, would add thereby to the strength of their enemies at St. Augustin. So that taking these considerations together, viz. that wine, silk, pot-ashes, and other produces, which were expected from the new colony, did not at all require negroes ; as the introduction of them so near to a garrison of the Spaniards, would weaken, rather than strengthen, the barrier ; and as they would introduce with them a greater propensity to idleness among the planters, and too great an inequality among the people ; it was thought proper to make the prohibition of them a fundamental article of the constitution.

When the trustees had made these dispositions, and were enabled, by benefactions from the public, and several private persons, on the 3d of October 1732, it was resolved to send over one hundred and fourteen persons, men, women, and children, being such as were in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any business in England ; and who, if in debt, had leave from their creditors to go ; and such as were recommended by the minister and church-wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes ; and James Oglethorpe, Esq. one of the trustees went with them at his own expence, to settle them. On the 24th of the same month, the people were all examined, whether any of them had any objections to the terms and conditions proposed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully satisfied with them ; and executed articles under their hands and seals, testifying their consents thereto, which are now in the public office belonging to the trustees. But four of them desiring their daughters might inherit as well as their sons, and that their widow's dower might be considered, the trustees immediately resolved, that every person who should desire the same, should have the privilege of naming a successor to the lands granted to him ; who, in case the possessor should die without issue male, should hold the same to them and their heirs male for ever ; and that the widows should have their thirds, as in England ; with which resolution the people being all acquainted, were very well satisfied.

The trustees prepared forms of government, agreeable to the powers given them by the charter ; they established under their seal a court of judicature, for trying causes, as well criminal as civil, in the town of Savannah, (the name which was given to the first town to be raised), by the name and stile of the Town Court. They also appointed magistrates there, viz. three bailiffs and a recorder, and inferior officers, viz. two constables

stables and two tything men. They chose for magistrates, such as appeared to them the most prudent and discreet ; but amongst a number of people, who were all upon a level at the first setting out, it was impossible to make any choice or distinction, which would not create some future uneasiness among them. As I have no relation to, or connection with, the trustees of Georgia, I shall take the liberty of making some remarks upon their proceedings, which otherwise I should not have thought becoming either them or me. The scheme of their incorporation is entirely new, as was the project of Mr. Oglethorpe's going over at his own expence, and purely to see the people put into a way of living without him, whom he had extricated out of so many difficulties, and who, but for this condescension in him, must have fallen back into those difficulties again. The attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh, for settling of Virginia, were of this nature with respect to him ; that is to say, what he did was from a motive of public spirit ; but what the Virginia company did, was from a principle of gain ; whereas this whole design rose from the charitable and beneficent disposition of a few worthy and good men, and has been hitherto conducted according to the same disposition, for the benefit of the colony, and of the public ; and from no other view or interest in the trustees, but the making themselves happy from the consciousness of well doing ; which at the same time that it reflects reputation upon them, does the highest honour to this age and country, in which the desire I have to have some small share, produced the pains taken in this chapter, which I flatter myself will, like its subject, prove of great utility to the public.

4. On the 15th of November Mr. Oglethorpe set out for Gravesend, from whence he soon sailed for Carolina, where they arrived on the 15th of January following, and were received at Charles Town by the Governor, with great kindness and civility ; who ordered Mr. Middleton, the King's pilot, to carry the ship into Port Royal, and small craft to convey the colony from thence to the river Savannah. In ten hours they proceeded to Fort Royal. On the 18th Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore upon French's Island, and left a guard upon John's, being a point of that island, which commands the channel, and is about half way between Beaufort and the river Savannah. They had orders to prepare huts, for the reception of the people in their passage from thence. Mr. Oglethorpe went to Beaufort Town, and was saluted with a discharge of the artillery, and had a new Barrack fitted up, where the colony landed on the 20th, and were cheerfully assisted by Lieutenant Wats and Ensign Farrington, and the other officers of the independent company ; as also by Mr. Ledebur, and other gentlemen of the neighbourhood ; from thence he went to view the Savannah river, and pitched upon a convenient spot of ground, ten miles up the river, on which he designed to build a town. The reader will observe that this was exactly agreeable to the resolutions taken by the trustees at home ; and as there was no time lost in fixing upon the place, so on the 9th of February the town was marked out, and the first house begun.

The chief reasons that determined Mr. Oglethorpe in the choice of this place were, health, pleasure, and conveniency. Before his arrival in the country, it had the name of an Indian nation, viz. Yaminacraw, who inhabited here, under the command of the chief, Tomochichi, and who readily gave them place, and entered into a close friendship with him ; so much the more agreeable to both parties, as there was no other Indian nation within fifty miles. But Mr. Oglethorpe called the town by the name of the River Savannah. It lies, according to Captain Gascoign's observations, in the latitude of 31 degrees 58 minutes, which he took of Tybee, an island that lies at the mouth of the Savannah River. It is distant from Charles Town south-west, according to the course and windings of the rivers and creeks, about one hundred and forty miles, but by

by a direct course seventy-seven, allowing Sullivan's Island to be in the latitude of 32 degrees 47 minutes ; from Augustin north-east and by east one hundred and forty miles ; and by the course of the rivers is distant from Fort Moore three hundred miles ; but upon a direct line but one hundred and fifteen miles north-west and by west ; this bluff is distant ten miles from the mouth of the river on the south side ; and Parrysburgh is twenty-four miles above it, on the north, and is so situated as to have a beautiful prospect, both up and down the river. It is very sandy and barren, and consequently a wholesome place for a town or city, if Savannah should ever grow up and rival Philadelphia.

After putting things into order here, and assigning every man his proper station and employment, Mr. Oglethorpe, in company with Colonel Bull, who came from Charles Town to pay him a visit, and testified great satisfaction at the progress they made, set out for Charles Town to solicit succours for his colony. Before we take notice of the success he met with on that occasion, it may not be amiss to transcribe a paragraph from the South Carolina Gazette, dated Charles Town, March 22d, 1732, in which there is an account given of the journey to Georgia, which will shew the sentiments of the people of that colony, at a time when they were freed from all prejudices, apprehensions, and prepossessions. After describing the town in the manner we have done, they say, " When they, that is the new colony, arrived, there was standing on it, viz. the place where the town now stands, a great quantity of the best sorts of pines, most of which are already cut down on the spot where the town is laid out to build. The land is barren about a mile back, when you come into very rich ground ; and on both sides, within a quarter of a mile of the town, is choice good planting land. Colonel Bull told me that he had been seven miles back, and found it extraordinary good. Mr. Oglethorpe is indefatigable, takes a vast deal of pains ; his fare is but indifferent, having little else at present but salt provisions : he is extremely well beloved by all his people. The general title they give him is Father. If any of them are sick, he immediately visits them, and takes a great deal of care of them. If any differences arise, he is the person that decides them : two happened while I was there, and in my presence, and all the parties went away, to outward appearance, satisfied and contented with his determination. He keeps a strict discipline ; I never saw one of his people drunk nor heard one swear, all the time I was there. He does not allow them rum, but in lieu gives them English beer. It is surprising to see how chearfully the men go to work, considering they have not been bred to it. There are no idlers there, even the boys and girls do their parts. There are four houses already up, but none finished ; and he hopes when he has got more sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short time, to finish two houses in a week. He has plowed up some land, part of which he sowed with wheat, which is come up, and looks promising. He has two or three gardens, which he has sowed with divers sorts of seeds ; and planted thyme, with other sorts of pot-herbs, sage, leeks, scallions, celery, liquorice, &c. and several sorts of fruit trees. He was palliading the town, and inclosing some part of the common, which I do suppose may be finished in a fortnight's time. In short, he has done a vast deal of work for the time ; and I think his name ought to be immortalized."

This sufficiently shews how well pleased the people at Carolina were, as indeed they had reason to be, with this new settlement ; as a further testimony of which, not only the assembly, but the people in general, contributed largely to the assistance of the new comers ; five hundred pounds of which money Mr. Oglethorpe laid out immediately in cattle, and having given other directions for providing at Charles Town what his people might have occasion for, he very speedily set out on his return from Savannah, and on

his way lay at Colonel Bull's house on Ashly River. There the Reverend Mr. Guy, Rector of St. John's Parish, waited on him, and told him his parishioners had raised a handsome contribution. Being arrived at Savannah, he found that Mr. Wiggan, the interpreter, with the chief men of the Lower Creek nation, had been to treat of an alliance with the new colony. The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians, who formerly consisted of ten, but now are reduced to eight, tribes, who have each their different government, but are allied together, and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah River as far as St. Augustine and up Flint River, which falls into the bay of Mexico. Tomochichi, Mico, and the Indians of Yammacraw were of the Creek nation and language.

Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians in one of the new houses. They were as follows: From the tribe of Coweeta, Yahan Lakee, their King or Mico, Effaboo, their warrior, the son of Old Brim, lately dead; whom the Spaniards called Emperor of the Creeks, with eight men and two women attendants. From the tribe of Cussetas, Cusseta, their Mico, Tatchiquatchi, their head warrior, with four attendants. From the tribe of Owseecheys, Ogeese, the Mico or War King; Neathlouthko and Ougachi two chief men, with three attendants. From the tribe of Cheechaws, Outhleteboa, their Mico, Thlautho-thlueke, Figeer, Sootamilla, War Captains, with three attendants. From the tribe of Echetas, Chutabeeche and Robin, two War Captains, (the latter was bred among the English), with four attendants. From the tribe of Polachucolas, Gillattee, their Head Warrior, and five attendants. From the tribe of Oconas, Oueekachumpa, called by the English Long King, Koowoo, a Warrior. From the tribe of Eufaula, Tomaumi, Head Warrior, and three attendants.

The Indians being all seated, Oueekachumpa, a very tall old man, stood, and made a speech, which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and Mr. Musgrove, and was to the following purpose: He first claimed all the lands to the southward of the River Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. They then said, though they were but poor and ignorant, he that had given the English breath had given them breath also. That he that had made both had given more wisdom to the white men. That they were persuaded that the great power which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and then he spread out his hands and lengthened the sound of his words), and which hath given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives and children: That, therefore, they gave them up freely their right to all the land they did not use themselves. That this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the eight towns of the Creeks, each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth.

Then the chief men brought a bundle of buck skins, and laid eight from the eight towns before Mr. Oglethorpe. He said these were the best things they had, and that they gave them with a good heart. He concluded with thanking him for his kindness to Tomochichi, Mico, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related, and though Tomochichi was banished from his nation, that he was a good man and had been a great warrior; and it was for his wisdom and justice that the banished men had chose him king. He also said, that he had heard that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen, and that if Mr. Oglethorpe would command them, they would enter their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill the people, and revenge the English. When he had done speaking, Tomochichi came in with the Yammacraw Indians, and making a low obeisance, said, I was a banished man, and I came here poor and helpless to look for good land near the tombs of my ancestors, and when the English came to this place, I feared you would drive us away; for we were weak and wanted corn.

But

But you confirmed our land to us, and gave us food. Then the chiefs of the other nation made speeches to the same purpose as Oueekachumpa's.

After which they agreed with Mr. Oglethorpe on a treaty of alliance and commerce, which was signed by him and them. A laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt, were given to each king, and to each of the warriors a gun, a mantle of duffils, and to all their attendants coarse cloth for cloathing, and other things. The articles of agreement were, I. The trustees agreed to let their people carry into the Indian towns all sorts of goods fitting to trade at rates and prices settled by the treaty. II. Restitution and reparation to be made for injuries on both sides, and criminals to be tried and punished according to the English law. III. Trade to be withdrawn from any Indian town offending against treaty. IV. The English to possess all lands not used by the Indians, provided, that upon settling of every new town the English should set out for the use of their nation, such lands as should be agreed on between the English beloved men, and the head men of their nation. V. To restore all runaway negroes, and carry them either to Charles Town, the Savannah, or Petachuchula garrison, upon being paid for every such negro four blankets, or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods, if taken on the other side Ocorivy River; and one blanket if the negro is killed in taking or endeavouring to make his escape. VI. Lastly, They promise, with strait hearts and love to their brother English, to give no encouragement to any other white people to settle there, and to all this they set the marks of their families. This treaty being concluded, Mr. Oglethorpe thought fit to return into England, as well to report the situation things were in, in that country, as to procure the necessary supplies for promoting the new colony.

5 In the month of June 1734 Mr. Oglethorpe arrived safely in England, bringing with him Tomochichi, mico or king of the Yamacraws; Senawki, his consort, and Toonakowi, the prince his nephew, as also Hillispiilli, a war captain, and Apakowtski, Stimalechi, Sintouchi, Hinguithi, and Umphychi, five other Indian chiefs, with their interpreter. They were lodged at the Georgia-Office, Old Palace-Yard, where they were handsomely entertained; and, being suitably dressed, were introduced to the court, then at Kensington. Tomochichi presented to the king several eagles feathers; which, according to their custom, is the most respectful gift he could offer, and made the following speech to his majesty: "This day I see the majesty of your face, and greatness of your house, and the number of your people; I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they had long ago with the English. I am come over in my old days; though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself. I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land; and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O! great king, as a sign of everlasting peace. O! great king, whatsoever words you shall say unto me I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the Creek nations." To which his Majesty made a gracious answer, assuring those nations of his protection and regard.

These Indians, but more especially their mico or prince, gave evident marks, during their stay in England, of good sense, and of a sincere inclination to carry on a friendly correspondence between their own nation and ours; and therefore they desired of the trustees, that the measures, prices, and qualities of goods to be purchased by them, with their deer-skins, might be settled, as likewise the weights; that nobody might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a licence from the trustees, in

order, that if they were in any respect injured, or defrauded by the traders, they might know where to complain. And they further desired, that there might be but one store-house in each Indian town, for supplying them with the goods they might want to purchase, from whence the traders should be obliged to supply them at their fixed prices. The reason which the Indians gave for this application was, because the traders with them had often, in an arbitrary manner, raised the price of goods, and defrauded them in the weights and measures; and, by their impositions, had often created animosities between the English and Indians, which had frequently ended in wars between them, prejudicial to both.

In compliance with this request of theirs, the trustees prepared a law, intitled, "An act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia;" which contained the same regulations and provisions that were made in an act passed by the council and assembly in South Carolina, in the year 1731, which act would have reached the country now called Georgia, if it had not been erected into a separate province. They likewise prepared another law, calculated for the same salutary purpose, I mean the preventing any dangers from the Indians, by the pernicious effects of spirituous liquors, as well as the health of the people already settled, and that might be settled, in their new colony, which was intitled, "An act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies in the province of Georgia, or any kind of spirits, or strong waters whatsoever." They likewise prepared a third law, upon a very mature deliberation, and for the reasons before-mentioned, intitled, "An act for rendering the colony of Georgia more defensible, by prohibiting the importation of black slaves, or negroes, in the same." These three acts were laid before the King in council, in the month of January following; and after a report from the board of trade, that they were proper to receive his Majesty's approbation, they were accordingly ratified. Two embarkations were made this year, whose numbers are hereafter mentioned, which consisted chiefly of Saltburghers, who with the Saltburghers that went before, were settled in a town called by them Ebenezer, upon the river Savannah, at some distance above the town; and by the sobriety and industry of the people, they prove a very thriving settlement.

6. In the succeeding year 1735, the trustees were encouraged by an extraordinary supply of twenty-six thousand pounds, granted by parliament, and very considerable benefactions, as well in Carolina as in England, to think of making very considerable embarkations for strengthening the southern part of Georgia; and to obviate any objection that might be made, as in undertakings of this nature objections will never be wanting, at their sending useful poor from hence, it was resolved that these embarkations should consist mostly of people from the north of Scotland, and persecuted German protestants. The reader will observe, that by the care taken in this respect, the nation gained a very considerable advantage, since by this means the overflowings of all the northern countries of Europe, which are known to breed robust, hardy and industrious people, were secured for our service, and carried over and settled in that part of his Majesty's dominions where such people were wanted most; where, from their circumstances, they were obliged to fulfil (as indeed they have always done), the ends for which they were sent thither; and so became an accession of strength of great consequence and advantage, at a very small and inconsiderable expence. But that the reader may be fully apprized of, and perfectly comprehend the true reasons which induced the parliament to grant so much money, for the settlement and improvement of the colony this year, and may likewise be enabled to judge of the weight and importance of these reasons, it is requisite to inform him, that the colony of South Carolina drew

drew up a memorial, dated the 9th of April 1734, signed by Robert Johnson, Esq. their Governor; Thomas Broughton, President of the Council; and Paul Jenys, Speaker of the Commons; containing a representation of the state and condition of that province, and therein so full, so clear, and so authentic an account of facts, equally curious and important, that it is impossible to set them down either in fewer or better words than are used in that memorial; part of which, therefore, we shall give here, and should very willingly have given the whole, if the nature of our work would have allowed us room.

“ Your Majesty’s subjects of this province, having often felt, with hearts full of gratitude, the many signal instances of your most sacred Majesty’s peculiar favour and protection to these distant parts of your dominions, and especially those late proofs of your Majesty’s most gracious and benign care, so wisely calculated for the protection of this your Majesty’s frontier province on the Continent of America, by your royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia; and your great goodness so rightly and timely applied in protecting the settlement of the Swifs at Parrysburg. Encouraged by such just views of your Majesty’s wife and paternal care, extended to your remotest subjects; and excited by the duty which we owe to your most sacred Majesty, to be always watchful for the support and security of your Majesty’s interest, especially at this very critical juncture, when the flame of a war breaking out in Europe, may very speedily be lighted here, in this your Majesty’s frontier province, which by its situation is known to be of the utmost importance to the general trade and traffic of America; We therefore, your Majesty’s most faithful governor, council, and commons, convened in your Majesty’s province of South Carolina, crave leave with great humility to represent to your Majesty the present state and condition of this your province, and how greatly it stands in need of your Majesty’s gracious and timely succour in case of a war, to assist our defence against the French and Spaniards, or any other enemies to your Majesty’s dominions, as well as against the many nations of savages, which so nearly threaten the safety of your Majesty’s subjects.

“ The province of Carolina, and the new colony of Georgia, are the southern frontiers of all your Majesty’s dominions on the Continent of America; to the south and south-west of which is situate the strong castle of St. Augustin, garrisoned by four hundred Spaniards, who have several nations of Indians living under their subjection, besides several other small settlements and garrisons near the Appellaches, some of which are not eighty miles distant from the colony of Georgia. To the south-west and west of us, the French have already erected a considerable town near Fort Thoulouse on the Mowille river, and several other forts and garrisons, some not above three hundred miles distant from our settlements; and at New Orleans on the Mississippi river, since her late Majesty Queen Anne’s war, they have exceedingly increased their strength and traffic, and have now many forts and garrisons on both sides of that large river, for several hundred miles up the same. And since his most Christian Majesty has taken out of the Mississippi Company the government of that country into his own hands, the French natives of Canada come daily down in shoals, to settle all along that river, where many regular forces have been sent over by the King, to strengthen the garrisons of those places; and according to our best and latest advices, they have five hundred men in pay constantly employed as wood-rangers, to keep the neighbouring Indians in subjection, and to prevent the distant ones from disturbing their settlements; which management of the French has so well succeeded, that we are very well assured they have wholly now in their possession, and under their influence, the several numerous nations of Indians that are situate near the Mississippi River, one of which, called

the Choctaws, by estimation, consisting of about five thousand fighting men, and who were always deemed a very warlike nation, lies on this side the river, not above four hundred miles distant from our out-settlements. Among whom, and several other nations of Indians, many French Europeans have been sent to settle, whom the priests and missionaries among them encourage to take Indian wives, and use divers other alluring methods to attach the Indians the better to the French alliance; by which means the French are become thoroughly acquainted with the Indian way of warring and living in the woods, and have now a great number of white men among them, able to perform a long march, with an army of Indians, upon any expedition.

"We further beg leave to inform your Majesty, that if the measures of France should provoke your Majesty to a state of hostility against it in Europe, we have great reasons to expect an invasion will be here made upon your Majesty's subjects, by the French and the Indians, from these Mississippi settlements; they have already paved a way for a design of that nature, by erecting a fort called the Alabama Fort, alias Fort Louis, in the middle of the Upper Creek Indians, upon a navigable river leading to Mowille, which they have kept well garrisoned, and mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon; and have already been prevented from erecting a second nearer to us in that quarter. The Creeks are a nation very bold, active, and daring, consisting of about thirteen hundred fighting men (and not above one hundred and fifty miles distant from the Choctaws), whom though we heretofore have traded with, claimed, and held in our alliance, yet the French, on account of that fort, and a superior ability to make them liberal presents, have been for some time striving to gain them over to their interest, and have succeeded with some of the towns of the Creeks, which if they can be secured in your Majesty's interest, are the only nation which your Majesty's subjects here can depend upon, as their best barrier against any attempts either of the French or their confederate Indians.

"We most humbly pray leave further to inform your Majesty, that the French at Mowille, perceiving that they could not gain the Indians to their interest without buying their deer skins, which is the only commodity the Indians have to purchase necessities with, and the French not being able to dispose of those skins, by reason of their having no vent for them in Old France, have found means to encourage vessels from hence, New York, and other places which are not prohibited by the acts of trade, to truck those skins with them for Indian trading goods, especially the British woollen manufactures, which the French dispose of to the Creeks and Choctaws, and other Indians; by which means the Indians are much more alienated from our interest; and, on every occasion, object to us, that the French can supply them with shrouds and blankets as well as the English; which would have the contrary effect, if they were wholly furnished with those commodities by your Majesty's subjects trading among them. If a stop were therefore put to that pernicious trade with the French, the Creek Indians chief dependence would be on this government, and that of Georgia, to supply them with goods; by which means great part of the Choctaws living next the Creeks, would see the advantage the Creek Indians enjoyed, by having British woollen manufactures wholly from your Majesty's subjects, and thereby be invited, in a short time, to enter into a treaty of commerce with us, which they have lately made some offers for, and which, if effected, will soon lessen the interest of the French with these Indians, and by degrees attach them to that of your Majesty.

"The only expedient we can propose to recover and confirm that nation to your Majesty's interest, is by speedily making them presents, to withdraw them from the French alliance, and by building some forts among them. Your Majesty may be put
into

into such a situation, that on the first notice of hostilities with the French, your Majesty may be able to reduce at once the Alabama Fort, and we may then stand against the French and their Indians; which if not timely prepared for, before a war breaks out, we have too much reason to fear we may be soon over-run by the united strength of the French, and the Creeks and Choctaws, with many other nations of their Indian allies; for should the Creeks become wholly our enemies, who are well acquainted with all our settlements, we probably should also soon be deserted by the Cherokees, and a few other small tribes of Indians; who for the sake of our booty, would readily join to make us a prey to the French and savages. Ever since the late Indian war, the offences then given us by the Creeks, have made that nation jealous of your Majesty's subjects of this province. We have therefore concerted measures with the honourable James Oglethorpe, Esq. who being at the head of a new colony, will, we hope, be successful for your Majesty's interest among that people. He has already, by presents, attached the Lower Creeks to the service of your Majesty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavour the fixing a garrison among the Upper Creeks; the expence of which is already in part provided for, in this session of the general assembly of this province. We hope therefore to prevent the French from encroaching farther on your Majesty's territories, until your Majesty is graciously pleased further to strengthen and secure the same.

"We find the Cherokee nation has lately become very insolent to your Majesty's subjects trading among them, notwithstanding the many favours which the chiefs of that nation received from your Majesty in Great Britain; besides a considerable expence which your Majesty's subjects have been at, in making them presents, which inclines us to believe that the French, by their Indians, have been tampering with them. We therefore beg leave to inform your Majesty, that the building and mounting some forts also among the Cherokees, and making them presents, will be highly necessary to keep them steady in their duty to your Majesty, lest the French may prevail in seducing that nation; which they may the more readily be inclined to, from the prospect of getting considerable plunder in slaves, cattle, and commodities, which they very well know they have among us. Several other forts will be indispensibly necessary, to be a cover to your Majesty's subjects settled backwards in this province, as also to those of the colony of Georgia, both which in length are very extensive. For though the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by a particular scheme of good management, faithfully conducted by the gentlemen engaged here in that charitable enterprize, have put that small part of the colony which he has yet been able to establish, in a tenable condition against the Spaniards of Florida, which lie to the southward; yet the back exposition of those colonies to the vast number of French and Indians, which border on the westward, must, in case of a war, cry greatly aloud for your Majesty's gracious and timely succour. The expence of our safety on such an occasion, we must in all humility, acquaint your Majesty, either for men or money, can never be effected by your Majesty's subjects of this province, who, in conjunction with Georgia, do not, in the whole, amount to more than three thousand five hundred men that compose the militia, and wholly consist of planters, traders, and other men in business."

There are some other paragraphs in this memorial which are still more worthy of notice, and which therefore we shall give the reader in the words thereof. "We must further beg leave to inform your Majesty, that amidst our other perilous circumstances, we are subject to many intestine dangers, from the great number of negroes that are now among us, who amount, at least, to twenty-two thousand persons, and are three to one of all your Majesty's white subjects in this province. Insurrections against

us have been often attempted, and would at any time prove very fatal, if the French should instigate them by artfully giving them an expectation of freedom. In such a situation we most humbly crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that even the present ordinary expences, necessary for the care and support of this your Majesty's province and government, cannot be provided for by your Majesty's subjects of this province, without your Majesty's gracious pleasure to continue those laws, for establishing the tax on negroes, and other duties, for seven years, and for appropriating the laws which now lie before your Majesty, for your royal assent and approbation; and the further expences that will be requisite for the erecting some forts, and establishing garrisons in the several necessary places, so as to form a barrier for the security of this your Majesty's province, we most humbly submit to your majesty.

“ Your Majesty's subjects of this province, with fulness of zeal, duty, and affection, to your most gracious and sacred Majesty, are so highly sensible of the great importance of this province to the French, that we must conceive it more than probable, if a war should happen, they will use all endeavours to bring this country under their subjection. They would thereby be able to supply their sugar islands with all sorts of provisions and lumber, by an easy navigation trade, which, to our great advantage, is now not so practicable from the present French colonies: besides the facility of gaining then to their interest most of the Indian trade on the northern continent, they might also easily unite the Canadees and Choctaws with the many other nations of Indians which are now in their interest. And the several ports and harbours of Carolina and Georgia, which now enable your Majesty to be absolutely master of the passage through the Gulph of Florida, and to impede, at your pleasure, the transportation home of the Spanish treasure, would then prove so many convenient harbours for your Majesty's enemies, by their privateers or ships of war, to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which is carried on through the gulph from Jamaica, besides the loss which Great Britain must feel in so considerable a part of its navigation, as well as the exports of masts, pitch, tar, and turpentine, which, without any dependance on the northern powers of Europe, are from hence plentifully supplied for the use of the British shipping.

“ This is the present state and condition of your Majesty's province of South Carolina, utterly incapable of finding funds sufficient for the defence of this wide frontier, and so destitute of white men, that even money itself cannot here raise a sufficient body of them.” The great length of this memorial prevents our making many remarks thereon; some few, however, are absolutely requisite.

The reader will, from hence, see how well-timed and how well contrived, the new settlement of Georgia was, in the opinion of those who were the best judges; how just and how prudent the precaution of the trustees in prohibiting negroes; and how wisely and happily for the public service they contrived to send over, both from our own country, and other parts of Europe, white people, and Protestants, by which they effectually provided for the security of all the northern colonies behind it; which, whenever this country comes to be thoroughly peopled, as it may be in a very few years time in days of peace, if due attention be had thereto, will be such a barrier, as neither Spaniards nor French can ever break through, and consequently will for ever put an end to those terrors and apprehensions, that are so strongly and so emphatically expressed in the foregoing paper. But to proceed in our history.

In the month of January, 1735, the Highlanders arrived in Georgia (and with them several of the same country, as servants to private grantees). They were settled on the Altamaha river, about sixteen miles distant by water from the island of St. Simon, which

which is at the mouth of the river. They soon raised convenient huts till their houses could be built; and the town, at their own desire, was called Darien, which name that district still retains; but the town which they afterwards built they thought fit to call New Inverness.

On the 6th of February following the great embarkation, under the direction of Mr. Oglethorpe, arrived, and the people were settled upon the island of St. Simon. The Creek Indians, who came down upon this occasion, in consequence of their claiming a right to the country, were treated with, and agreed that the English should possess that, and all the islands adjacent, which necessary step being taken, the town of Frederica was soon laid out, and the people set to work in building houses. When I call this the great embarkation, it seems but reasonable that I should express the number of persons sent over, which were four hundred and seventy; and it is likewise fit to say something of the island upon which they were settled. In point of situation, a better could hardly be wished for in that part of the world, lying, as it does, at the mouth of a very fine river; the size of it too was very convenient, being about forty-five miles in extent, the soil rich and fruitful, full of oak and hickory trees, intermixed with meadows and old Indian fields.

As soon as this settlement was made, care was taken for its security, and for the fortifications of the southern barrier, with which view a regular fortress, strengthened by four bastions and a spur-work, towards the river, was erected at Frederica, and several pieces of cannon mounted thereon; a strong battery was also raised for the protection of Iekyll Sound, where ten or twelve forty-gun ships may safely ride. Another fort was built on the South-west part of Cumberland Island, where are several pieces of cannon pointed towards the river, so as to command all sloops and small craft navigating that passage; within the pallisade which surrounds the fort there are fine springs of water, and likewise a well framed timber-house, with large and convenient magazines under it for ammunition and provisions. But while so much care was taken of the south frontier, agreeable, as it was conceived, to the design of the parliament's grant, and the prayer of the before-mentioned memorial, the northern part of the colony was not neglected, since orders were given for erecting a fort at Augusta, a place situated on the river Savannah, which is now become a very thriving place; where the traders with the Indians, from South Carolina and Georgia, resort, on account of its convenience for that purpose; and where there are large warehouses furnished with such goods as the Indians want, the deer skins taken in exchange being sent two hundred and thirty miles down the river, to the town of Savannah, in boats, which carry each about nine thousand weight. It may be easily conceived from hence, how necessary a thing it was to have a good fort here, which was both erected and garrisoned at the expence of the trustees for some time; and a horse-road was made from thence to the town of Savannah one way, and to the dwellings of the Cherokee Indians, who live above the town of Augusta, the other. By these precautions the trade of both colonies, with these Indians, was facilitated, and the country on that side secured against any sudden attempts of an enemy, which was all that could be expected in so short a time, and in a tract of land, in comparison of the colony, of so large an extent.

7. The presence of Mr. Oglethorpe contributed greatly to the settling and preservation of the colony; which was already become considerable enough, not only to draw the attention, but to excite the jealousy of the Spaniards; who, without all question, would have been glad to have overpowered, and driven out, these new-come neighbours, if it had been a thing in their power; and if they had not been apprehensive of the ill consequences that must have attended the breaking out of a war between the

two nations, on account of the disputes between these frontier provinces; which circumstances were so well improved by Mr. Oglethorpe, and the Indians who had entered into friendship with the new settlement were so strongly attached to the English interest, that the governor of St. Augustin, upon mature deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a negociation, and to endeavour to conclude an amicable agreement with the English colony; which Mr. Oglethorpe also knowing to be very convenient for the security of Georgia, he negotiated, and concluded a treaty, upon very just and reasonable, as well as safe and advantageous terms; as will appear from the following copy of the treaty itself, and the powers by him given for concluding and signing it.

“ To Charles Dempsey, Esq.

“ I have impowred you, by procuration, dated the 23d of June, 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain matters of importance, relating to these provinces, with his Excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches, captain general of Florida, and governor of St. Augustin, and the council of war of the said garrison; and having, since the dates of these letters, received advice from the governor of St. Augustin, as also a message from his Excellency Don Juan Francisco Geumes de Horcasitas, major general in his Catholic Majesty's service, captain general of the island above, and governor of Havanna, by Don Antonio de Arredondo, they both empowering him to treat concerning the said matters, I do hereby empower, constitute, and appoint you, to treat, conclude, and sign the following articles; and deliver the same unto the governor and council of St. Augustin, they signing, sealing, and interchanging the said articles.

“ First, That his excellency the governor of St. Augustin, shall restrain his Indians, subjects to the king of Spain, from committing any hostilities upon the subjects of the King of Great Britain. I will restrain the Indian subjects to the King of Great Britain in this province, from any hostilities upon the subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

“ Secondly, That in respect to the nations of free Indians called Creeks, I will use my utmost amicable endeavours, upon any reasonable satisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abstain from any hostilities whatsoever, with the subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

“ Thirdly, That with respect to the fort built on the island of St. George, I will draw off that garrison, together with the artillery, and all other things by me posted there; provided that none of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, nor any other person, shall inhabit, people, or fortify the said island; provided also, that no prejudice shall arise to the right of the king my Master, to the said island, nor to any other dominions or claim that his Britannic Majesty hath upon this continent. But that his right shall remain to the said island, and to all other places whatsoever; as if the said garrison had never been withdrawn; and the said garrison shall withdraw within fourteen days after the ratification of these articles.

“ Fourthly, I will agree with his excellency the governor of St. Augustin, and the council of war, That his Britannic Majesty's subjects, under my command, shall not molest, in any manner whatsoever, any of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, provided that his Catholic Majesty's subjects do not molest any of his Britannic Majesty's subjects, nor his allies.

“ Fifthly, That concerning any differences that have or shall arise, concerning the limits of the respective government and dominions of the two crowns, such differences shall remain undecided, till the determination of the respective courts; and that the subjects of each crown here, shall remain in profound peace, and not in any manner molest each other, until the determination of the respective courts on this subject.

“ Lastly,

" Lastly, That no person shall be received from any garrison in either government, without a passport from the governor to whom such persons belong.

" Given under my hand and seal, at Frederica in Georgia, the 27th day of September, 1736.

" By the power to me given, by His Excellency James Oglethorpe, Esq. governor and director-general of the new colony of Georgia, by his excellency's procuration, bearing date the 27th day of October, in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the Second, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord 1736: I do hereby confirm and ratify the above articles, with his excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches Villegas, captain-general and governor of St. Augustin of Florida, and with the council of war of the said garrison of St. Augustin; as witness my hand and seal, this 26th day of October, 1736."

The counter-part of this treaty, executed by the governor of St. Augustin, by the advice, and with the consent, of a council of war, was certified by Bartholomew Niotto, notary-public, and I have it before me; but as it contains only a repetition of the foregoing articles, it seems unnecessary to insert it here, since what we have already given the reader very sufficiently explains the nature of this treaty: but it seems the governor of St. Augustin was not in the secret of the court; for the Spanish ministry at home were very far from being desirous that a fair correspondence should be established between the two colonies. On the contrary, they aimed at obliging us to desist from our design of settling the colony of Georgia; and with this view Sir Thomas Geraldino, on the 1st of September, presented a memorial to his grace the duke of Newcastle, in which, among other things, he was pleased to say, It is indisputable, that the colony of Georgia was settled upon his majesty's dominions; so that a plainer proof cannot be had, that the Spaniards were determined, if possible, to oblige the crown of Great Britain to give up this settlement.

But as it was not very probable, that we should be induced to do this by Sir Thomas Geraldino's memorials, the Spanish ministry were contriving to do it by force, and by transporting troops into the Spanish Florida, from the adjacent island of Cuba, and other parts of their dominions. It is true, that these orders were mostly given before they had any intelligence of the provisional treaty concluded between the governor of St. Augustin and Mr. Oglethorpe; but when they did know of it, they were so far from laying aside their former design, or even from suspending it, that they highly disapproved of the governor's behaviour in that particular, the rather, perhaps, because it was altogether inconsistent with their own projects and pretensions. It is also very probable, that as the Spanish councils were at that time wholly guided by those of France, this might contribute not a little to their forming views of expelling us from Georgia, which the French, without doubt, consider as equally dangerous to them and their schemes, or rather more so, than to the Spaniards, who, on their side, have much more reason to be offended with the French settlements on the river Mississippi, than at our new colony of Georgia. But be this as it will, the preparations they made were in their nature so open and extraordinary, that it was not long they could be concealed from our governors, and other officers in the West Indies, whose duty it was to observe, and transmit intelligence hither of things of that nature.

The lieutenant-governor of South Carolina, having heretofore acquainted the trustees by a letter, dated from the council-chamber in Charles Town, the 7th of February, 1736-7, That he had received advice from Commodore Dent, of preparations made by the Spaniards at St. Augustin and the Havanna, in order to make an attack on the

colony of Georgia; and the trustees having, in a memorial to his Majesty, set forth the inability of the colony to protect themselves against such a force as was preparing at the Havanna and St. Augustin; his Majesty was graciously pleased to order a regiment of six hundred effective men to be raised, and sent to Georgia, for the defence and protection of it.

As an encouragement for the soldiers good behaviour, the trustees resolved to give each of them a property in the colony; and therefore made a grant in trust, for an allotment of five acres of land to each soldier of the regiment, to cultivate for his own use and benefit, and to hold the same during his continuance in his Majesty's service. And for a further encouragement, they resolved, that each soldier who at the end of seven years service, from the time of his enlisting in the regiment, should be desirous of quitting his Majesty's service, and should have his regular discharge, and would settle in the colony, should, on his commanding officer's certificate of his good behaviour, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land.

The parliament having taken into consideration the great expences which the trustees had been at in making roads through the province, and the several fortifications in it, and the presents made to the Indians to engage them firmer in the British interest, and likewise the preparations that were making by the Spaniards in order to take or distress the colony; granted thereupon for this year the sum of twenty thousand pounds, for the further settling and securing the colony, the trustees made another embarkation, which consisted chiefly of persecuted German Protestants.

In consequence of so considerable an augmentation of people, all the towns laid out in Georgia began to be improved, and to receive considerable supplies; and so mindful they were of their security, that even at Savannah, which was least exposed to danger, they traced out, and began to build, a considerable fort; and in all the frontier places, the utmost care was taken to put the fortifications into the best posture of defence that the circumstances of the province would allow. On the arrival of the regiment, of which Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed colonel, he distributed them in the properest manner for the service of the colony; but notwithstanding this was of great ease to the trustees, and a vast security to the inhabitants, yet Colonel Oglethorpe still kept up the same discipline, and took as much care to form and regulate the inhabitants with respect to military affairs as ever. He provided, likewise, different corps for different services; some for ranging the woods; others, light-armed, for sudden expeditions; and he likewise provided vessels for scouring the sea-coasts, and for gaining intelligence. In all which services he gave at the same time his orders and his example; there being nothing he did not, which he directed others to do; so that if he was the first man in the colony, his pre-eminence was founded upon old Homer's maxims: he was the most fatigued, and the first in danger, distinguished by his cares and his labours, not by any exterior marks of grandeur, more easily dispensed with, since they were certainly needless.

The strict attention shewn by the trustees for their infant settlement was so remarkable, and their punctuality in supplying what was necessary, so generally known throughout America, that it was not long before it created some inconvenience from the address of such as were desirous of turning such instances of public spirit to their private advantage; for several merchants, and captains of ships, had, for their own interest, carried into the colony from New York and other places, large cargoes of provisions, &c. great part of which (to save merchants from losses) were taken at the store, without proper authority from the trustees, and an expence created thereby, which the trustees could not estimate, nor have ability to discharge, and for which, certified
accounts

accounts were returned to them; and therefore the trustees published an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, and ordered it to be published in the *South Carolina Gazette*, and to be affixed on the doors of the store-houses at Savannah and Frederica, that out of a due regard to public credit they had resolved, That all expences which they had ordered, or should order, to be made in America, for the use of the colony, should be defrayed and paid for in Georgia, in Sola bills of exchange only, under their seal; and they gave notice, that no person whatsoever had any authority from them, or in their name, or on their account, to purchase or receive any cargo of provisions, stores, or necessaries, without paying for them in the said Sola bills.

Yet they were as ready as ever in expending money, where it was necessary and serviceable to the colony; for upon a petition of one Abraham de Lyon, a freeholder of Savannah in Georgia, That he had expended a great sum in the cultivation of vines, which he had carried from Portugal, and had brought to great perfection; and several certificates being produced of his great improvements, and of the goodness of his grapes, and their thriving in the most barren lands in the province, the trustees assisted him to proceed in his improvements. But, to be the more able to supply these expences, they took care to be frugal, where it was practicable. And the security of the colony being provided for by the regiment sent over by his Majesty, the parliament gave eight thousand pounds for the further settling the colony; therefore the trustees sent over an estimate of all the expences which they allowed to be made in the province; by which several military expences which they had been engaged in for the defence of the colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

In the year 1738 the trustees sent over the Reverend Mr. Norris to Frederica, with a salary of 50 l. a-year, and orders that a house should be built for him, and another provided for the performance of public worship, till such time as a church could be erected. But while their cares were thus employed, they met with some interruption from unforeseen accidents, both without and within the province: in respect to the former, the assembly of South Carolina, having the last year passed an ordinance for raising a sum to indemnify their traders, in opposition to the act, which was approved of by his Majesty in council, for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia; upon a memorial from the trustees, complaining of the said ordinance; and upon the petition of the council and assembly of South Carolina, against the said act, there was a solemn hearing before the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; and afterwards before a committee of the lords of his Majesty's privy council: whereupon his Majesty was pleased to order, that the said ordinance of assembly of South Carolina should be repealed, and declared void; and was pleased to send an instruction to the trustees, to prepare a proper act, or ordinance, for settling the trade, carried on by the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on such a footing, as might be for the mutual benefit and satisfaction of both provinces. And his Majesty, at the same time, was graciously pleased to give an instruction to Samuel Horley, Esq. governor, and lieutenant-general of South Carolina, to recommend to the council and assembly there, to pass a law for that purpose, in that province. But Samuel Horley, Esq. dying soon after, and no other governor having since gone to South Carolina, that affair remained unsettled. The trustees immediately sent to Colonel Oglethorpe a copy of his Majesty's instructions, and desired that he would consult with Lieutenant-Governor Bull in South Carolina; that plans of proper acts might be prepared, and sent over to the trustees, for their consideration, in order to answer the purposes of his Majesty's instructions; and that, in the mean time, the commissioners of South Carolina, and the

the commissioners of Georgia, might proceed in their respective provinces, in concert with each other, to carry on a mutual trade to the Indians in both provinces.

In reference to the other sources of disturbance and domestic disquiets, they were of different kinds; but the greatest was owing to a number of persons enjoying the benevolence due to the colony, without any real merit in themselves, or just title thereto; for which, however, a remedy was speedily provided. The trustees, both by their letters and instructions to the magistrates, had constantly exhorted and encouraged the people to a cultivation of their lands, on which they were to depend for their support; and as they found that many (as well of those whom they had sent over as objects of charity, as of others, who at different times had gone into the country from other colonies, for their temporary maintenance) still continued in their idleness, and were a burden upon the trustees; they gave orders for striking off the store, all such as having had time to cultivate their lands had neglected it. This carried from the colony many of those who had gone thither, or joined it from other parts of America, to gain a subsistence for a year or two, and of others who had not considered the hardships attending the first settlement of a country, and were weary of their labour. The trustees receiving an account, dated February 12, 1738, from their secretary of the province, of an uneasiness among several persons, upon the tenor of their lots being confined to heirs male; and they, considering that the colony had been some time established, the people grew more numerous, and a regiment being stationed in it, for its defence, whereby the former tenures became less necessary; did, on the 15th of March following, at their anniversary meeting, resolve, that in default of issue male, the legal possessor of land might, by a deed in writing, or by his last will and testament, appoint his daughter as his successor, or any other female relation; with a proviso that the successor should, in the proper court in Georgia, personally claim the lot granted and devised within eighteen months after the death of the grantor or devisor. This was soon after extended to every legal possessor being empowered to appoint any other person as his successor.

The mildest governments are often but too subject to discontents; and though the whole study of the trustees was to make their people as easy in their private capacities, as their duty to, and concern for, the public, would permit; yet this did not hinder ignorant and malicious persons, who either could not, or would not, comprehend the true interests of the colony, from endeavouring to raise fresh disturbances, for the sake of obtaining what they thought might be of service to them; and which, if they had judged rationally, they must have perceived would have turned to their ruin. In short, part of the people settled in Georgia, sent over a memorial to the trustees, complaining of the want of a fee-simple in their lands, and of not being permitted the use of negroes. But those who were settled on the frontier, and consequently most exposed to the Spaniards and others, who, by their own industry, had improved their plantations, so as to draw from them a comfortable subsistence, sent over a contrary memorial; in which they represented the disadvantages and dangers that would arise from the permission of negroes.

It likewise fell out, that at the very time some of the people of Savannah were so clamorous for negroes (for seventy-five land and freeholders, of whom fifty-two were freeholders, did not apply for them), the province of South Carolina was under frequent alarms, upon account of the negroes there. They had intelligence that a conspiracy was formed by the negroes in South Carolina to rise, and forcibly make their way out of the province, to put themselves under the protection of the Spaniards; who had

had proclaimed freedom to all that should run to them from their owners. This conspiracy was discovered at Winyaw, the most northern part of that province, from whence as the negroes must bend their course, it argued, that the other parts of the province must be privy to it, and that the rising was to be universal; whereupon the whole province were upon their guard; the number of negroes in South Carolina being computed to be about forty thousand, and the number of white men, at most, not above five thousand. As several negroes, who were employed in Perryauguas, and other like craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the benefit of the Spaniards proclamation, and gone to St. Augustin, the government of South Carolina sent a solemn deputation to demand their slaves. This deputation consisted of Mr. Braithwaite, a member of the council; Mr. Rudlidge, one of the assembly; and Mr. Binian, clerk of the assembly. But the governor of St. Augustin, though in time of profound peace, peremptorily refused to deliver them up; and declared he had orders to receive all such as should come thither, and protect them. Upon this, and the petitions which were sent from the Highlanders at Darien, and the Saltzburgers at Ebenezer, representing the danger and the inconvenience of the introduction of negroes; the trustees sent, under their seal, an answer to the representation from some of the inhabitants of Savannah.

In this answer, which is dated June the 20th, 1739, the trustees say, "That they should deem themselves very unfit for the trust reposed in them by their Majesty on their behalf, if they could be prevailed on by any such irrational attempt, to give up a constitution framed with the greatest caution, for the preservation of liberty and property; and of which the laws against the use of slaves, and for the entail of lands, are the surest foundations; and the trustees are the more confirmed in their opinions of the unreasonableness of this demand, and that they have received notions from Darien, and the other parts of the province, representing the inconvenience and danger which must arise to the good people of the province, from the introduction of negroes; and as the trustees themselves are fully convinced, that besides the hazards attending of that introduction, it would destroy all industry among the white inhabitants, and that, by giving them a power to alien their lands, the colony would soon be too like its neighbours, void of white inhabitants, filled with blacks, and reduced to be the precarious property of a few, equally exposed to domestic treachery, and foreign invasion; and therefore the trustees cannot be supposed to be in any disposition of granting this request; and if they have not before this, signified their dislike of it, their delay is to be imputed to no other motives but the hopes they had conceived, that time and experience would bring the complainants to a better mind. And the trustees readily join issue with them, in their appeal to posterity, who shall judge between them, who were their best friends, those who endeavoured to preserve for them a property in their lands, by tying up the hands of their unthrifty progenitors, or they who wanted a power to mortgage or alien them? Who were the best friends to the colony, those who, with great labour and cost, had endeavoured to form a colony of his Majesty's subjects, and persecuted Protestants from other parts of Europe; had placed them on a fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their possessions by those arts, which naturally tend to keep the colony full of useful and industrious people, capable both to cultivate and defend it; or those, who to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few negro-merchants, would put it into their power to become sole owners of the province, by introducing their baneful commodity; which it is well known, by sad experience, has brought our neighbour colonies to the brink of ruin, by driving out their white inhabitants, who were their

and strength, to make room for black, who are now become the terror of their unadvised masters."

The trustees had great reason for proceeding as they did in this respect; since among the persons to whom grants were made, in order to their settling at their own expense in the colony, some never went over to take them up, or to settle at all; others were gentlemen of Carolina, who neglected the prosecution of their grants, and never so much as desired to have their lands laid out; and of the rest, several had quitted their plantations, and the laborious life of planters, to go and reside more at their ease at Savannah; where, by the exercise of their several trades and professions, they brought many of their people in debt; and besides all this, horse-races and other diversions were set on foot, and such a spirit of idleness began to prevail, as very easily accounted for their eagerness in desiring to have negroes granted them; and plainly shewed with what fatal consequences it must have been attended, if the trustees had not remained firm to their first resolutions, and had not given such an answer as shewed they were resolved to preserve that spirit in the colony upon which it was settled, and which could alone render it worth that care, which had been hitherto taken of it by the public. However, to make the people as easy and contented as they could, they published an advertisement in the London Gazette, the 8th of September, 1739, and other papers, which were continued for several days, and ordered it to be published in the South Carolina Gazette; that they had resolved to enlarge their grants on failure of issue male, and to make a certain provision for the widows of the grantees, in the following manner, viz. that the lands already granted, and such as should hereafter be granted, should, on failure of issue male, descend to the daughters of such grantees; and in case there should be no issue male or female, that the grantees might devise such lands; and for want of such devise, that such lands should descend to their heirs at law, with a proviso that the possession of the person who should enjoy such devise, should not be increased to more than five hundred acres; and that the widows of the grantees should hold and enjoy the dwelling house, garden, and one moiety of the lands their husband should die possessed of, for, and during the term of their lives. The trustees directed in the advertisement, that those who intended to have the benefit given them, should enter their respective claims, in order that proper grants and conveyances in the law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpose; and that no fee or reward was to be taken for the entering any such claim, directly or indirectly, by any person or persons whatsoever. It appears clearly from these concessions, how very desirous the trustees were of giving the people, settled in Georgia, all imaginable satisfaction, consistent with the scheme they had formed of securing these lands to the actual planters, and thereby prevent those inconveniencies, to which others, particularly the southern colonies were liable, and which would have been so much the more fatal in a colony, the chief inducement to establish which, was the making a strong frontier.

9. The French, who by degrees grew more and more uneasy at the settlement of Georgia, and our intercourse with the Indians, began to make use of every method they could devise, in order to create differences and jealousies between us and the Creeks, which was no sooner known, than it greatly alarmed, not only the people settled in Georgia, but the whole province of Carolina, from a just sense of the danger they should be in, if the French, either by their artifices or presents, should draw over the Creek Indians to their party, as appears by their applications both to Colonel Oglethorpe, and to the government at home. Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe thought it necessary

necessary to enter into a close alliance with this nation ; and therefore resolved upon a journey to the Coweta town, though at the distance of no less than five hundred miles from Frederica, where he then was, and through a country very little known to, and very difficult for Europeans to travel. He provided him, however, with horses and presents fit for the purpose ; set out for that place, and after a painful and fatiguing journey, reached it in safety, where he was received by the Indians with all imaginable marks of friendship and respect ; and where he had an opportunity of conferring, not only with the chiefs of all the tribes of this nation, but also with the deputies of the Choctaws and Chickefaws, who lie between the English and French settlements, and who had sent their deputies thither with that view. The consequence of this meeting was, the making a new, more full, and explicit treaty with the lower Creeks than the former ; which was of so great consequence that Colonel Bull, lieutenant-governor of Carolina, declared that if the Creeks could be secured, they should be under no apprehensions from the intrigues of the French with the other nations ; and, that this was effectually done, the reader will perceive from the perusal of the treaty then concluded with that nation ; of which the following is a copy from an instrument, containing the exemplification of the said treaty, under the seal of the province of Georgia, with all the necessary certificates from the magistrates indorsed thereupon ; and which ought therefore to be considered as the most authentic evidence of that gentleman's diligence, zeal and success, in the service of his country, and of the British colonies in America.

Proceedings of the assembled Estates of all the Lower Creek Nations, held on Saturday, the 11th day of August, Anno Domini 1739.

“ By powers from His Most Sacred Majesty George the Second, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. General James Oglethorpe being appointed commissioner, was present in the behalf of his Majesty, and opened the assembly by a speech. There were also present at the said assembly of estates, the mico, or king of the Coweta town ; Chickley Ninia, mico of the said town ; Malachio, mico, son of Brim, late emperor of the Creek nation, and the chief men and warriors of the Coweta towns ; the mico or chief king of the Cusfitas ; and Sciskeligo, mico, next to the king of the Cusfitas ; Iскеigo, third chief man of the Cusfitas, and the other chief men and warriors of the said town ; and also Ocakchapaklio, and the chief men of the town of Polachuchulas ; Kolatto, chief war-captain, and other chief men and warriors ; being deputies, sent with full powers to conclude all things necessary for the said town. Tawmawme, mico of the Ufawles, with several other chief men and warriors ; being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things necessary for the said town. Metalcheko, war-captain of the Echetees, with several other chief men and warriors ; being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town. Neathacklo, chief man of Oscachees, with several other chief men and warriors, sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town. Occullaveche, chief man of the Chicaws, with several other chief men and warriors ; being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town. Howanawge Thalacko, chief man of the Oxmulges, with several other chief men and warriors ; being deputies sent with powers to conclude all things for the said town. The mico, or chief king of the Occouys, with several chief men and warriors, having full powers to conclude all things for the said town. Neathacklo, a second chief man of the Swales, with several other chief men and warriors ; being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said

said town. The said estates being solemnly held, and opened at the great square in the town of Coweta, and adjourned from thence to the town Cusitas; and the deputies having drank black drink together, according to the ancient custom of their nation (being a religious form transmitted down by their ancestors), the whole estates declared, by a general consent without one negative, that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of Great Britain, and to their agreements made in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, with the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America; a counter-part of which agreement was then delivered to each town; and the deputies of the several towns produced the same; and farther declared, that all the dominions, territories and lands, from the river Savannah, to the river St. John's, and all the islands between the said rivers; and from the river St. John's to the bay Appallache, within which are all the Appallache old fields; and from the said bay of Appallache to the mountains; doth by ancient right belong to the Creek nation, and they have maintained possession of the said right, against all opposers by war; and can shew the heaps of bones of their enemies slain by them in defence of the said lands. And the said estates further declare, that the Creek nation hath for ages, had the protection of the kings and queens of England, and that the Spaniards, nor no other nation, have any right to any of the said lands, and that they will not suffer them, or any other person, except the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, to settle on the said lands. And they do acknowledge, by the grant they have already made to the trustees for establishing a colony of Georgia in America, all the lands upon the Savannah river, as far as the river Ogeeche; and all the lands along the sea coast, as far the river St. John's, and as high as the tide flows, and all the islands as far as the said river, particularly the islands of Frederica, Cumberland, and Amelia, to which they have given the names of his Majesty's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reserve to the Creek nation, all the land from Pipemakes Bluff, to Havannah and the islands of St. Catharina, Ossebaw, and Sappalo. And they further declare, that the said lands are held by the Creek nation as tenants in common. And the said commissioner doth declare, that the English shall not enlarge, or take up any other lands except these granted as above by the Creek Indian nation to the trustees; and doth promise and covenant, that he will punish any person that shall intrude upon the said lands which the Creek nation hath reserved as above. Given under my hand and seal this 21st day of August, at the Coweta town, 1739.

"JAMES OGLETHORPE."

At this distance, it is a very difficult if not impracticable thing, to give the reader a clear and distinct intelligence of the difficulties surmounted, and the advantages acquired by Mr. Oglethorpe's journey, and his success in concluding this alliance; we will, however, endeavour to represent them as clearly and as fully as we can. In the first place, his making such a journey as this, gained him a great reputation with the Indians; impressed upon them sentiments of deep respect for the English nation, and of particular affection for the colony of Georgia. At the same time it struck the French with amazement; some of their governors of Canada had indeed made considerable journeys from Quebec in order to confer with the Indians, and to conclude treaties with them; but then they always thought it requisite to be well attended, and never made these excursions but at the head of a considerable body of regular troops. Whereas General Oglethorpe had no such attendants, but relied entirely on the good faith of the Indians, and of his own behaviour towards them. He knew the consequence of their living in sincere amity with the English; and he was willing to run any personal hazard

hazard necessary to establish it. In short, he found it requisite for the welfare of the colony which he had settled, that they should be able to place an intire confidence in the Indians, and the Indians in them; which reciprocal confidence he actually procured, by reposing himself entirely on their faith; and by the treaty that he concluded with them.

His coming to the Coweta town dissipated all their fears, and extinguished all their jealousies; they told him so fairly in their first conferences. They said it had been insinuated to them, that he was come into that country to deprive them of their land; and that they had been assured, he was actually preparing to invade them; but they were now convinced that these were all falsehoods and calumnies; that he really meant them all the good they could expect; and that instead of injuring them by the settlement he was making, it would prove a new security to them, as well as to the English; and put it out of the power of their common enemies to hurt either. For which reason they were on their parts, ready to do all that he could expect from them, and were perfectly satisfied that he would perform his engagements towards them, with the like punctuality. There is no wonder therefore, if the French were excessively alarmed on the news of this conference, and of the alliance which General Oglethorpe had concluded; since they could consider it in no other light than as the first step to a general confederacy with all the Indian nations that had met at, or sent deputies to the Coweta town, from whence they drew many and great inconveniences to themselves; for, in the first place, this new treaty with the Creeks, defeated all the measures they had been taking, unravelled all their designs, and connected that nation more closely than ever with the English, which in itself was a very great and unlooked for disappointment.

But that was not all, they clearly comprehended that by this means we should not only keep our old friends, but draw off also some of theirs. Of all the nations that bordered upon them, they are most afraid of the Chickesaws, whom they look upon as the fiercest and bravest race of Indians in America, with whom they have never been upon good terms, more especially since the year 1731, when they discovered, or pretended to discover a design they had formed, to surprise and destroy all their advanced settlements. They were also in a very great fear of the Choctaws, or as the French call them Tchocctas, both because they are a very numerous nation, and are so situated as to be able at any time, to disturb and inquiet their settlements. But it soon appeared by experience, that the new treaty operated successfully, since the governor of New York, having given information to Colonel Bull of Carolina, of the march of a body of French troops, and Indians from Quebec, with intent to attack the Indians in friendship with England; but though this put the people of Carolina and Georgia upon their guard, there followed nothing from it: for the French found the Indians well prepared and disposed to receive them, and they were deterred from their design, for fear it should produce a general war, that might prove fatal to the colonies on the Mississippi river; the people of which were exceedingly apprehensive of what might happen from the general confederacy of the neighbouring Indians against them.

The trustees proceeded as vigorously as it was possible in the execution of every part of their scheme; and having, with such unwearied diligence, provided for the settlement of a new colony, and for the security of its frontiers, they began next to employ their skill and pains to promote all kinds of improvements; and were especially solicitous to obtain from thence some specimens of the possibility of raising, in that country, the commodities that were expected from it. They very well knew that this required hard labour, and that nothing had accrued to Great Britain worth speaking of, from

any of the colonies in America, in many years longer than this settlement of Georgia had been made. But on the other hand, they also knew that the English nation was naturally impatient ; that great sums of money had been issued for the service of this colony ; that great expectations were had of it ; and that, if nothing soon appeared, however certain in themselves, and just in their nature, no excuses would prevail. They therefore recommended it to their servants in Georgia, to use their utmost skill and diligence in promoting the culture of mulberry trees and silk, so that it might be, at least, demonstrated, that they were not deceived in their expectations ; but that in due time, and with reasonable encouragement, the nation might hope to see a full return in that commodity, for the expence she had been, and must be, at, in bringing the colony of Georgia to perfection. For they persuaded themselves, that from the methods they had used in sending over proper persons for the management of that business, their demands, with a due degree of care and diligence in their servants, might be answered, which would afford them an answer to all objections.

A parcel of raw silk was accordingly brought this year from Georgia, by Mr. Samuel Augspourguer, who made an affidavit before a master in chancery, that he received it from the hands of Mr. Thomas Jones, the trustees store-keeper at Savannah, who told him it was the produce of Georgia ; and the said Samuel Augspourguer, who resided in the southern part of the province, said, that when at Savannah, he saw the Italian family there winding off silk from the coquons. The silk was shewed at the trustees office, to Mr. John Zacary, an eminent raw-silk merchant, and Mr. Booth, one of the greatest silk-weavers in England, who declared it was as fine as any Italian silk ; and that it was worth, at least, twenty shillings a pound. This Mr. Samuel Augspourguer, who joined the colony in the beginning of the year 1736, left it in July 1739, with two men servants and their children, on his plantation, and came over to obtain a grant of five hundred acres of land, and to get some of his countrymen from the canton of Bern in Switzerland, to go with him as servants, on his return to Georgia, in order to proceed more effectually in the cultivation of his lands.

The trustees, this year, also took further methods for the satisfaction of the people in the province. They extended the tenures, by which the daughter of a grantee, or any other person, was made capable of enjoying, by devise, or inheritance, any quantity of lands which did not increase her or his possession, to more than two thousand acres. A licence was also granted for all the present possessors of land in Georgia, to make leases of any part of their lots, for any term not exceeding three years, to any person residing in Georgia, and who should reside there, during the term of such lease. A general release was likewise passed, by which no advantage was to be taken against any of the present possessors of land in Georgia, for any forfeiture incurred at any time before Christmas 1740, to the tenure or cultivation of land ; and the possessors of fifty acres were not obliged to cultivate more than five acres thereof, in ten years from their grants ; and those of under fifty acres in proportion ; and the possessors of five hundred acres of land were not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres thereof, in twenty years from their grants ; and those of under five hundred acres, and above fifty acres, in proportion, to prevent any forfeiture for want of cultivating the quantities required. Under these circumstances it is presumed that no complaint can now, with reason, be made against the tenure, by which the inhabitants at this time hold their lands, since they have more power than is generally given by marriage settlements, in which the grantees are only tenants for life, incapable of mortgaging, or alienating, or making any disposition by their last will ; whereas the freeholders in Georgia are now become tenants in tail-general, and may, with the licence of the com-

mon council of the trustees, upon application made to them for that purpose, mortgage, or alien, and further, without application, have it absolutely in their power, on failure of issue in tail, to dispose thereof by their last will. At least this was all the trustees thought themselves at liberty to do, considering the obligation they were under to the public, as well as to the settlement; and that they were as much bound to provide, that the nation had a just satisfaction for what they disbursed in favour of the colony, as that the inhabitants of Georgia should be made easy in their settlements, and meet with sufficient encouragement to proceed with industry in all their undertakings; and with this double view, to the service of the public, and the welfare of the settlement, all their applications at home, and all their directions abroad, are to be referred.

9. We have now run through the history of this province for above seven years, that is, from the time of projecting such a settlement as this on the south frontier of Carolina, to the carrying that design into execution, and bringing the new province into some tolerable degree of order; and, in the course of our history, we have had occasion to observe, from time to time, what care and circumspection has been used, to render it useful to those ends for which it was intended. We have taken notice of the sense which the whole province of Carolina had of the necessity, as well as expedience, of such a settlement. We have shewn, that those who were sent over were disciplined in such a manner, as to be able to defend, as well as acquire, property. We have set down the reasons why negroes were prohibited; and those reasons very clearly prove, that the colony could not have answered any of those ends for which it was established, if negroes had been permitted. We have given some account, and, if the bounds of this chapter would have permitted, we should have given a further account, of the jealousies entertained by the Spaniards and the French on account of this settlement, which we conceive to be so many demonstrative proofs of its utility. We have given the reader a large extract from the memorial of the assembly of South Carolina, setting forth, in the clearest and strongest terms, the wants of that province, and the points in which they stood in need of assistance. We have shewn, by a plain narrative of facts, how agreeable the conduct of General Oglethorpe was to the demands of that memorial; and how far, by the happy success attending those endeavours, they have been answered, more especially by his last treaty with the Creek Indians, which, as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter, has effectually answered his ends and theirs, so as not only to come up to, but even to exceed and go beyond, their expectations. We have likewise, from time to time, exhibited the alterations that in compliance with the people's desires, the trustees have thought fit to make in their constitution, for the ease and encouragement of the planters. And we have likewise given an instance, that they have not been disappointed in their views as to the produce of this new colony; but that it is both possible and practicable to make therein as good silk as we can purchase with money (which is, generally speaking, the case at present), from any part of the world.

It remains, according to the plan that we have laid down, to give a description of this new province in the manner it is now settled, that the reader may see what the fruits have been of the care and expence of the legislature, the prudence and attention of the trustees, and the vigilance and activity of those intrusted by them in the management of their affairs in this part of the world. And though, as yet, they have not received so copious and so exact a description of their new colony as they expect; yet, from what we are enabled to say upon this subject, it will incontestibly appear, that much has been done, that many towns have been settled, great improvements made in the neighbourhood of each of them, several fortresses erected, due care taken of the
frontiers,

frontiers, and, in a word, as much performed as could be rationally expected in so short a space of time, and all circumstances considered.

The town of Savannah is about ten miles up the river Savannah. There are, besides warehouses and huts, at least one hundred and thirty houses in the town. As these, for the sake of air, and to prevent the spreading of any fire, are built at some distance from each other, they make several spacious squares and wide streets. There is a regular magistracy settled in the town, which the trustees are obliged to be at the expence of supporting, till the colony arrives at sufficient strength to do it. There are, in the town a court-house, a store-house, a gaol, a house for the trustees servants, a wharf, a guard-house, and some other public buildings. A church is at present building, and a clergyman is settled there. The town is excellently situated for trade, the navigation of the river being very secure, and ships of three hundred tons can lie within six yards of the town, and the worm does not eat into them. About four miles from Savannah, inland from the river, are the two villages, Highgate and Hamstead, which lie at about a mile distance from each other; the people settled there apply themselves chiefly to gardening, and supply the town of Savannah with quantities of greens, and garden-stuff; there are twenty plantations within twenty miles round Savannah, which have each of them from five to thirty acres of land, shared.

About fifteen miles from Savannah is a village called Abercorn; about twenty miles farther up the river is the town of Ebenezer, where the Saltburgers are settled with two ministers; one of whom computed, that the number of his congregation, in July 1738, consisted of one hundred and forty-six; therefore, as the infants could not be reckoned in the computation, and as seven more have since been sent and settled with them, it is believed the numbers have increased, especially since the town is so healthily, that by a letter sent to the society for promoting Christian knowledge, by the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of the ministers at Ebenezer, dated the 26th of June 1740, he declared, that in a year's time one person only had died, which was a child fourteen years old. The people are industrious and sober, they raise not only a sufficient quantity of corn and other produce for their own subsistence; but they sell great quantities to those at Savannah, who have not been so careful of their plantations. They have great herds of cattle, and are in so thriving a condition that not one person has abandoned his settlement, or sent over the least complaint about the tenures, or the want of negroes; on the contrary, they in a body petitioned against the use of negroes; and their ministers have declared, that their signing that petition was a voluntary act; and at their desire another embarkation of their countrymen, who are willing to go from Germany and join them, is designed to be sent with all convenient speed.

About ten miles from hence, upon a river running into Savannah, is a place called Old Ebenezer, where is a cow-pen, and a great number of cattle for the use of the public, and for breeding. At a considerable distance from hence is the town of Augusta, before described, which, from the great resort of traders and Indians, is in a thriving condition, and is, and will be, a great protection to both the provinces of Carolina and Georgia against any designs of the French. In the southern part of the province is the town of New Inverness, upon the River Altamaha, where the Highlanders are settled. And about twenty miles from hence, on the island of St. Simon, near the sea, is the town of Frederica, with a regular magistracy as at Savannah, supported at the expence of the trustees; strong fortifications round the town are almost finished. And at the south-east point of the island, are barracks for three hundred and thirty men. There are settlements on the islands of Iekyl and Cumberland, which lie small

a small distance from each other to the southward of Frederica; and on the last two forts are built, one of which was described before, and the other was finished in April 1740.

Upon the south end of the island it commands the inlet of Amelia Sound, is strongly pallisaded with flankets, and is defended by eight pieces of cannon; barracks are built upon this island for two hundred and twenty men, with store-houses, which were finished in October 1738. There are six forts in the province, and a battery of cannon erected to secure the harbour at St. Simon's, under which ships may safely lie. The Indians, from the presents which they have annually received from the trustees, and from the justice and humanity with which they have been treated, are secured, in the British interest, notwithstanding the arts both of the French and Spaniards to seduce them. By this, South Carolina has been free from wars, in which (as the preamble to his Majesty's charter set forth) they had frequently suffered, and so late as the year 1715 had been laid almost waste with fire and sword; and by the security which South Carolina received by such a frontier as Georgia is to it, very large tracts of land have been cultivated in the southern part of that province, which no person would venture to settle on before; and a great quantity of rice raised thereon.

This is a clear proof of the injustice of supposing that the nation hath hitherto received no advantage from this colony; since whatever has been gained by Carolina, in virtue of the protection she enjoys by the settlement of this new province, ought to be looked upon and considered as the produce of Georgia; and though even this may not be any great matter hitherto, yet as it is an instance of the benefits to be expected from this colony it ought to be kindly accepted, as an earnest of better things. As to the number of people sent over to, and settled in, Georgia, within the space of eight years, they amounted to upwards of two thousand, taking in those that went at their own expence, which, if compared with the small number of people that were in Carolina, after it had been settled forty years, will enable us to distinguish between the consequences of attention to private profit, and concern for the public good: to say the truth; of all the methods that have been hitherto tried, in fixing colonies in distant parts of the world, this may very truly and on good grounds be pronounced the best; because by it due provision is made, that the people sent over shall all be carefully settled and well taken care of, and supported from time to time with proper supplies; that this care should not cease immediately, on their having plantations, but be continued till the people are in a condition to support themselves.

By this method towns are formed, not at random and by chance, but in proper situations, and for good reasons; not purely for the sake of immediate advantage, but with views to the general good, and future benefit of the colony. By this means, every step made by the rising plantation may be directed to public use, and every measure be calculated for the service of the mother-country; which cannot be expected where grants are made to the use, and for the service, of particular people, where numbers of men transport themselves for the sake of a better livelihood, at their own expence, or where people are transported against their will; since in all these cases it is to be presumed, that men will follow the bias of their inclinations or interests; but as in this case, where the public is at the expence, and where the management is intrusted with persons of distinction for the benefit of the public, nothing of this kind can happen; they will be sure to discharge their duty, and in proportion as the colony increases and answers the ends of those who compose it, it will be likewise sure to answer those ends for which it was settled. Besides all this, the form of government, the enacting proper laws, and the

the spirit originally infused into the people, will render such a colony more dutiful and observant to her mother-country, than any that want these advantages.

Lastly, we may be sure that in such a colony, the produce will be managed most to the advantage of the country from whence it is settled ; as for instance in this of which we are speaking, due care will be certainly taken that they do not run into the cultivation of such commodities as are already produced in the neighbouring colonies, but bend their endeavours to the promoting of such as have not been yet raised to any great advantage in those colonies, though perhaps their soil and climate were sufficiently fit for them. Flax, which as we have before shewn, may be cultivated here to the greatest advantage, will be certainly attended to ; and so also potashes and silk, which above all things claim our care, of which we had formerly great hopes from Virginia ; and with a view of obtaining of which Carolina was actually settled ; but in both we were disappointed for want of some proper authority to direct a continued application in the planters settled there for that purpose, without which nothing that does not turn to large profit immediately can be brought to perfection ; but in colonies settled by trustees, their recommendation will go far, their authority farther enforce what they desire, and premiums enable them with certainty to procure success ; as we shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

Our aim at present is to prove the excellency of this method of settling, which far surpasses that of establishing exclusive companies, as will be evident if we consider that they regard their own profit solely, and as soon as they have fallen into ways of promoting it effectually, they forget the obligation received from the public, as is but too evident in many cases, and has justly occasioned almost a general outcry against such companies ; whereas a board of trustees constituted for a limited time, inspect the concerns, and promote the welfare, of a rising colony, and by their commission cease to have power over it when their care is no longer necessary ; but as for companies, they keep all who belong to them continually in leading-strings, and never consider how trading may be made beneficial to a nation in general ; but how it may be ordered so as to become most beneficial to themselves. But it is time to quit these reflections, in order to resume the thread of our history, and to shew how, after a few years peace, this colony became strong enough, not only to hold up her head and preserve her being, but to repulse her enemies, and prove a security to all her neighbours in time of war ; a thing wonderful in all respects, and of which posterity will speak with admiration, though from an unaccountable negligence, and want of attention, in the present age, we are scarce so well acquainted with that transaction as it deserves.

11. The government in Great Britain having, after many repeated insults and provocations, found themselves under a necessity of obtaining satisfaction from Spain by force, a squadron for that purpose was sent to the West Indies, and orders issued to the governors of our respective colonies, and others his Majesty's officers in America, to annoy the Spaniards by all methods possible. These orders were received by Mr. Oglethorpe, in quality of general commander in chief, in the latter end of the month of September 1739. Whereupon he immediately considered of ways and means for putting them in execution ; in order to which he put his own regiment, and all the forces he could raise in Georgia, into the best condition possible. He sent to inform the Cherokees, and other Indian allies, of the situation that affairs were in, and to impower them to enter into the Spanish territories. He also sent up to Charles Town to acquaint the governor and assembly with the present posture of things ; and to acquaint them with his readiness to undertake an expedition against St. Augustin ; for the joint service of Carolina and Georgia. The plain reason that he was desirous of

of beginning to act offensively against the Spaniards was, to raise the spirits of his own people, to divert the Spaniards from the designs which they were forming to our prejudice, and to keep the war at the greatest distance possible.

It is very clear, that from the situation of things in Georgia, it was altogether impossible for him to obtain a force sufficient for the execution of these designs, without the assistance of the province of Carolina; and as it was of equal importance to that province, that those designs should be carried into execution, it was but reasonable for him to expect, that all the assistance possible should be given him. Governor Bull, upon the General's application, acquainted the assembly of Carolina with what had been proposed; and as they were very sensible of the importance of the undertaking, of the views the Spaniards had to their prejudice, and of the preparations they were making to annoy both provinces, they shewed a disposition to give him what assistance was in their power.

But at the same time that they had these inclinations, they could not help considering the situation of the province, which under its circumstances at that time, was very far from being in a condition to enter into a large expence, unless there was a great probability of success; by which it seems they understood the reducing the fortress of St. Augustin, with the strength of which, as it was a regular fortification, had always in it a good garrison, and was highly considered by the Spaniards, they were very well acquainted; and they knew, besides, that several former attempts upon that place had been disappointed. That they might act therefore in such a manner as might equally shew their zeal for his Majesty's service, and their regard for the welfare of their constituents, the assembly directed, that General Oglethorpe should be desired to explain himself fully, as to the nature of the assistance he expected, and the ends he conceived it might answer, in case they should agree to grant him the assistance he required.

Upon which the General, by the following letter, dated at Frederica, December the 29th, 1739, laboured to give them all the satisfaction that was possible, as well in regard to the matters under their consideration, as with respect to his own conduct, in reference to the designs he had in view, and the assistance he expected. This letter was conceived in the following terms, viz. "I send up with this an officer to concert measures for the siege of St. Augustin; it will be necessary to have twelve cannons of eighteen pounds each, with two hundred shot for each gun, and powder proportionable; one mortar-piece, and bombs, with powder sufficient; eight hundred pioneers, negroes or white men, with tools sufficient for that number of men; such as spades, hoes, axes, and hatchets, to dig trenches, make gabelines, and fascines. If they are negroes, there must be white men sufficient to guard them, and oversee them; vessels and boats sufficient to carry the artillery-men, provisions, &c. We shall have one thousand Indians; six thousand bushels of corn will be necessary to feed them, or rice proportionable; also as many horsemen as can be had, who may pass over the river Savannah, and passing the Ockmulgy, and Orony, and from thence to the ferry, on the river Alata, where they may pass over into the Spanish Florida. Captain M^rPherson, or Mr. Jones of Ponpon, can shew them the path; for I should think the people of Carolina would do very well to raise a troop of rangers, under the command of Captain M^rPherson, who is a very good officer. Captain Warren assured me that he would be very willing to assist in conveying the vessels, and in carrying cannon, &c. The Cherokee Indians have promised me to be down in March; I have not heard from the Creek nation lately, but I expect them down about the same time, and have had a party of them with me for some months. I can march four hundred men of the regiment, and leave sufficient for the garrisons behind me. I have ordered three troops of
twenty

twenty men each to be raised, but I have been disappointed of horses by Captain Cuthbert's death, so I have got yet only twelve. If the Carolina people will pay them, I believe they may raise fifty very good men at Purrisburg. I should desire four months provisions for four hundred men of the regiment, of rice and meat, with boats for carrying it to St. Augustin, at the rate of one pound of each per diem for each man. I have thirty-six cohorns, and about eighteen hundred shells: of the people of the province of Georgia, I cannot draft many, because I must not leave the country naked; and, as they are poor, if they neglect their planting season, it will be difficult for them to subsist; therefore I would only raise two hundred, which is equal to the number of soldiers I shall leave behind, and this I cannot do unless I can pay them. I believe they will be content with 9l. Carolina currency per month, and six pounds of meat, and six pounds of rice, each per week, besides which there must be pay to the officers. Therefore, if the assembly should grant me a sum sufficient to pay them, and the provisions, I would raise the men. This is my opinion with relation to the preparations for dislodging the Spaniards at St. Augustin, without which we certainly cannot do it. The legislative power of Carolina will be the best judges of the service it will be to them. For my own part, I think that if we do not take this happy opportunity of attacking St. Augustin whilst it is weak, the Havanna being blocked up by our men of war, which renders them incapable of receiving succours from Cuba, all North America, as well as Carolina and this province, will feel it severely. As soon as the sea is free, they will send a large body of troops from Cuba. You remember the account you sent to England, of the preparations some time since made at Havanna; every thing is there still, and if they should come up and land in Florida, we must then make a defensive war, and they may then chuse who they will attack separately. They may molest all North America with their privateers, and if they can by any means get the start of the men of war, they can run into shoal-water, where they cannot follow them. I am willing myself to do all I possibly can for annoying the enemy as his Majesty has ordered, and shall spare no personal labour or danger towards freeing Carolina of a place from whence their negroes are encouraged to massacre their masters, and are openly harboured after such attempts. The Spaniards attacked the island of Amelia, and murdered two men there; I, to return their civility, landed in Florida; the Spanish horse with a party of negroes and Indians advanced as if they intended to attack us; but before they were within two miles of us went very fast off. Our Indians pursued them to their forts, and killed one of the negroes who had run away from Carolina, within a few miles of St. Augustin. I hope you will excuse this long letter, and believe me to be, &c."

It is very clear from this letter, that the general meant to make the assembly of Carolina perfectly acquainted with his intentions, and with every thing relating to the execution of them; and that this might be more fully and effectually done, he went himself to Charles Town, where, after many conferences and much deliberation on both sides, a scheme of action was agreed upon, and an act of assembly was passed April the 5th 1740, for carrying the same into execution; the Carolina regiment for this service was raised, and put under the command of Colonel Vanderdussen, and Mr. Oglethorpe, as general and commander in chief, published a proclamation, settling the terms of the expedition, and amongst other things declared that he would give ~~what~~ ^{every} share of plunder came to him as commander in chief, towards the relief of such men as might happen to be maimed or wounded, towards the assistance of the widows and children of such as might be killed, and towards rewarding those that might distinguish themselves in the service. All things being prepared for entering upon this expedition,

pedition, with the troops of both provinces; the rendezvous for all the forces was appointed at the mouth of St. John's river, where, accordingly, most of them arrived the 9th of May. But some time before this the general had attacked and taken St. Francis de Pupa, a little Spanish fort, wherein were a serjeant and twelve soldiers, about seventeen miles from St. Augustin.

From the mouth of St. John's River the army marched on the 10th of May to attack Fort Diego, about twenty miles distant; which fort had nine swivels, two carriage guns of two pound shot, and fifty men; and having surrounded it, on the 12th they sent in a Spanish prisoner with a drum, to summon the garrison, who immediately capitulated on the following conditions: 1st. The garrison to surrender prisoners of war, and deliver up the fort, with the guns and stores, to the king of Great Britain. 2dly, That they should have liberty to keep their baggage, and not be plundered. 3dly, That Seignior Diego Spinosa, to whom the fort belonged, being built at his expence, and on his lands, should hold his lands, slaves, and such other effects as were not already plundered in the field. 4thly, That no deserters or runaways from Carolina, should have the benefit of this capitulation, but be surrendered at discretion. This fort was garrisoned by sixty of the general's forces; and from thence they returned to the place of rendezvous, where they were joined by Colonel Vanderdussen, with the rest of the Carolina regiment, on the 19th of May, whence they marched again to Diego the 31st; and from thence, in two days, to Fort Moosa, in view of, and near two miles distant from St. Augustin, and twenty-three from Diego. The Spaniards having deserted Moosa, the general ordered the gates to be burnt, and three breaches to be made in the walls, which was plainly with a design to prevent any of his own people from taking post within the place.

They then proceeded with the whole army to reconnoitre the town and castle, after which they returned back to Diego; from thence the general ordered Colonel Vanderdussen to march with his regiment, and take possession of Point Quartell, lying to the north of the bar, and separated from Port Moosa by a creek; while the general, with about two hundred and sixty men of his regiment, and the greatest part of the Indians embarked on board the men of war, and arrived at the island of Anastatia, opposite to the castle; leaving behind him on the Main but between ninety and one hundred white men, highlanders and others, in his pay, with forty-two Indians, and two commissioned officers, to alarm the Spaniards on that side; but he gave a verbal command of the whole to Colonel Palmer, a volunteer from that province. About the same time two hundred sailors, from the ships, were landed upon that island, which the Spaniards directly abandoned, under the command of Captain Warren, Captain Law, and the honourable Captain Townsend, who were all very instrumental in that service.

While things were in this situation, the Spaniards, on the 15th of June, marched a very considerable body of their forces from St. Augustin, in the grey of the morning, in order to attack the people under Colonel Palmer, at Moosa, in which they were but too successful; since they surprized the people that were there, cut many of them to pieces, and took part of the rest prisoners, which was owing to the neglect of the orders given them not to shut themselves up in a place which had been dismantled and ruined, on purpose to shew that the general did not intend to keep or use it as a fortification. But the conveniency of lying under cover, tempted them to forget those salutary instructions, which brought on their misfortune, and gave the general inexpressible concern, more especially for Colonel Palmer, who was a gentleman of experi-

ence and interest, as well as a volunteer, who served purely out of zeal for the public good, and therefore justly esteemed.

To prevent any accident of the like nature, and the more effectually to block up the place, which for want of numbers they were not able regularly to invest, the Carolina regiment was sent over to Anastatia. In this island there were three batteries erected, all above a mile from St. Augustin; but, however, they fired from them warmly, with some prejudice to the place; from whence they were as warmly answered, but were most hurt from the fire from six Spanish half-galleys that lay within the harbour. This induced a proposal to the captains of the three men of war, to attempt the burning of these half-galleys; and upon a consultation between them and the land officers, this was agreed to; but afterwards the sea captains declared they thought it impracticable, for want of sufficient depth of water at the entrance; yet this was disproved on the 27th of June, by the going in of Captain Robert Tyrrel, and his coming out again on board a schooner, who reported that there was water enough; yet the majority voted the design still impracticable, which hindered any attempt to carry it into execution, though the land officers considered it as a point that would have greatly contributed to the reducing of the place.

When it was first proposed to attack the galleys, it was projected in the following manner, viz. the general was to make a diversion on the Main, by attacking the town; Colonel Vanderdussen, with part of his regiment, was to keep a continual fire on the town and castle, from the batteries, while Captain Tyrrel was to have set upon the galleys, with the seamen, and the rest of the colonel's regiment. The general was accordingly on the Main with his troops, expecting that service; but the commodore disapproving this, and it being yet a second time agreed to be attempted, upon the remonstrances of Colonel Vanderdussen, and Captain Warren; when the commodore's lieutenant was to have commanded the attack, new difficulties were further started when they came on shore, and so it was still unattempted. Yet it appears, that soon after the men of war slipping their cables, and putting out to sea in a storm, the colonel endeavoured to revive the attempt on the galleys in their absence; but proposing it to the commodore's lieutenant, Mr. Swanton, who appeared to be a gentleman of spirit, and commanded the seamen left on shore, he was told, "He had orders left not to venture any of them before the return of the shipping."

Towards the end of June, some sloops, with a supply of provisions for the garrison, got in safe at the south entrance, to the harbour of St. Augustin, called the Metanfas, without having been discovered by any of our men of war, till it was too late to intercept them. How this happened has not been hitherto accounted for, but it was a seasonable relief to the garrison, who had not then above three days provision of bread-kind in the place; and the hurricane season coming on, the commodore gave notice to the general, that he must leave his station, and sail away with the King's ships on the 5th of July. Upon this it was represented, "That since the men of war were obliged to sail away, it would be necessary to send the two men of war sloops into the Metanfas, to guard that, and either secure the retreat of the forces to Anastatia, if they should be reduced to one, or assist in continuing the blockade, till they should be enabled to act more offensively, by a further assistance."

To this proposal it was agreed, provided the sloops of war had water enough to get in there; and a council was held July the 3d, wherein some of the pilots that had been sent to sound, declared upon oath, "There was not water enough on the bar of the Metanfas for the sloops to go in, and if they could go in, they could not lie safe there from

a hurricane, nor could they fight above one a-breast in case they were attacked by the galleys."

But the commodore, afterwards asking Mr. Blomfield Barradel, lieutenant of the *Wolf* sloop, who had been along with the pilots, and happened to be aboard his ship that night, with some captains, what he had to say in that affair? he replied, that the pilots had given their opinion, and that he was not then to be examined; but if they asked his opinion he would give it. They then desired he would; he affirmed, "That there was water enough on the bar for the sloops to get in; that they could lie safe from a hurricane when in; and that there was also sufficient room, when in, to fight three a-breast, in case they were attacked." Upon the pilots afterwards objecting to their lying safe, he asked them, "Whether they remembered to have seen such an island when they were there?" And when they acknowledged they did, he replied, "That they ought to know they could lie safe from a hurricane under that island." Notwithstanding which it was resolved afterwards in council, that they should take off all their men, and sail away, leaving Captain Townsend at Frederica; which put an end to the enterprize.

Thus ended this expedition, which, though not attended with the success some expected from it, I mean the taking the fortress of St. Augustine, was nevertheless of very great consequence, inasmuch as it kept the Spaniards for a long time upon the defensive; when if the siege had not been undertaken, they would certainly have been otherwise employed; it laid all the country open, so that the Indians, in friendship with us, made excursions up to the gates of the fortress; and the war being carried on in this manner for a length of time, and in conjunction with the Indians, bound them so strongly to the English interest, that with a very little assistance from the people of Georgia, they kept the war at a distance; so that the inhabitants of Carolina felt none of its effects as a colony, except the losses suffered by their privateers, till the Spaniards executed their long projected invasion, in 1742; in which they employed the whole of their strength, and from which they expected to have changed the whole face of affairs on the Continent of America; and even then the people of Carolina suffered only by their fears.

12. This expedition of the Spaniards, as has been already hinted to the reader, was really meditated before the war commenced, and had very probably taken place, if reprisals had not been made upon the Spaniards, on account of the depredations committed by their guarda costas; at least we have reason to judge so, from the memorial of Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, before-mentioned; in which he asserted, that Georgia belonged to the crown of Spain, and which he repeated in a subsequent memorial. But the operations of our fleet in the West Indies, under Admiral Vernon, put a stop to their preparations at the Havana; and the siege of St. Augustine, and its consequences, retarded them likewise for some time. Yet as the Spaniards are not apt to desist from projects they have once formed, and as the ministry at Madrid had very high expectations from the execution of this, they still kept it on foot, and only waited for a favourable opportunity for performing what they imagined would have entirely changed the scene of things in North America. As to the manner in which they executed it at last, and the amazing disappointment they met with notwithstanding the vast force they employed, and the smallness of that by which they were assisted, we had so full, so clear, and so authentic an account published by authority, that I know of no method more fit to convey an idea of it, or less liable to any exceptions, than transcribing it, the rather because as it stands here connected with the history of Georgia, the reader will have all the lights that are necessary to render every circumstance in it perfectly

perfectly intelligible. Thus then that account, transmitted to us by General Oglethorpe, ran : " The beginning of May last the Spaniards fitted out their fleet from the Havana, consisting of fifty-six sail, and between seven and eight thousand men, with an intent to invade Georgia and South Carolina, and the other northern colonies. At their first setting out, in turning the Moor castle, they lost a large settee with one hundred and fifty men, and a few days after the fleet was dispersed by a storm ; so that all the shipping did not arrive at St. Augustin. The latter end of May or beginning of June, Captain Hayner of the Flamborough, in his cruise to the southward, sent in to General Oglethorpe for intelligence ; who acquainted him, that he would probably meet with some Spanish vessels to the southward of St. Augustin ; which he accordingly did and engaged ten sail of the Mosquetos and drove some of them ashore ; but in the action lost seventeen of his men. He on his return acquainted the general with what had happened, and could not then come in for the defence of Georgia, but proceeded to Charles Town, to clean his ship. The general thereupon sent Lieutenant Maxwell by water, and Lieutenant Hugh Mackay over land to Carolina, with advice to the governor, but no assistance came from thence till after the retreat of the Spaniards. Lieutenant Colonel Cook was at Charles Town, in his way to London, when Lieutenant Maxwell arrived with the said advice.

" The 21st of June, nine sail endeavoured to come into Amelia sound ; but the eighteen-pounders from Fort William, and the guard schooner with eighty men, commanded by Captain Dunbar, fired so briskly that they sheered off as fast as they could. The general, on this advice, resolving to support the forts on Cumberland, set out with a detachment of the regiment on board his boats ; sent Captain Horton with his company of grenadiers before, and was himself obliged to fight his way with two boats, through fourteen sail of Spanish vessels which endeavoured to intercept him in Cumberland Sound. In this engagement several of the Spaniards being killed, the said vessels set out to sea, and did not join their fleet till the day before they left St. Simon's Sound. Lieutenant Tolson, who commanded the boat of the greatest strength, instead of following the general, run into a marsh, where he remained till next morning, when he returned to St. Simon's ; for which behaviour he was put in arrest, in order to be tried. Major Heron, from the shore, seeing the general surrounded by the enemy, and hid in smoke, concluded him lost ; but next day, to the great joy of the people, he returned in the guard schooner to St. Simon's, after having drawn the command from St. Andrew's, and the stores and artillery that were there, and reinforced Fort William, where he left one of the boats he had with him.

" He having laid an embargo on all the vessels in the harbour, took Capt. Thomson's ship, which mounted twenty guns, into the King's service, and manned her out of the small vessels which were of no force. He also called in the Highland company from Darien. Captain Carr's company of marines, and the rangers, from where they were differently detached ; and sent Mr. Mullryne to Carolina, to get all the men he could. The 28th of June the Spanish fleet came to anchor off St. Simon's bar, who were diverted from coming in, or landing any of their troops for several days ; in which time the general raised another troop of rangers ; and by rewarding those who did extraordinary duty, and promising great encouragement to all who should signalize themselves on this occasion, he kept up the spirits of the people, and increased their number daily. The 5th of July, with the tide of flood, and brisk gale, thirty-six Spanish vessels entered St. Simon's harbour, nine of which were large top-mast vessels. We received them with a brisk fire from our batteries and ships, killed some of them with ~~our~~ eighteen-pounders from the fort, and our four-pounders from the lower battery.

battery. The Spanish commodore, on board a ship of twenty-two guns, with a fettee, with an eighteen-pounder and two nine-pounders in her bow, attempted to board Captain Thomson's ship; but he with his great guns, Captain Carr with his company of marines, Lieutenant Wall and Ensign Otterbridge with a party of the regiment, made so brave a defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with loss. A snow of sixteen guns at the same time attempted to board our guard schooner, but was also repulsed by Captain Dunbar; the engagement lasted upwards of three hours, in which the enemy lost seventeen men, and had ten wounded. They passed all our vessels and proceeded up the river, upon which the general held a council of war at the head of his regiment, where it was the opinion of the whole immediately to march up to Frederica, for the defence of that place.

"The general accordingly gave orders for the regiment to march, and ordered all the troops that were on board the vessels, to come ashore, and directed Captain Thomson, with the guard schooner and prize sloop, to make the best of their way to Charles Town; and this was all done in sight of the enemy. The general, during this action, being obliged to be sometimes on shipboard, sometimes at the batteries, and to act as engineer, found himself under a necessity of having a lieutenant colonel with his regiment; he therefore appointed Major Alexander Heron lieutenant colonel in the absence of Lieutenant Colonel Cook, who was also engineer, and the sub-engineer, having attended him to Charles Town, was also absent. Late at night the general arrived at Frederica, after having destroyed all the stores at St. Simon's, and sunk the vessels that might be of use to the enemy, and rendered the guns incapable of service, and ordered the wounded to be carried off on horseback. That night the enemy landed their forces on a dry marsh about a mile and an half from the camp, under cover of their great guns. They lay all that night under arms, and the next morning took possession of the camp which we left.

"13. About noon the Creek Indians brought us five Spanish prisoners, from whom we had intelligence, that Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of St. Augustin, commanded in chief the expedition; and that Major-General Antonio de Redondo chief engineer, and two brigadiers came with the forces from Cuba; that their whole number consisted of about five thousand, and that the night before they had landed about four thousand three hundred men. One of the prisoners the general sent with Mr. Bedon to Charles Town. The 7th of July, at nine in the morning, a ranger of the patrol brought an account, that the enemy were marching within a mile and an half of the town. Whereupon the general immediately ordered four platoons of the regiment to march, and in the meantime went himself with the Highland company, who was then under arms. The Indians, and a party of rangers, came up with the enemy about a mile from the town, as they were entering the Savannah to take possession of a ditch they had a mind to use as an entrenchment, but the enemy were attacked so briskly that the general soon overcame them; most of their party, which consisted of one hundred and twenty of their best woods-men, and forty Indians, being killed or taken prisoners. The general took two prisoners with his own hands; Lieutenant Scroggs of the rangers took Captain Sebastian Sachio, prisoner, who commanded the party. Toeanoeowi, being shot through his right arm by Captain Mageleto, drew his pistol with the left, and shot him through the head.

"The general pursued the enemy near two miles, and halted on an advantageous piece of ground until the party of the regiment came up; he posted them with the Highlanders in a wood, with a large savannah or meadow in the front, over which the Spaniards must pass in their way to Frederica. After which he hastened back to Frederica,

Frederica, and ordered the rangers, and company of men, to make ready. In the meantime two companies of Spaniards of fifty men each, and two hundred more of the enemy's best troops, came up with shouts, and drums beating; whereupon the general hearing platoons firing, immediately made haste that way, and met three of the platoons, who in the smoke and drizzling rain had retreated in disorder, and the fire continuing, he ordered his men to rally and follow him, who hastening on, found that Lieutenant Sutherland, with his platoon, and Lieutenant Charles Mackay, with the Highlanders, had entirely defeated the said three hundred of the enemy, in which action Don Antonio Barba was made prisoner, and mortally wounded; several others were killed, and two grenadiers were taken prisoners. Captain Demeret, and Ensign Gibbon, rallied their platoons, and came up to the ground. Captain Cart, with his company of marines, and Lieutenant Cadogan, with a party of the regiment, came up at the same time, and were followed by Major Heron, with the body of the regiment. In both actions the enemy lost two captains, one lieutenant and two serjeants; two drummers, and about one hundred and sixty private men; and one captain and nineteen men were taken prisoners. The general, with the regiment, halted all night, about a mile and a half from the enemy's camp, to intercept all those who had straggled in the woods; and expecting the enemy to make a second attempt to march in the morning; but the general having advanced with a party of Indians, before day-break, towards the Spanish camp, found them all retreated into the ruins of the fort, and under cover of their cannon.

"Next morning, the 8th of July, the general and his men returned to Frederica, and he appointed a general staff, viz. Lieutenant Primrose Maxwell, and Hugh Mackay, aids-de-camp; Lieutenant Sutherland, brigade-major; and serjeant John Stuart, second ensign, for his brave behaviour in the late engagement. The 9th and 10th of July all hands were employed in the works at Frederica, and the Indians brought in some scalps and prisoners. The 11th of July a fleet of two quarter-galleys came within gun-shot of the town; but on our firing some guns and bombs from the fort, and the general going towards them with his boats, they returned to their fleet, and with the rest drew up in line of battle. The next morning, being the 12th of July, an English prisoner escaped from them, who informed us that the enemy, on their landing, had resolved to give no quarter; but from the day their grenadiers were defeated, they were in great terror, and entrenched themselves, and gave orders that none should go without their sentinels, for fear of being surprized by the Indians. By other prisoners and deserters we were also told, that upon their calling over their rolls, there were two hundred and forty men and nineteen of their Indians missing; that there were great divisions among them, insomuch that Don Antonio de Redondo, who commanded the Cuba forces, encamped separate from those of St. Augustin, and that the commander had ordered all his seamen on board. That night the general and five hundred men marched within a mile of the enemy's camp, intending to surprize them, but was prevented by the treachery of a Frenchman, who was got among the company of boatmen, and fired his piece and gave alarm to the enemy, and then deserted to them. When the general found his intention discovered, he ordered all his drums to beat the grenadier's march, and then returned to Frederica.

"The general, the next day being the 13th of July, in order to defeat the information of the French deserter, directed a letter to be wrote, and sent by a Spanish prisoner, who, for the sake of money the general gave him, and the promise of liberty, undertook to deliver it to the said Frenchman, wherein he was instructed to acquaint the enemy's commanding officer of the defenceless state of Frederica, and encourage them

to come up by water under his pilotage; which letter the Spanish prisoner delivered to the Governor of St. Augustin, and it had so good an effect, that the said Frenchman was immediately taken into custody, and looked upon as a double spy, and thereupon put into irons. The next morning, being the 14th of July, the Spaniards burnt the barracks and officers houses at St. Simon's, and Captain Horton's house on Ickyll; and the same night they reëmbarked with so much precipitation, that they left a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and some guns behind them. On the 15th all the large vessels with the Cuba forces on board sailed southward, and the governor and troops from St. Augustin on board the small craft, went within land, and encamped in St. Andrew's, and caught fifty horses, with a design to carry them away; but on the general's appearing in his boats, the enemy shot the same horses, and burnt the fort and houses at St. Andrew's. The general the next day, being the 16th of July, followed the Spaniards with all his small craft, but was not strong enough to attack them. He landed a man out of his boat on Cumberland, who that night passed the enemy's camp, and early the next morning came to Fort William, with advice to Ensign Stuart, that the Spaniards were beat off St. Simon's, and that the general was coming with succours, and ordered him to defend the fort to the utmost. On the 18th of July twenty-eight sail of Spanish appeared off Fort William, fourteen of which came within land, and attacked the fort from their galleys and other vessels, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by a party of rangers from behind the sand-hills. Ensign Stuart, who commanded with sixty men in the fort, defended it so bravely, that after an attack of upwards of three hours, they were obliged to put to sea with considerable loss.

"The eighteen-pounders there disabled two of their galleys. The 19th of July the general was on his way to Fort William. The 20th of July the general arrived at Fort William, and sent his boats and rangers as far as the river St. John, who returned next day, and brought advice that the enemy was quite gone; upon which the general gave the necessary orders for repairing Fort William, and on the 22d returned to Frederica. A few days afterwards the men of war from Charles Town came off St. Simon's bar, and Captain Thompson with some volunteers from Carolina; our guard schooner and two galleys came into St. Simon's harbour; and Captain Hardy of the Rye man of war, receiving a message from the general, by Lieutenant Maxwell, who went on board him, sent for answer, that he would take a cruise with the rest of the King's ships. But the general apprehending the Spaniards, upon recovering their fright, might return with more courage and better conduct, continued Captain Thompson's ship in the King's service, and sent exprests over land to the northern provinces on this occasion.

"These forces were commanded by Don Manuel de Montecano, governor of St. Augustin, commander in chief of the expedition; Major-General Antonio de Rodondo engineer-general, two colonels with brevets of brigadiers; and consisted of one regiment of dragoons dismounted, with their saddles and bridles; the regiment called the battalion of the Havanna, ten companies of fifty men each, drafted off from several regiments at Havanna; one regiment of the Havanna militia, consisting of ten companies of 100 men each; one regiment of negroes, regularly officered by negroes; one ditto of mulattoes, and one company of miquelets; one company of train, with proper artillery; Augustin forces consisting of about three hundred men, ninety Indians and fifteen negroes, who run away from South Carolina. To these accounts I shall add the following deposition of Samuel Cloake, formerly belonging to his Majesty's ship the Flamborough, and taken prisoner off St. Augustin by the Spaniards in May 1742.

"Frederica

“ Frederica in Georgia, &c.

“ This deponent, being duly sworn, saith, That he was put prisoner on board a ship called the Pretty Nancy, taken by the Spaniards from the English, fitted out with ten carriage and six swivel guns, which was part of the fleet that carried the troops from St. Augustin for the invasion of Georgia and South Carolina : That she had one hundred and fifty soldiers on board, besides sailors : That he counted forty-four sail, besides the launches and those that went in land, and pettiaguas which carried the Indians : That they sailed from St. Augustin the beginning of June, and met with very hard gales for three days, which dispersed the fleet : That the chief pilot on board the commodore was one Parris, belonging to Port Royal in South Carolina, and who was married there, and had a plantation in that province : That they came to an anchor with part of their fleet off Frederica bar, to the northward of it ; and the Spaniards said that they should not have found out Georgia, had it not been for Parris their pilot ; that they lay several days at anchor off the bar, during which time the men were put into small boats in order to land ; but seeing several men marching on the beach, they were afraid to land, as they intended, and came on board again ; for about three days after, holding a council of war, they resolved not to land any men till they had made themselves masters of the harbour. During the time they lay off this bar, the Spaniards often whetted their swords, and held their knives to this deponent's and other English prisoner's throats, saying, they would cut the throats of those they should take at Georgia. They sailed on the 5th of July with a strong easterly wind and tide of flood : That the English fired from the batteries and ships very briskly, and the Spaniards said that the English stood very well : That a four-pound shot hulled the ship where the deponent was ; and one eighteen-pound shot from the battery killed seven men on board the large ship : That there were of the Spaniards eight three-mast ships ; the commodore's was a twenty-gun ship ; there was also a snow with fourteen nine-pounders, and a galley with three large guns, one of which he heard was a twelve-pounder, which was manned with above one hundred men ; there were also several privateers, some of them with ten guns, and some with eight : That the Spaniards and some Irishmen on board told him, that in the whole fleet there were about five or six thousand men, and were come with a design to take Georgia, and after that go to Port Royal in South Carolina. He further says, that they had a whole regiment of negroes, with a company of grenadiers, in the same manner as other regiments have, and clothed in the same livery as other Spanish regiments ; they were commanded by negro officers, and he saw the officers walking along with the Governor of St. Augustin ashore ; that they were dressed in gold and silver laced cloaths, like other officers, and that they were kept in the same pay as the other regiments. He further saith, that the ship where this deponent was, was loaded with grenadiers and dragoons, who had on board saddles, bridles, pistols, and all accoutrements : That they landed all them from on board his ship, and put a small guard of ten men on board : That two or three days afterwards one of the captains and one serjeant of the grenadiers came on board, and this deponent asking the serjeant whether he had been at Frederica, he answered, that the woods were so full of Indians that the devil could not go through them, and that the Indians had killed about one hundred and fifty of their best men, and that there were but very few soldiers : Those who came on board were so down-hearted that they could hardly speak a word : That upon this they were ordered to get water on board,

aboard, in order to get to sea in a hurry, which this deponent took the advantage of and made his escape to General Oglethorpe.

Mark.

SAMUEL X CLOAKE.

14. It may be truly said; that there never happened in this part of the world, any thing more honourable for the English nation, or more likely to strike a terror into their enemies, than this entire and total defeat of so formidable an invasion, by such a handful of forces. Instead of raising and heightening this success, to do honour to the general's character, we ought rather to lessen or diminish some of its circumstances, to render it in such an age as this more credible; but we have taken no liberties at all, the facts are represented step by step as they happened; and the reader is left to judge how far it appears from hence that Georgia is a true frontier, in respect to Carolina; and what advantages are to be hoped for in case the new colony should increase in a reasonable proportion for twenty years to come; but to help the reader's judgment in this respect, and to shew him in what light this transaction was considered by all our colonies in America; the inhabitants of which were certainly the ablest, and most equitable judges; it is requisite to observe that John Tinker, Esq. governor of the Bahama Islands; Lewis Morris, Esq. governor of New Jersey; William Gooch, Esq. governor of Virginia; George Clark, Esq. lieutenant-governor of New York; Gabriel Johnson, Esq. governor of North Carolina; Thomas Bladen, Esq. governor of Maryland; and George Thomas, Esq. Governor of Pennsylvania; all wrote to general Oglethorpe upon this memorable occasion, to congratulate him upon being the happy instrument in so honourable and so important a service; to assure him of the share they took in the honour he had acquired, and of the true sense they had of the great deliverance that providence had wrought for all the British colonies in North America, by his conduct and courage. Stronger testimonies than these, with respect to the consequence of the action he had performed, it was impossible for him to receive, and better evidence than these letters afford it is likewise impossible that we should have here at home; and therefore to set this fact in its true light, and that the people of Great Britain may have a just notion of the advantages arising from this wise and well conducted defence, in which the bravery of British soldiers, their affection for and confidence in their commander is so clearly expressed, I thought it reasonable to annex the copies of the letters written by the three first mentioned gentlemen, as being equally honourable for them, and for the person to whom they are addressed; and if I add no more, it is to avoid being tedious, and that I may have an opportunity of closing the historical part of this Chapter, with papers that do so much honour to the new colony of which it treats.

Copy of a letter from his Excellency JOHN TINKER, Esq. Governor of the Bahama Islands, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR,

N. Providence, Nov. 6. 1742.

I am favoured with both of your Excellency's letters of 31st of July and 16th of September, with an inclosed account of the Spaniards descent upon your province, and your fortunate victory over them: upon which I beg leave to congratulate you, and to assure you none of your acquaintance can receive more real satisfaction at an event that must contribute so much to your honour and reputation as this last. I rejoice too for the public, because I am sure if you had not given so good an account of them, the neighbouring provinces would have been in imminent danger. I know the general had

orders to attack this island upon their return, so I may justly thank you for saving me a great deal of trouble.

If there is any thing in this government that can contribute to your pleasure, and facilitate the continuance of our friendship and future correspondence, I shall, with joy, embrace the proposition. The bearer has been a long time here, and can give you an exact account of the Carte du Pais. We are at present employed in repairing the fortifications, and making some additional ones, which will, I hope, be compleated this winter. I have the honour to be, with great regard and truth,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

JOHN TINKER,

Copy of a letter from his Excellency LEWIS MORRIS, Esq. Governor of New Jersey, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR,

Burlington, the 2d of Nov. 1742.

I received the honour of yours of the 31st of July last, by the express you sent along the continent, who is now got thus far back in his return to you. The contents of it gave me very great pleasure, as it informed me of your health, and of the great (or rather wonderful) success God has been pleased to give to his Majesty's arms under your conduct; and I doubt not has effectually convinced the aggressors how unable they are to cope with resolute British troops; and I hope will be a sufficient discouragement to a second attempt of that kind; which, if the first had succeeded, might prove of dangerous consequence to his Majesty's plantations on the continent, especially the most southern ones.

You have gathered unenvied laurels, and well deserve to wear them. I take leave to assure you no body can be better pleased with your success, than,

Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed)

LEWIS MORRIS.

Extract of a letter from the honourable WILLIAM GOOCH, Esq. Governor of Virginia, to General JAMES OGLETHORPE.

SIR,

October the 12th, 1742.

I received the letter of the 31st of July your Excellency honoured me with, by the hands of your trusty courier, Mr. Watkins, and with it a very sensible satisfaction; I rejoice to hear your courage and conduct have had their deserved success, in so unequal a trial. Your prudential behaviour on the occasion cannot be too much applauded, nor actions so truly laudable too much admired. The whole continent is under lasting obligations to you, for your extraordinary vigilance and magnanimity, when, not thinking your services to your king and country compleated, nor your valour sufficiently proved in the defence of your infant settlement, against the repeated attacks of cruel and inhuman foes, more than could be expected, considering their numbers; with an uncommon resolution you forced them in the field to a precipitate retreat, and effectually defeated the desperate designs of an enemy that had the vanity to flatter themselves with the hopes of making an easy conquest of some, at least, of the British provinces.

As these great actions are to be attributed to your fortitude, so in my judgment the unexpected and vigorous opposition they met with, ending in so severe a rebuff, has thrown them into such disorder, that I am confident those troops, were they all together in St. Augustin, could not so soon recover sufficient courage to animate them to the like

like undertaking ; the confusion and hurry in which they reimbarcked, are such evident tokens of their being terrified and dismayed, that with your usual watchfulness you may rest secure from further disturbance, &c.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

(Signed)

WILLIAM GOOCH.

15. We have now compleated the history of the English colonies in America in such a manner, that the reader cannot help discerning their intrinsic value and great importance; there is therefore no necessity of our adding any thing on this subject here, and therefore we will confine our remarks entirely to the colony of Georgia, and endeavour to shew from what views, upon what hopes, and in how a great degree the public is interested in the maintenance and support of this new colony. In the first place, we have seen that the trustees originally designed it for a boundary or frontier, to cover the other provinces upon the continent; that it was extremely proper for this, the very situation of it shews; that it was extremely wanted we may gather from the histories of the other provinces, in which we find various instances of the ruin of their advanced settlements; from their leaving so large a country as Georgia uncultivated, a plain sign of their fear of becoming nearer neighbours to the Spaniards; and from the names of places, such as Bloody Point, which commemorate the massacres that have been heretofore committed in those parts; but the strongest and clearest proof of all, is the memorial from the assembly of Carolina, in which the reader has seen this matter stated in the fullest and fairest light; from all which I infer, that the establishing of such a barrier, was a point worthy of public attention; and that the benefits accruing from it to Carolina, and all the provinces to the northward, might very well be considered as a sufficient recompence for any expence that might attend the establishing of such a frontier. That the public were not amused in the hopes that were given them by the trustees of Georgia in this respect; that the sending a regiment thither, was not a needless or useless expence; and that the money employed in fortifying there, was not either wasted or thrown away, manifestly appears by their repulsing the Spaniards in the late invasion. If this was solely owing to the bravery, firmness, and strength of the new colony, then surely there is no room to find fault with it; and if the province is as some people would have it, thinly peopled, and very little capable of defence, what applause is due to the general, who, without the least assistance from any other place, could repel such a force, and thereby secure all our colonies in North America. Take it either way, we are sure of a barrier while we have Georgia under his direction.

In the second place, this country was designed as an asylum for distressed people in our own country, and for such industrious foreign Protestants as should be willing to go thither. If we consider the thing in this light, the supporting this design was no favour in the government; for it is the duty of every government to provide for such of its poor subjects as are willing to work; and the least they can do, is to send them to the colonies, since it must be owing to their mismanagement that they have not employment at home; but it is not their duty only, it is their interest also; for men active and industrious, who can find nothing to do, and are at a loss to find any thing to eat, are not apt to remain long in such a condition; and surely it is better to send such people abroad, though at a small expence, than to see them for want of such care, send themselves to the gallows. In times of general and continued peace, there will, however, be such overflowing in most nations; under arbitrary princes from mens aversion to slavery, under free governments from a superabundance of people. In both

cases that government is to be commended, which, laying hold of these overflowings, applies them to its own use. To give such people territories, is to acquire, though it seems a solecism in speech, the very territories you give; for land without people is of no use; but land inhabited and cultivated by white people, let it lie where it will, is of great value; and that value is much enhanced when that land is cultivated, and those people are settled precisely where you want them most. This is the case of Georgia; for the Carolina memorial tell us, that white men were not to be raised there for money; which was the same thing as if they had told the government, that the best way they could employ their money, was in sending of white people thither. But when we consider the expence of sending white men, and compare it with the purchase of negroes, the case appears still more advantageous; since the white men come cheaper, and are of much greater advantage; by settling them you acquire useful subjects, and consequently increase your force; by purchasing negroes, you only gain so many slaves that increase your danger and terror, by lessening your force. Your own people and foreign Protestants will be always yours, but negroes are any body's that will but promise them better conditions than they have under you, which may be very easily done; and of what ill consequence this may prove, appears from the negro regiment in the Spanish service; for had they succeeded in their invasion, and once penetrated into a colony full of negroes, they might have raised new regiments by barely beating their drums; regiments that would have been equally terrible to us, and useful to them from their knowledge of the country, and from their hatred to their old masters.

There was a third advantage proposed in the settling this new colony where it is settled, and from the terms upon which it was settled; and that was, the securing the nations of Indians which inhabited the vast countries to the south and south-west of Georgia, in the British interest. A thing so much the more necessary, considering the views that the French had of the same kind; and of vast importance to all the colonies, as the maintaining of friendship with these nations, must necessarily interrupt the correspondence between the French colonies of Canada and Louisiana, upon which their being formidable to us North America absolutely depends; since if ever they complete it, every child that can be brought to comprehend a map, will see that they will surround all our colonies on the main, from Nova Scotia to Georgia; but by this last colony, we have bid fair for interrupting their design, by engaging in our interest those Indian nations most capable of doing us good and them hurt; as for instance, the Lower and Upper Creeks, a nation so called from their country being intersected with rivers, which country extends from the river Savannah to the lakes of Florida, southward and westward, to the Cherokee mountains and the river Coufa; so that we may easily discern how useful their friendship must be to the colonies of Georgia and Carolina, more especially when it is considered that they are a very brave, a very numerous, and a very faithful nation, as appears from their conduct in the present war; in which they have shewn as heroic courage as any the Greek history records, and a fidelity to their allies, equal to that of the early Romans, which has been owing to alliances concluded with equity and supported by integrity, and the same conduct constantly pursued towards them, will for ever bind them to our service.

The Cherokees possess the mountainous country westward to the river Mississippi, as the Chickesaws do the plains to the south-west of the country of the Cherokees, both brave and numerous nations, enthusiastically fond of liberty; in which it is our interest to support and maintain them against the French. Hence it appears that in this light the trustees were both well informed, and have happily succeeded; the reason of the thing, and the history of the country plainly proves this; and, besides, they have the only kind
of

of evidence in credit with the moderns; I mean, that all, they promised themselves has been verified by the event.

By the happy situation of this country, the inhabitants of it will not only be enabled to protect and defend the northern colonies that lay behind it, but may be also of great use to Jamaica and the Leeward islands. I am sensible that there are many that will affect to treat the first part of this assertion as ridiculous, and to sneer at the latter as chimerical; but I have considered very well what I have asserted, and am from thence convinced of the truth of what I say. I can very easily foresee that it may be objected, my own book shews that there are thousands and ten thousands in Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, the Jerseys, and New England; and therefore it is a jest to say that these great and populous countries are to be protected by a handful of poor people just settled in Georgia; yet for all this the fact must be true, or that colony abandoned. If we, here at home, continue to protect and to support the people of Georgia, and in consequence of that protection and support, induce them to consult their private interest, by pursuing such schemes as are most for the public advantage, Georgia will very soon be full of people, and of useful people, who must have their tools, their cloathing, and other necessaries from hence; and who will be in a condition to pay us plentifully for all they have. Georgia, if attended to, may become as populous as Barbadoes, or the Bahama Islands, and that in a very short space of time; for if a large bounty were given for a certain number of years, upon every pound of silk imported from thence, we should see it a rich and thriving colony, and people would flock thither from all parts; who, by maintaining their treaties with the Indians, might establish an effectual barrier against both the French and Spaniards, with all their Indian allies. All this is highly possible and practicable, nay, and very probable too; and when once it comes to be a fact, there will be no sort of absurdity in saying the people of this colony, and their Indian allies, will afford shelter and protection to the settlements that lie to the north of them. But this is not all, for as I observed before, if the inhabitants of Georgia once become numerous, they will then, in consequence of their situation, be most able to help Jamaica, by a supply of stout, well disciplined, white men, in case of any attack by the French or Spaniards; or, which is an evil they are not altogether secure from, any sudden insurrection of their negroes. I very readily grant that I argue from an uncertainty, that is to say, we are not sure that this colony will be so protected and supported; but if it be, the consequences are absolutely certain; and the consideration of these consequences ought to be no mean argument with our government to maintain and support it.

We are now come to the very last article of our remarks, which is the hopes that may be rationally entertained of the produce of this country. We will begin with what the trustees certainly designed should be the staple commodity of Georgia; I mean silk. That this country is very happily situated, that its soil and climate render it very fit for producing silk, cannot be denied by any who are at all acquainted with this rich branch of commerce, which some very good judges have affirmed to be much more considerable than either the linen or woollen manufacture. This country lies along the sea-side, is well watered within land, has a soil extremely proper for the culture of the mulberry-tree, and is seated in a latitude and climate we might judge would prove agreeable to the silk-worm. These circumstances might very naturally lead one to expect that the inhabitants might set about the production of silk in this country, for their own advantage. With a view to this, proper persons have been sent thither: the experiment has been tried, silk made in Georgia has been sent over, and Sir Thomas Lombe, and other excellent judges of that commodity, have declared, that

that it is in all respects as good, and works to the full as well or better than any Piedmont silk, which stands us in twenty shillings a pound. At the very time that this Chapter is under my hand a letter has been received from the reverend minister of the Protestant congregation at Ebenezer, by which it plainly appears, that silk may be produced in the greatest perfection, and without any considerable difficulty in this country, provided the people had proper encouragement. We are not to understand by this, that the people in that country affect to make terms with us, and refuse to raise silk unless we will give them more for it than it is worth; for the fact is quite otherwise, the encouragement they demand, is not so much on their own behalf as for the sake of the commodity.

All beginnings are hard, and these people, in undertaking this work, are beginning two things at the same time, viz. to raise silk, and to raise a subsistence: if these interfere with each other, it is very plain that the former must give way to the latter. It is natural for people to wish to live well, but it is necessary that they should live some way or other; and therefore this poor clergyman honestly tells us, that his people having now got into a way of winding the silk off the cocoons, they would apply themselves more diligently to this business, if they were not called off by other cares, that is, to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we really mean to promote the raising of silk in general, and aim, instead of curiosity, to make it a commodity, we need only declare a bounty upon it; this would speedily do the business; it would encourage every body there to turn their hands to this work, and it is a work to which all hands may be turned, women and children as well as men; and no such hard labour as to render slaves necessary. What this might produce we may in some measure guess, from what the culture of silk produces in Italy; where four and five pounds an acre are common prices for lands that bear mulberry trees, where the leaves are sold at a high rate, and where the poor people willingly give their time and labour, in feeding and attending the worms, for half the price of the silk; which is but divided between the labourer and the landholder; amounting commonly to between three and four pounds a tree. If once this business was effectually set a-going, there is no question but the progress would be very speedy, and the bounty paid for a few years, would most effectually establish both commodity and colony.

On the other hand it ought to be considered, that the price of Georgia silk, and the bounty upon it, would be both paid in our own commodities; whereas we pay now for Piedmont silk wholly in ready money; so that the difference to the nation will be but a very trifle; perhaps I should not carry the thing too far, if I said nothing. It is very possible, that when this trade came to flourish in Georgia, it might also be set up in Carolina, and even in Virginia, there being no sort of doubt, that with due attention and application, silk might be produced in both these colonies; neither is this any new discovery, but what has been observed by all the writers upon the affairs of the plantations for many years past; but if it should be the case, it would not be at all detrimental to this nation; but on the contrary, this very thing will lay us under a new obligation to Georgia, for then we should have the silk manufacture as much in our hands, if not more, than we have the woollen; and how vast an alteration this would make in the balance of our trade, may be easily shewn.

It is to be observed, that in all silk manufactures there are two kinds of silk employed, one for the warp or cane, which is the very silk that our colonies would produce; but before this silk can be used, it must be thrown by an engine into what is called organzine, for which there is at present but one engine in this kingdom, which is the famous silk-mill at Derby; since the erecting of which his Sardinian majesty has prohibited

the exportation of raw silk from his dominions ; so that what we have from his country is organzine. He has done still more for the benefit of his subjects; for he has laid such high duties upon our manufactures, as amount almost to a prohibition ; so that as I have more than once said, we are obliged to pay for this silk in ready money, for it is so necessary to us, that our silk manufactures cannot be carried on without it ; and by this means his subjects take annually from this nation about two hundred thousand pounds in money. Besides what we receive from Piedmont, we have likewise considerable quantities of raw silk of the same kind with that from Genoa, and other parts of Italy ; which is thrown into organzine by the engine at Derby.

As to the other kind of silk, which makes the woof or shute, it comes to us from many places, but particularly by the way of Turkey ; so that if we had the former kind of silk from our plantations, it would enable us to consume a much greater quantity of this other silk that cometh to us by the way of Turkey, for which we pay in our woollen manufactures ; so that here is plainly a double advantage ; first, of saving the ready money which is paid for one kind of silk ; and next, increasing the exportation of our own goods, for which we bring home in exchange that other kind of silk ; and if once we were in possession of these advantages, there would follow a third, equal, if not superior to both ; for we should be then incontestibly able to fabricate all kinds of wrought silks at so cheap a rate as to undersell most parts of Europe ; which would draw a demand from Germany, Flanders, Spain, and Portugal, to the inconceivable benefit of the merchants and manufacturers of this kingdom, who are beyond all question in conjunction with the seamen, who must thrive when they do, the most valuable people in it, and by whose industry the rest are maintained. Thus we see that the design of establishing the business of raising silk in Georgia, is in itself a matter of vast moment, not to the trustees or the inhabitants of that new colony only, but to the whole nation ; a thing that would give a new turn to our trade ; employ a multitude of hands at home, by promoting both the silk and woollen manufactures ; enlarge our commerce abroad, encrease our shipping, augment the number of our seamen, and enable us the better to bear those vast expences into which, it is said, the circumstances of affairs abroad have necessarily plunged us.

Before I part with this subject, I think it becomes me to add somewhat with respect to the conduct of the King of Sardinia, which, from what I have said above, may be thought in some measure unkind towards this nation ; whereas, properly understood, nothing of that sort will appear. The first and great concern of every prince, or at least of every wise and good prince, is the welfare of his own subjects ; and with respect to the monarch of whom we are speaking, he has pursued it with great steadiness and prudence. His duties upon French commodities are very low ; so that his subjects are furnished from thence with woollen manufactures at very reasonable rates, and by putting our goods under a very high custom his subjects sell their silk dear, and for ready money ; and thus, by the interposition of the government, they make the most of their goods, and are as rich as the nature and extent of their country will permit them to be. It must indeed be allowed, that as things stand at present his Sardinian Majesty's political and commercial concerns are in a manner opposite to each other ; but this does not hinder him from pursuing both. The balance of power in Italy is a thing of vast importance to him, since, if it should be lost, he would scarce be able to keep his dominions ; but the trade of his subjects is likewise of great importance, for without that his dominions would be hardly worth keeping. His conduct therefore, in both respects is wise and just, though it falls out to be in some measure prejudicial to us, and that too in our tenderest concerns, our manufactures and our trade.

But

But what then, ought we to differ with or blame him? nothing like it; we ought, on the contrary, to admire and imitate him; we ought to make the same distinction that he does, between our political and commercial interests; we ought to shew ourselves firm in supporting the former, and in order to it we must be vigorous in promoting the latter. We see very plainly and clearly, or at least we may see it if we will, that there is nothing more practicable in the world, than the raising the silk trade in Georgia; the country is fit for it, the climate is fit for it; we have raised, and may raise, what quantities of mulberry-trees we will; the silkworm thrives there wonderfully well, which however is the case of very few countries; and the silk brought from thence has been found excellent. If all this does not pass for demonstration in a matter of this nature, it is in vain to look for demonstration. On the other hand, that the raising of silk in Georgia would fill that country with white people; would secure to us the affection, and the assistance of the neighbouring Indian nations, and so render it an effectual frontier is beyond all dispute; and that the advantages accruing to this kingdom, by enabling that plantation to furnish us with silk equal in quality to the Italian, are so plain and certain that I make no scruple of affirming, that if due care was taken in this respect, all the expence necessary to establish the silk trade there, would not amount to above one year's purchase of the profits, five and twenty years hence; by which I mean, that the advantages accruing from this colony to Great Britain, in 1771; supposing the silk trade immediately settled there, and by immediately, I mean no more than as soon as possible, will equal all that the public has or may lay out upon that settlement before it becomes able to maintain itself. We manure our lands before we expect crops from them; we manufacture our goods before we send them to market; we educate our children before we expect they should provide for themselves; and why should not we take the same care of this colony, before we expect public advantages from thence.

It has been already shewn what may be expected from the different method pursued in the establishing this and other colonies; and how easily, and how entirely, it may be turned to the service of Great Britain, so as in the compass of a few years to answer national expectations, better than colonies that have been much longer settled. But we must keep these points in view; we must proceed as we have begun, or all that we have hitherto done will be thrown away; and if it should, we can blame nobody but ourselves. We have seen the silk trade planted there; we have seen it take root, and even bring forth blossoms, which, if the best judges may be trusted, promise the fairest fruit; let it not then be lost for a little care or a little expence, if that be necessary, in pruning and watering it.

I might likewise take notice of the raising wine here; indeed, I have promised it, but I have insisted so long upon silk, that I can be but short upon this head; yet something I will say. There were great hopes that this improvement might soon have been brought to perfection, but some difficulties have been found in the way, and they are chiefly these: The coat of the natural grape is not strong enough, and therefore when it grows ripe they burst. The frost, about the vernal equinox, frequently kills the vines when they are shooting; and as to the European grapes, it is found that the insects of the country destroy them. Yet experience has shewn, that by grafting the European on the wild vine, all these inconveniencies are in a great measure prevented; for then it shoots later, and so escapes the frost better; the grape skins become thicker and stronger, and insects do it less prejudice: so that there are still hopes that wine may be made there, both in great plenty, and in great perfection; and if we reflect on the mistake we made, with respect to the Cape of Good Hope, which we abandoned as worth nothing, and which the Dutch, by their industry, have made one of the finest

finest and most valuable plantations in the world; we shall not be hasty in slighting these hopes.

Besides, there is nothing wanting in this country but a sufficient number of inhabitants, to render it, in every respect, a fertile and a pleasant settlement. They reap very good wheat here in May; they mow their grass in June; they might cultivate rice here to great advantage, if that was judged proper, which, however, for many good reasons, is thought not so; olives flourish there in the greatest perfection; and so do oranges in the south part of the province, where (I speak on the credit of eye-witnesses) an orange tree has been known, in seven years time, to have been fifteen feet from the root to the branches.

These considerations, with respect to the consequences that may follow from the improvement of this last settlement, which I look upon to be the honour of the present age, have proceeded solely from a regard to truth, and to the public service which are the same motives that have directed me through the course of this undertaking. It appeared to me that there were many things, in relation to most of the colonies, and particularly in respect to this, about which the world in general was either misinformed or not informed at all; and therefore I thought it would be doing some service to trade, to the colonies, and to the public, if these points were fully and fairly treated; for which purpose I took pains to procure the best materials I could, and have digested them in the best method I was able, but in such a way that the principal facts appear all along with their proper authorities; so that the reader sees to what he gives credit, and is not obliged to take any thing upon trust from me; all my reasonings being submitted, as they ought to be, to his judgment, with full liberty to admit as little or as much as he thinks fit, when he has duly weighed the arguments that are offered in support of them. It is in this way, and in this way only, that sedentary persons can make themselves useful to society, and in this way they may be very useful, by furnishing others with an opportunity of viewing and reflecting upon things which otherwise might never have come to their notice.

One thing more I must observe before I conclude this chapter, which is, that if there be any thing in it, or indeed in any of those relating to the British plantations, which ought, in a particular manner, to claim the attention of the public; it is, in a great measure, due to the lights afforded by the Honourable James Oglethorpe, from whom, if the author has caught any part of that generous spirit, which inclines a man to bend all his thoughts, and turn all his labours, to the service of his country, it is but just that he should acknowledge it; and this he is the more ready to do, because if there be any merit in his performance, capable of making it known to and esteemed by posterity, he would willingly consecrate it as a mark of his esteem and gratitude, for the many informations he has received, and the right turn that has been given to his inquiries, by that knowing and worthy person, who is equally happy in rendering the greatest personal services himself to the community, and by infusing the like disposition in others, both by his example and conversation.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF M. MARTIN FROBISHER,
TO THE NORTH-WEST,
FOR THE SEARCH OF THE STRAIGHT OR PASSAGE TO CHINA;

WRITTEN BY CHRISTOPHER HALL, MASTER IN THE GABRIEL,

And made in the Year of our Lord 1576.*

THE 7th of June being Thursday, the two barks, viz. the Gabriel and the Michael, and our pinnace, set sail at Ratcliffe, and bare down to Deptford, and there we anchored; the cause was, that our pinnace burst her bowsprit and foremast aboard of a ship that rode at Deptford; else we meant to have passed that day by the Court then at Greenwich.

The eighth day, being Friday, about twelve o'clock, we weighed at Deptford, and set sail, all three of us, and bare down by the Court, where we shot off our ordnance, and made the best shew we could. Her Majesty, beholding the same, commended it, and bade us farewell, with shaking her hand at us out of the window. Afterward she sent a gentleman aboard of us, who declared that her Majesty had good liking of our doings, and thanked us for it; and also willed our captain to come the next day to the court to take his leave of her.

The same day, towards night, Mr. Secretary Woolly came aboard of us, and declared to the company, that her Majesty had appointed him to give them charge to be obedient and diligent to their captains and governors in all things, and wished us happy success.

The 12th day, being over against Gravesend, by the castle or blockhouse, we observed the latitude, which was 51 degrees 33 minutes, and in that place the variation of the compass is 11 degrees and a half.

The 24th day, two o'clock in the afternoon, I had sight of Faire Isle, being from us six leagues North and by East; and when I brought it N.W. by N. it did rise at the southernmost end with a little hummock, and swamp in the midst.

The 25th day, from four to eight o'clock in the forenoon, the wind at N.W. by N. a fresh gale, I cast about to the westward, the southernmost head of Schetland, called Swinborne Head, N.N.W. from me, and the land of Faire Isle W.S.W. from me, I failed directly to the north head of that said land, founding as I ran in, having 60, 50, and 40 fathoms, and grey red shells; and within half a mile of that island, there are 36 fathoms; for I failed to that island to see whether there was any roadsted for a N.W. wind; and I found, by my founding, hard rocks, and foul ground, and deep water, within two cables length of the shore, 28 fathoms, and so did not anchor, but plied to and fro with my foresail and mizen, till it was high water, under the island. The tide setteth there N.W. and S.E.; the flood setteth S.E. and the ebb N.W.

The 26th day, having the wind at South, a fair gale, sailing from Faire Isle to Swinborne head, I did observe the latitude; the island of Fowlay being W.N.W. from me six leagues, and Swinborne Head E.S.E. from me, I found my elevation to be 37 de-

* Hakluyt, iii. 29.

grees, and my declination 22 degrees 46 minutes; so that my latitude was 59 degrees 46 minutes. At that present, being near to Swinborne Head, having a leak which did trouble us, as also to take in fresh water, I plied room with a found, which is called S. Tronions, and there did anchor in seven fathoms water and fair sand. You have, coming in the found's mouth, in entering, seventeen, fifteen, twelve, ten, nine, eight, and seven fathoms, and the found lieth in N. N. W. and there we rode to a well fun, and stopped our leak; and having refreshed ourselves with water, at a N. N. W. fun, I set sail from S. Tronions, the wind at S. S. E. and turned out till we were clear of the found, and so sailed west to go clear of the island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I sounded, having fifty fathoms, and streamy ground; and also I sounded, Fowlay being north from me, one league off that island, being fifty fathom at the south head, and streamy ground, like broken oatmeal, and one shell being red and white like mackarel.

The 27th day, at a south fun, I did observe the latitude, the island of Fowlay being from me two leagues E. N. E., I found myself to be in latitude 59 degrees 59 minutes, truly observed, the wind at S. S. W. I sailed W. by N.

From twelve to four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind at south, a fair gale, the ship sailed W. by N. six leagues; and at the end of this watch I sounded, having sixty fathoms with little stones and shells; the island from us eight leagues east.

The 1st July, from four to eight o'clock, we sailed west, four glasses four leagues, and at that present we had so much wind, that we spooned afore the sea S. W. two leagues.

The 3d day, we found our compass to be varied one point to the westwards. This day, from four to eight o'clock, we sailed W. by S. six leagues.

From eight to twelve o'clock at noon, W. by S. four leagues; at that present I found our compass to be varied eleven degrees and one-fourth part to the westward, which is one point.

The 11th day, at a S. E. fun, we had sight of the land of Friseland, bearing from us W. N. W. sixteen leagues, and rising like pinnacles of steeples, and all covered with snow. I found myself in 61 degrees of latitude. We sailed to the shore, and could find no ground at 150 fathoms; we hoisted out our boat, and the captain, with four men, rowed to the shore to get on land; but the land lying full of ice, they could not get on land, and so they came aboard again. We had much ado to get clear of the ice, by reason of the fog; yet, from Thursday eight o'clock in the morning, to Friday at noon, we sailed S. W. 20 leagues.

The 18th day, at a S. E. fun. I found the sun to be elevated 33 degrees, and at a S. E. fun 40 degrees. So I observed it till I found it at the highest, and then it was elevated 52 degrees. I judged the variation of the compass to be two points and a half to the westward.

The 21st day, we had sight of a great drift of ice, seeming a firm land, and we cast westward to be cleared of it.

The 26th we had sight of a land of ice, the latitude was 62 degrees 2 minutes.

The 28th, in the morning, was very foggy; but at the clearing up of the fog, we had sight of land, which I supposed to be Labrador, with great store of ice about the land; I ran in towards it, and sounded, but could get no bottom at 100 fathoms, and the ice being so thick, I could not get to the shore, and so lay off; and came clear of the ice. Upon Monday we came within a mile of the shore, and sought a harbour: all the found was full of ice, and our boat rowing ashore, could get no ground at 100 fathoms, within a cable's length of the shore. Then we sailed E. N. E. along the shore,

for so the land lieth, and the current is there great, setting N. E. and S. W., and we could have gotten anchor ground, we would have seen with what force it had run; but I judge, a ship may drive a league and a half in one hour, with the tide.

The 31st, at four o'clock in the morning, being fair and clear, we had sight of a head land, as we judged, bearing from us N. by E., and we sailed N. E. by N. to that land, and when we came thither, we could not get to that land for ice; for the ice stretched along the coast, so that we could not come to the land by five leagues.

Wednesday the first of August it calmed; and in the afternoon I caused my boat to be hoisted out, being hard by a great island of ice; and I and four men rowed to that ice, and founded within two cables length of it, and had sixteen fathoms; and after that, founded again, within a minion shot; and had ground at 100 fathoms, and fair sand. We founded the next day, a quarter of a mile from it, and had 60 fathoms, rough ground; and at that present being aboard, that great island of ice fell one part from another, making a noise, as if a great cliff had fallen into the sea; and at four o'clock I founded again, and had 90 fathoms, and small black stones, and little white stones like pearls. The tide here did set to the shore.

The 10th, I took four men and myself, and rowed to shore, to an island one league from the main, and there the flood setteth S. W. along the shore, and it floweth, as near as I could judge, so too; I could not tarry to prove it, because the ship was a great way from me, and I feared a fog; but when I came ashore it was low water. I went to the top of the island, and before I came back, it was highed a foot water, and so, without tarrying, I came aboard.

The 11th, we found our latitude to be 63 degrees 8 minutes; and this day we entered the strait.

The 12th, we set sail towards an island, called the Gabriels Island, which was ten leagues then from us.

The 13th, we espied a sound, and bare with it, and came to a sandy bay, where we came to an anchor, the land bearing E. S. E. off us, and there we rode all night, in eight fathoms water. It flowed there at a S. E. moon. We called it Prior's Sound; being from the Gabriels Island 10 leagues.

The 14th, we weighed and ran into another sound, where we anchored in eight fathoms water, fair sand and black ooze, and there caulked our ship, being weak from the wales upwards, and took in fresh water.

The 15th day, we weighed and sailed to Priors bay, being a mile from thence.

The 16th day was calm, and we rode still, without ice; but presently, within two hours, it was frozen round about the ship, a quarter of an inch thick; and that day very fair and calm.

The 17th day, we weighed, and came to Thomas Williams Island.

The 18th day, we sailed N. N. W. and anchored again in 23 fathoms, and tough ooze, under Butchers Island, which is, from the former island, ten leagues.

* The 19th day, in the morning, being calm, and no wind, the captain and I took our boat, with eight men in her, to row us ashore, to see if there were any people, or no, and going to the top of the island, we had sight of seven boats, which came rowing from the east side, toward that island, whereupon we returned on board again: at length we sent our boat with five men in her, to see whither they rowed, and so with a white cloth brought one of their boats with their men along the shore, rowing after our boat, till such time as they saw our ship, and then they rowed ashore. Then I went on shore myself, and gave every of them a threaten point, and brought one of them aboard of me, where he did eat and drink, and then carried him on shore again;

whereupon all the rest came aboard with their boats, being nineteen persons; and they spake, but we understood them not. They be like to Tartars, with long black hair, broad faces, and flat noses, and tawny in colour, wearing seal skins; and so do the women, not differing in the fashion; but the women are marked in the face with blue streaks down the cheeks, and round about the eyes. Their boats are made all of seal skins, with a keel of wood within the skin; the proportion of them is like a Spanish shallop, save only they be flat in the bottom, and sharp at both ends.

The 20th day we weighed, and went to the east side of this island, and I and the captain, with four men more, went on shore, and there we saw their houses; and the people espying us, came rowing towards our boat; whereupon we plied toward our boat, and we being in our boat, and they on shore, they called to us and we rowed to them, and one of their company came into our boat, and we carried him aboard, and gave him a bell, and a knife: so the captain and I willed five of our men to set him ashore at a rock, and not among the company which they came from; but their wilfulness was such, that they would go to them, and so were taken themselves, and our boat lost.

The next day, in the morning, we stood in near the shore, and shot off a fauconet, and sounded our trumpet; but we could hear nothing of our men. This sound we called, The five men's sound, and plied out of it, but anchored again in 30 fathoms and ooze, and riding there all night, in the morning the snow lay a foot thick upon our hatches.

The 22d day, in the morning, we weighed, and went again to the place where we lost our men and our boat. We had sight of fourteen boats, and some came near to us; but we could learn nothing of our men: among the rest, we enticed one boat to our ship's side, with a bell, and in giving him the bell we took him and his boat, and so kept him, and so rowed down to Thomas Williams Island, and there anchored all night.

The 26th day we weighed to come homeward, and by twelve o'clock at noon we were thwart of Trumpets Island.

The next day we came thwart of Gabriels Island, and at eight o'clock at night we had the Cape Labrador; as we supposed, west from us 10 leagues.

The 28th day we went our course S. E. and on the 29th we failed S. E. by E. 22 leagues.

The first day of September, in the morning, we had sight of the land of Friseland, being eight leagues from us; but we could not come near it, for the monstrous ice that lay about it. From this day, till the sixth of this month, we ran along Island, and had the south part of it, at eight o'clock, east from us ten leagues.

The 7th day of this month we had a very terrible storm, by force whereof one of our men was blown into the sea out of our waist; but he caught hold of the forefall sheet, and there held till the captain plucked him again into the ship.

The 25th day of this month we had sight of the island of Orkney, which was then east from us. The first day of October we had sight of the Scheld, and so failed about the coast, and anchored at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwich.

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF MASTER MARTIN FROBISHER,
MADE TO THE WEST AND NORTH-WEST REGIONS,

In the Year 1577 ;

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE.

WRITTEN BY MASTER DIONISE SETTLE.

ON Whitfunday, being the 26th of May, in the year of our Lord 1577, Captain Frobisher departed from Blackwall with one of the Queen's Majesty's ships, called the Aïde, of nine score tons, or thereabouts, and two other little barks likewise, the one called the Gabriel, whereof Master Denton, a gentleman of my lord of Warwick, was captain ; and the other the Michael, whereof Master York, a gentleman of my Lord Admiral's, was captain, accompanied with seven score gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, well furnished with victuals, and other provisions necessary for one half year, on this his second voyage, for the further discovering of the passage to Cathay, and other countries thereunto adjacent, by W. and N.W. navigations ; which passage or way is supposed to be on the North, and N.W. parts of America ; and the said America to be an island, environed with the sea, where through our merchants may have course and recourse with their merchandize, from these our northernmost parts of Europe, to those oriental coasts of Asia, in much shorter time, and with greater benefit, than any others, to their no little commodity and profit that do or shall frequent the same. Our said captain and general of this present voyage and company having, the year before, with two little pinnaces, to his great danger and no small commendations, given a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is also prest, when occasion shall be ministered (to the benefit of his Prince and native country) to adventure himself further therein. As for this second voyage, it seemeth sufficient, that he hath better explored and searched the commodities of those people and countries, which in his first voyage, the year before, he had found out.

Upon which considerations, the day and year before expressed, we departed from Blackwall to Harwich, where, making an accomplishment of things necessary, the last of May we hoisted up sails, and, with a merry wind, the 7th June, we arrived at the islands, called Orcades, or vulgarly, Orkney ; being in number thirty, subject and adjacent to Scotland, where we made provision of fresh water ; in the doing whereof, our general licensed the gentlemen and soldiers, for their recreation, to go on shore. At our landing, the people fled from their poor cottages, with shrieks and alarms, to warn their neighbours of enemies ; but, by gentle persuasions, we reclaimed them to their houses. It seemeth, they are often frightened with pirates, or some other enemies, that move them with such sudden fear. Their houses are very simply built with pebble stone, without any chimnies, the fire being made in the midst thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of the family, eat and sleep on the one side of the house ; and the cattle on the other ; very beastly and rudely, in respect of civility. They are destitute of wood ; their fire is turves and cowshards. They have corn, bigge, and

oats, with which they pay their king's rents, to the maintenance of his house. They take great quantity of fish, which they dry in the wind and sun. They dress their meat very filthily, and eat it without salt. Their apparel is after the rudest sort of Scotland; their money is all base; their church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fishermen of England can better declare the disposition of these people than I; wherefore I remit their usages to their reports, as yearly repair thither in their course to and from the island for fish.

We departed here hence the 8th of June, and followed our course between W. and N.W. until the 4th of July, all which time we had no night; but that easily, and without impediment, we had, when we were so disposed, the fruition of our books and other pleasures, to pass away the time, a thing of no small moment to such as wander in unknown seas and long navigations, especially when both the winds and raging furies do pass their common and wonted course. This benefit endureth in those parts, not six weeks; but where the pole is raised to 70 or 80 degrees, it continueth much longer.

All along these seas, after we were six days sailing from Orkney, we met, floating in the sea, great fir trees, which were, as we judged, with the fury of great floods, rooted up, and so driven into the sea. Island hath almost no other wood nor fuel, but such as they take up upon their coasts. It seemeth that these trees are driven from some part of the Newfoundland, with the current that setteth from the west to the east.

The 4th of July we came within the making of Friseland. From this shore 10 or 12 leagues, we met great islands of ice, of half a mile, some more, some less, in compass, shewing, above the sea, 30 or 40 fathoms, and, as we supposed, fast on ground, where, with our lead, we could scarce sound the bottom for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant sinells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of musical birds, which other countries, in more temperate zones, do yield, we tasted the most boisterous boreal blasts, mixed with snow and hail, in the months of June and July, not inferior to our intemperate winter: a sudden alteration, and especially in a place and parallel where the pole is not elevate above 61 degrees, at which height other countries, more to the north, yea, unto 70 degrees, shew themselves more temperate than this doth.

All along this coast ice lieth, as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the country, that those that would land there incur great danger. Our general, three days together, attempted with the ship boat to have gone on shore, which for that without great danger he could not accomplish; he deferred it until a more convenient time. All along the coast lie very high mountains, covered with snow, except in such places, where, through the steepness of the mountains, of force it must needs fall. Four days coasting along this land, we found no signs of habitation. Little birds, which we judged to have lost the shore, by reason of thick fogs which that country is much subject to, came flying into our ships, which made us suppose, that the country is both more tolerable, and also habitable within, than the outward shore maketh show or signification.

From hence we departed the 8th of July, and the 16th of the same, we came with the making of land, which land our general the year before had named the Queen's Foreland, being an island, as we judge, lying near the supposed continent with America; and on the other side, opposite to the same, one other island, called Halles Isle, after the name of the master of the ship, near adjacent to the firm land, supposed continent with Asia; between the which two islands there is a large entrance or straight, called Frobisher's Straight, after the name of our general, the first finder thereof. This said straight is supposed to have passage into the sea of Suez, which I leave unknown as yet.

It seemeth, that either here, or not far hence, the sea should have more large entrance than in other parts within the frozen or intemperate zone, and that some contrary tide, either from the east or west, with main force casteth out that great quantity of ice, which cometh floating from this coast even unto Friseland, causing the country to seem more intemperate than others much more northerly than the same.

I cannot judge that any temperature, under the pole, the time of the sun's northern declination being half a year and one whole day (considering that the sun's elevation surmounteth not 23 deg. and 30 min.) can have power to dissolve such monstrous and huge ice, comparable to great mountains, except by some other force, as by swift currents and tides, with the help of the said day of half a-year.

Before we came within the making of these lands we tasted cold storms, inasmuch that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the days had not removed us from that opinion.

At our first coming the straights seemed to be shut up with a long mure of ice, which gave no little cause of discomfort unto us all; but our general (to whose diligence imminent dangers and difficult attempts seemed nothing, in respect of his willing mind for the commodity of his Prince and country), with two little pinnaces prepared of purposes, passed twice through them to the east shore, and the islands thereunto adjacent; and the ship, with the two barks, lay off and on something further into the sea, from the danger of the ice.

Whilst he was searching the country near the shore, some of the people of the country shewed themselves, leaping and dancing, with strange shrieks and cries, which gave no little admiration to our men. Our general desirous to allure them to us by fair means, caused knives and other things to be proffered unto them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid on the ground, and the party going away, they came and took up, leaving something of theirs to countervail the same. At length two of them leaving their weapons, came down to our general and master, who did the like to them, commanding the company to stay, and went unto them, who after certain dumb signs, and mute congratulations, began to lay hands upon them, but they cleverly escaped, and ran to their bows and arrows, and came fiercely upon them, (not respecting the rest of our company, which were ready for their defence), but with their arrows hurt divers of them: we took the one, and the other escaped.

Whilst our general was busied in searching the country, and those islands adjacent on the east shore, the ship and barks having great care not to put far into the sea from him, for that he had small store of victuals, were forced to abide a cruel tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the ice, which was so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had been of force sufficient to have shivered our ship and barks into small portions, if God, (who in all necessities hath care upon the infirmities of man), had not provided for this our extremity a sufficient remedy through the light of the night, whereby we might well discern to flee from such imminent dangers, which we avoided with fourteen boards in one watch the space of four hours. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous islands of ice, we should have lost our general and master, and the most of our best sailors, which were on the shore destitute of victuals: but by the valour of our master gunner, master Jackman, and Andrew Dyer, the master's mates, men expert both in navigation and other good qualities, we were all content to incur the dangers afore-rehearsed, before we would with our own safety, run into the seas, to the destruction of our said general and his company.

The day following, being the 19th of July, our captain returned to the ship, with report of supposed riches, which shewed itself in the bowels of these barren mountains, wherewith we were all satisfied.

Within

Within four days after we had been at the entrance of the straights, the N. W. and W. winds dispersed the ice into the sea, and made us a large entrance into the straights, so that without any impediment, on the 19th of July we entered them, and the 20th thereof, our general and master with great diligence sought out and sounded the west shore, and found out a fair harbour for the ship and barks to ride in, and named it after our master's mate, Jackman's Sound, and brought the ship, barks, and all their company, to safe anchor, except one man, which died by God's visitation.

At our first arrival, after the ship rode at anchor, our general, with such company as could well be spared from the ships, in marching order entered the land, having special care by exhortations, that, at our entrance thereinto, we should all with one voice, kneeling upon our knees, chiefly thank God for our arrival; secondly, beseech him that it would please his divine Majesty long to continue our Queen, for whom he, and all the rest of our company, took possession of the country; and thirdly, that by our Christian study and endeavour, these barbarous people, trained up in paganism and infidelity, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of salvation in Christ our Redeemer; with other words very apt to signify his willing mind and affection toward his prince and country, whereby all suspicion of an undutiful subject may credibly be judged to be utterly exempted from his mind. All the rest of the gentlemen, and others, deserve worthily herein their due praise and commendation.

These things in this order accomplished, our general commanded all the company to be obedient in things needful for our own safeguard, to Master Fenton, Master Yorke, and Master Beaft, his lieutenant, while he was occupied in other necessary affairs concerning our coming thither.

After this order, we all marched through the country, with ensign displayed, so far as was thought needful, and now and then heaped up stones on high mountains and other places, in token of possession, as likewise to signify unto such as might hereafter chance to arrive there, that possession is taken in behalf of some other prince, by those who first found out the country.

Who so maketh navigations to those countries, hath not only extreme winds and furious seas to encounter withal, but also many monstrous and great islands of ice; a thing both rare, wonderful, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced sundry times, while the ship did ride here at anchor, to have continual watch with boats and men ready with hawfers to knit fast unto such ice, as with the ebb and flood were tossed to and fro in the harbour, and with force of oars to haul them away, for endangering the ship.

Our general certain days searched this supposed continent with America, and not finding the commodity to answer his expectation, after he made trial thereof, he departed thence with two little barks, and men sufficient, to the east shore, being the supposed continent of Asia, and left the ship, with most of the gentlemen, soldiers and sailors, until such time as he either thought good to send or come for them.

The stones of this supposed continent with America be altogether sparkled, and glister in the sun like gold; so likewise doth the sand in the bright water, yet they verify the old proverb, "all is not gold that glistereth."

On this west shore we found a dead fish floating, which had in his nose a horn straight and torquet, of length two yards lacking two inches, being broken in the top, where we might perceive it hollow, into the which some of our sailors putting spiders, they presently died. I saw not the trial hereof, but it was reported unto me of a truth, by the virtue whereof we supposed it to be the sea-unicorn.

After our general had found out good harbour for the ship and barks to anchor in, and also such store of supposed gold ore, as he thought himself satisfied withal, he returned to the Michael, whereof Master Yorke afore said was captain, accompanied with our master and his mate; who, coasting along the west shore, not far from whence the ship rode, they perceived a fair harbour, and willing to sound the same, at the entrance thereof they espied two tents of seal skins, unto which the captain, our said master, and other company resorted. At the sight of our men the people fled into the mountains: nevertheless they went to their tents, where leaving certain trifles of ours, as glasses, bells, knives, and such like things, they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dog; they did in like manner leave behind them a letter, pen, ink, and paper, whereby our men whom the captain lost the year before, and in that people's custody, might (if any of them were alive) be advertised of our presence and being there.

On the same day, after consultation had, all the gentlemen, and others likewise that could be spared from the ship, under the conduct and leading of Master Philpot, (unto whom in our general's absence, and his lieutenant, Master Beast, all the rest were obedient,) went ashore, determining to see, if by fair means we could either allure them to familiarity, or otherwise take some of them, and so attain to some knowledge of those men whom our general lost the year before.

At our coming back again to the place where their tents were before, they had removed their tents further into the said bay or sound, where they might, if they were driven from the land, flee with their boats into the sea. We parting ourselves into two companies, and compassing a mountain, came suddenly upon them by land; who espying us, without any tarrying fled to their boats, leaving the most part of their oars behind them for haste, and rowed down the bay, where our two pinnaces met them and drove them ashore: but if they had had all their oars, so swift are they in rowing, it had been lost time to have chased them.

When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bows and arrows, who wounded three of them with our arrows, and perceiving themselves thus hurt, they desperately leaped off the rocks into the sea and drowned themselves, which if they had not done, but had submitted themselves, or if by any means we could have taken them alive (being their enemies as they judged), we would both have saved them, and also have sought remedy to cure their wounds, received at our hands. But they, altogether void of humanity, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities look for no other than death; and perceiving they should fall into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death, than otherwise to be saved by us; the rest perceiving their fellows in this distress, fled into the high mountains. Two women not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incumbered with a young child, we took. The old wretch, whom divers of our sailors supposed to be either a devil or a witch, had her buskins plucked off to see if she were cloven-footed, and for her ugly hue and deformity we let her go. The young woman and the child we brought away. We named the place where they were slain Bloody Point, and the bay or harbour, York's Sound, after the name of one of the captains of the two barks. Having this knowledge both of their fierceness and cruelty, and perceiving that fair means as yet is not able to allure them to familiarity, we disposed ourselves, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents and made a spoil of the same; where we found an old shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shoes of our men, whom we lost the year before; on nothing else unto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Their

Their riches are not gold, silver, or precious drapery, but their said tents and boats made of the skins of red deer and seal skins; also dogs like unto wolves, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondered at for their strangeness, than for any other commodity needful for our use.

Thus returning to our ship the 3d of August, we departed from the west shore, supposed firm with America, after we had anchored there thirteen days, and so the 4th thereof we came to our general on the east shore, and anchored in a fair harbour named Ann Warwicke's Sound, unto which is annexed an island both named, after the Countess of Warwicke, Ann Warwicke's Sound and Island.

In this isle our general thought good for his voyage to freight both the ship and barks with such stone, or supposed gold mineral, as he judged to countervail the charges of his first and this his second navigation to these countries.

In the mean time of our abode here, some of the country people came to shew themselves unto us sundry times, on the main shore, near adjacent to the said isle. Our general, desirous to have some news of his men whom he lost the year before, with some company with him repaired with the ship's boat to commune, or sign with them for familiarity, whereunto he is persuaded to bring them. They at the first shew made tokens that three of his five men were alive, and desired pen, ink, and paper, and that within three or four days they would return, and (as we judged) bring those of our men which were living with them.

They also made signs or tokens of their king, whom they called CACOUGH, and how he was carried on men's shoulders, and a man far surmounting any of our company in bigness and stature.

With these tokens and signs of writing, pen, ink, and paper was delivered to them, which they would not take at our hands, but being laid upon the shore, and the party gone away, they took up; which likewise they do, when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left so much as they think will countervail the same, and not coming near together. It seemeth they have been used to this trade or traffic with some other people adjoining or not far distant from their country.

After four days, some of them shewed themselves upon the firm land, but not where they were before. Our general very glad thereof, supposing to hear of our men, went from the island with the boat and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him about a certain point of the land; behind which they might perceive a company of the crafty villains to lie lurking, whom our general would not deal withal, for that he knew not what company they were, and so with few signs dismissed them and returned to his company.

Another time, as our said general was coasting the country with two little pinnaces, whereby at our return he might make the better relation thereof, three of the crafty villains, with a white skin, allured us to them. Once again, our general, for that he hoped to hear of his men, went towards them. At our coming near the shore, whereupon they were, we might perceive a number of them lie hidden behind great stones, and those three in sight labouring by all means possible, that some would come on land; and perceiving we made no haste by words nor friendly signs, which they used by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in sight, they sought further means to provoke us thereunto. One alone laid flesh on the shore, which we took up with the boat-hook, as necessary victuals for the relieving of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken, for that as yet they could not digest our meat: whereby they perceived themselves deceived of their expectation, for all their crafty allurements. Yet once again to make (as it were) a full show of their crafty natures, and subtle

leights,

sleights, to the intent thereby to have entrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himself impotent and lame of his legs, who seemed to descend to the water-side with great difficulty, and to cover his craft the more, one of his fellows came down with him, and in such places where he seemed unable to pass, he took him on his shoulders, set him by the water-side, and departed from him, leaving him (as it should seem) all alone, who playing his counterfeit pageant very well, thought thereby to provoke some of us to come on shore, not fearing but that one of us might make our party good with a lame man.

Our general having compassion of his impotency, thought it good (if it were possible) to cure him thereof; wherefore he caused a soldier to shoot at him with his calcever, which grazed before his face. The counterfeit villain deliverly fled, without any impediment at all, and got him to his bow and arrows, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bows, arrows, slings, and darts. Our general caused some calcevers to be shot off at them, whereby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more fear of us.

This was all the answer for this time we could have of our men, or of our general's letter. Their crafty dealing at these three several times being thus manifest unto us, may plainly shew their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We judged that they used these stratagems, thereby to have caught some of us, for the delivering of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature and of a good proportion, their colour is not much unlike the sun-burnt countryman, who laboureth daily in the sun for his living. They wear their hair something long, and cut before either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women wear their hair long, and knit up with two loops, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred upon a knot. Also some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chin, cheeks, and forehead, and the wrists of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour which continueth dark azurine.

They eat their meat all raw, both flesh, fish, and fowl, or something parboiled, with blood and a little water, which they drink. For lack of water they will eat ice that is hard frozen, as pleasantly as we will do sugarcandy, or other sugar.

If they for necessity sake stand in need of the premises, such grass as the country yieldeth they pluck and eat, not daintily, or saladwise, to lure their stomachs to appetite, but for necessity sake, without either salt, oils, or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same; they neither use table, stool, or table-cloth, for comeliness; but when they are embrued with blood knuckle deep, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues, as apt instruments to lick them clean; in doing whereof they are assured to lose none of their victuals.

They frank or keep certain dogs not much unlike wolves, which they yoke together as we do oxen and horses, to a sled or trail, and so carry their necessities over the ice and snow from place to place, as the captive whom we have, made perfect signs; and when those dogs are not apt for the use, or when with hunger they are constrained for the lack of other victuals, they eat them, so that they are needful for them in respect of their bigness, as our oxen are for us.

They apparel themselves in the skins of such beasts as they kill, sewed together with the sinews of them. All the fowl which they kill, they skin and make thereof one kind of garment or other, to defend themselves from the cold.

They make their apparel with hoods and tails, which tails they give when they think the gratify any friendship shewed unto them; a great sign of friendship with them. They e them not so side as the women.

The men and women wear their hose close to their legs, from the waist to the knee, without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legs they wear hose of leather, with the fur side inward, two or three pair on at once, and especially, the women; in those hose they put their knives, needles, and other things needful to bear about. They put a bone within their hose, which reacheth from the foot to the knee, whereupon they draw their said hose, and so in place of garters, they are holden from falling down about their feet.

They dress their skins very soft and supple with the hair on; in cold weather or winter they wear the fur side inward, and in summer outward. Other apparel they have none but the said skins.

Those beasts, fishes, and fowls which they kill, are their meat, drink, apparel, houses, bedding, hose, shoes, thread and sails for their boats, with many other necessities whereof they stand in need, and almost all their riches.

Their houses are tents, made of seal skins, pitched up with four fir quarters, four-square, meeting at the top, and the skins sewed together with sinews, and laid thereupon; they are so pitched up, that the entrance into them is always south or against the sun.

They have other houses which we found not to be inhabited, which are raised with stones and whalebones, and a skin laid over them to withstand the rain or other weather, the entrance of them being not much unlike an oven's mouth, where I think they resort for a time to fish, hunt, and fowl, and so leave them until the next time they come thither again.

The weapons are bows, arrows, darts, and slings: their bows are of wood of a yard long, sinewed at the back with strong sinews, not glued to, but fast girdled and tied on; their bow-strings are likewise sinews; their arrows are three pieces nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with two ends, and the wood in the midst; they pass not in length half a yard, or little more; they are feathered with two feathers, the pen end being cut away, and the feathers laid upon the arrow, with the broad side to the wood, insomuch that they seem when they are tied on, to have four feathers. They have also three sorts of heads to those arrows; one sort of stone or iron, proportioned like to a heart; the second sort of bone, much like unto a sloop head, with a hook on the same; the third sort, of bone likewise, made sharp at both sides, and sharp pointed. They are not made very fast, but lightly tied to, or else set in a nocke, that upon small occasion the arrows leave these heads behind them; and they are of small force, except they be very near when they shoot.

Their darts are made of two sorts; the one with many forks of bones in the fore end, and likewise in the midst; their proportions are not much unlike our toasting irons, only longer, but these they cast out of an instrument of wood very readily. The other sort is greater than the first aforesaid, with a long bone made sharp on both sides, not much unlike a rapier, which I take to be their most hurtful weapon.

They have two sorts of boats made of leather, set out on the inner side with quarters of wood, artificially tied together with thongs of the same; the greater sort are not much unlike our wherries, wherein 16 or 20 men may fit; they have for a sail, dress the guts of such beasts as they kill very fine and thin, which they sew together; the other boat is but for one man to fit and row in with one oar.

Their order of fishing, hunting, and fowling, are with these said weapons; but in what sort, or how they use them, we have no perfect knowledge as yet.

I can suppose their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houses nor apparel are of such force to withstand the extremity of cold that the country seemeth to be infected withal; neither do I see any sign likely to perform the same.

Those

Those houses, or rather dens, which stand there, have no sign of footway, or any thing else trodden, which is one of the chiefest tokens of habitation; and those tents which they bring with them, when they have sufficiently hunted and fished, they remove to other places, and when they have sufficiently stowed them of such victuals as the country yieldeth or bringeth forth, they return to their winter stations or habitations. This conjecture do I make for the infertility which I conjecture to be in that country.

They have some iron, whereof they make arrow heads, knives, and other little instruments, to work their boats, bows, arrows, and darts withal, which are very unapt to do any thing withal, but with great labour.

It seemeth that they have conversation with some other people, of whom for exchange they should receive the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giveth a sound.

What knowledge they have of God, or what idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence: I think them rather ANTHROPOPHAGI, or devourers of man's flesh, than otherwise; for that there is no flesh or fish which they find dead, (smell it never so filthily), but they will eat it, as they find it, without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders or hearers.

There is no manner of creeping beast hurtful, except some spiders, (which some affirm are signs of great store of gold), and also certain stinging gnats, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite shortly after swelleth and itcheth very sore.

They make signs of certain people that wear bright plates of gold in their foreheads, and other places of their bodies.

The countries on both sides the streights lie very high, with rough stony mountains, and great quantity of snow thereon. There is very little plain ground, and no grass, except a little which is much like unto moss that groweth on soft ground, such as we get turfs in. There is no wood at all. To be brief, there is nothing fit or profitable for the use of man, which that country with root yieldeth or bringeth forth: howbeit, there is great quantity of deer, whose skins are like unto asses; their heads and horns do far exceed, as well in length, as also in breadth, any in these our parts or countries; their feet likewise are as great as our oxen's, which we measured to be seven or eight inches in breadth. There are also hares, wolves, fishing bears, and sea fowl of sundry sorts.

As the country is barren and unfertile, so are they rude and of no capacity to culture the same to any perfection, but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with raw flesh and warm blood, to satisfy their greedy paunches, which is their only glory.

There is great likelihood of earthquakes or thunder, for that there are huge and monstrous mountains, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with extraordinary means, that one is separated from another, which is discordant with all other quarries.

There are no rivers or running springs, but such as through the heat of the sun, with such water as descendeth from the mountains and hills, whereon great drifts of snow do lie, are ingendered.

It argueth also that there should be none; for that the earth, which with the extremity of the winter is so frozen within, that that water which should have recourse within the same to maintain springs, hath not its motion, whereof great waters have their original, as is seen elsewhere. Such vallies as are capable to receive the water, that

that in the summer time by the operation of the sun descendeth from great abundance of snow, which continually lieth on the mountains, and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth and so vanisheth away, without any runnell above the earth, by which occasion, or continual standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yieldeth to the force thereof; which in other places, four or five fathoms within the ground, for lack of the said moisture, the earth (even in the very summer time) is frozen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments with great force can unknit them.

Also where the water in those vallies can have no such passage away, by the continuance of time in such order as is before rehearsed, the yearly descent from the mountains filleth them full, that at the lowest bank of the same they fall into the valley, and so continue as fishing-ponds or stagnes in summer time full of water, and in the winter hard frozen, as by skarres that remain thereof in summer may easily be perceived; so that the heat of summer is nothing comparable or of force to dissolve the extremity of cold that cometh in winter.

Nevertheless, I am assured, that below the force of the frost within the earth, the waters have recourse, and empty themselves out of sight into the sea, which through the extremity of the frost are constrained to do the same; by which occasion the earth within is kept the warmer, and springs have their recourse, which is the only nutriment of gold and minerals within the same.

There is much to be said of the commodities of these countries, which are couched within the bounds of the earth; which I let pass till more perfect trial be made thereof.

The 24th of August, after we had satisfied our minds with freight sufficient for our vessels, though not our covetous desires with such knowledge of the country, people, and other commodities as are before rehearsed, we departed thence. The 17th of September we fell in with the land's-end of England, and so sailed to Milford Haven, from whence our general rode to the court, for order to what port or haven to conduct the ship.

We lost our two barks in the way homewards, the one the 29th of August, the other the 31st of the same month, by occasion of a great tempest and fog; howbeit God restored the one to Bristowe, and the other made his course by Scotland to Yarmouth. In this voyage we lost two men, one in the way by God's visitation, and the other homeward, cast overboard with a surge of the sea.

THE THIRD AND LAST VOYAGE UNTO META INCOGNITA,

MADE BY M. MARTIN FROBISHER IN THE YEAR 1578.

WRITTEN BY THOMAS ELLIS.

THESE are to let you know, that upon the 25th of May, the Thomas Allen being vice-admiral, whose captain was M. Yorke, M. Gibbs master, Christopher Hall pilot; accompanied with the rear-admiral named the Hopewell, whose captain was M. Henry Carewe, the M. Andrew Dyer, and certain other ships came to Gravesend, where we anchored, and abode the coming of certain of our fleet, which were not yet come.

The 27th of the same month, our fleet being now come together, and all things put in a readiness, the wind favouring, and tide serving, we being of sails in number eight, weighed anchor and hoisted our sails towards Harwich to meet with our admiral, and the residue, which then and there abode our arrival, where we safely arrived the 28th thereof, finding there our admiral, whom we with the discharge of certain pieces, saluted, according to order and duty; and were welcomed with the like courtesy, which being finished we landed; where our general continued mustering his soldiers and miners, and setting things in order appertaining to the voyage, until the last of the said month of May, which day we hoisted our sails, and committing ourselves to the conducting of Almighty God, we set forward toward the west country in such lucky wise and good success, that by the 5th of June we passed the Duries, being the utmost part of Ireland to the westward.

And here it were not much amiss, nor far from our purpose, if I should a little discourse and speak of our adventures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plymouth, and also the meeting certain poor men, which were robbed and spoiled of all that they had by pirates and robbers; amongst whom was a man of Bristow, on whom our general used his liberality, and sent him away with letters into England.

But because such things are impertinent to the matter, I will return (without any more mentioning of the same) to that from the which I have digressed and swerved, I mean our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometimes passing with pleasure with a wished eastern wind, sometimes hindered of our course again by the western blasts, until the 20th day of the aforesaid month of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very high and cragged land, and was almost clean covered with snow, so that we might see nought but craggy rocks, and the tops of high and huge hills, sometimes (and for the most part) all covered with foggy mists. There might be also perceived the great isles of ice lying on the seas, like mountains, some small and some big, of sundry kinds of shapes, and such a number of them, that we could not come near the shore for them.

Thus sailing along the coast, at the last we saw a place, somewhat void of ice, where our general (accompanied with certain others) went ashore, where they saw certain tents made of beasts' skins, and boats much like unto theirs of Meta Incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish skins, and other trifles; amongst the which was found a box of nails, whereby we did conjecture that they had either artificers amongst them, or else
a traffic

a traffic with some other nation. The men ran away, so that we could have no conference or communication with them. Our general (because he would have them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay, through his courteous dealing) gave commandment that his men should take nothing away with them, saving only a couple of white dogs; for which he left pins, points, knives, and other trifling things, and departed without taking or hurting any thing, and so came aboard, and hoisted sail, and passed forwards.

But being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fog and hideous mist, that we could not see one another; whereupon we struck our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the end we might keep together, and so continued all that day and night, till the next day that the mist broke up, so that we might easily perceive all the ships thus sailing together all that day until the next day, being the 22d of the fame; on which day we saw an infinite number of ice, from the which we cast about, to shun the danger thereof.

But one of our small barks, named the Michael, whose captain was Master Kinderslie, the master Bartholomew Bull, lost our company, insomuch that we could not obtain the sight of her many days after; of whom I mean to speak further anon, when occasion shall be ministered, and opportunity serve. Thus we continued in our course until the 2d of July, on which day we fell with the Queen's Foreland, where we saw so much ice, that we thought it impossible to get into the streights; yet at the last we gave the adventure, and entered the ice.

Being amongst it, we saw the Michael, of whom I spake before, accompanied with the Judith, whose captain was Master Fenton, the master Charles Jackman, bearing into the aforesaid ice, far distant from us, who in a storm that fell that present night, (whereof I will at large, God willing, discourse hereafter,) were severed from us, and being in, wandered up and down the streights amongst the ice, many days in great peril; till at the last (by the Providence of God) they came safely to harbour in their wished port, in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, the 20th of July aforesaid, ten days before any of the other ships. Who going on shore, found where the people of the country had been, and had hid their provision in great heaps of stones, being both of flesh and fish, which they had killed: whereof we also found great store in other places after our arrival. They found also divers engines, as bows, slings and darts. They found likewise certain pieces of the pinnace, which our general left there the year before, which pinnace he had sunk, minding to have it again the next year.

Now seeing I have entreated so much of the Judith and the Michael, I will return to the rest of the other ships, and will speak a little of the storm that fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the ice; whereof I made mention before.

At the first entering into the ice at the mouth of the streights, our passage was very narrow and difficult; but being once got in, we had a fair open place without any ice for the most part, being a league, the ice being round about us and inclosing us, as it were, within the pales of a park. In which place, because it was almost night, we minded to take in our sails, and lie a hull all that night. But the storm so increased, and the waves began to mount aloft, which brought the ice so near us, and coming on so fast upon us, that we were fain to bear in and out, where we might espie an open place: Thus, the ice coming on us so fast, we were in great danger, looking every hour for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both ourselves

and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the ice, that it would make the strongest hearts to relent.

At the last the bark *Dionyse*, being but a weak ship, and bruised afore amongst the ice, being so leaky that no longer she could tarry above the water, sunk without saving any of the goods which were within her; which sight so abashed the whole fleet, that we thought verily that we should have tasted of the same fauce. But nevertheless, we seeing them in such great danger, manned our boats and saved all the men in such wise, that not one perished, God be thanked.

The storm still increased, and the ice inclosed us, so that we were fain to take down top and top-masts; for the ice had so environed us, that we could see neither land nor sea, as far as we could ken; so that we were fain to cut our cables to hang over-board for fenders, somewhat to ease the ship's sides from the great and dreary strokes of the ice; some with capstan bars, some fending off with oars, some with planks of two inches thick, which were broken immediately with the force of the ice; some going out upon the ice to bear it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigorousness of the tempest was such, and the force of the ice so great, that not only they burst and spoiled the aforefaid provision, but likewise so raised the sides of the ships, that it was pitiful to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that dismal and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death; but our God (who never leaveth them destitute which faithfully call upon him, although he often punisheth for amendment sake), in the morning caused the wind to cease, and the fog, which all that night lay on the face of the water, to clear; so that we might perceive about a mile from us, a certain place clear from any ice, to the which with an easy breath of wind, which our God sent us, we bent ourselves. And furthermore, he provided better for us than we deserved or hoped for; for when we were in the aforefaid clear place, he sent us a fresh gale at west, or at W. S. W. which set us clear without all the ice. And further he added more, for he sent us so pleasant a day, as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we joyful wights being at liberty, took in all our sails and lay a hull, praying God for our deliverance, and stayed to gather together our fleet; which once being done, we seeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, saving only they of whom I spake before, and the ship which was lost; then at the last we hoisted our sails, and lay beating off and on, till such time as it would please God to take away the ice that we might get into the streights.

And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marvellous huge mountain of ice, which surpassed all the rest that ever we saw; for we judged it to be near four-score fathoms above water, and we thought it to be aground for any thing that we could perceive, being there ninescore fathoms deep, and of compass about half a mile.

Also the 5th of July there fell a hideous fog and mist, that continued till the 19th of the same; so that one ship could not see another. Therefore we were fain to bear a small sail, and to observe the time; but there run such a current of a tide, that it set us to the N. W. of the Queen's Foreland, the backside of all the streights; where (through the contagious fog, having no sight either of sun or star) we scarce knew where we were. In this fog the 10th of July, we lost the company of the vice-admiral, the *Anne Francis*, the *Busse of Bridgewater*, and the *Francis of Foy*.

The 16th day, one of our small barks, named the *Gabriel*, was sent by our general

to bear in with the land to descry it; where being on land, they met with the people of the country, which seemed very humane and civil, and offered to traffic with our men, proffering them fowls and skins for knives and other trifles, whose courtesy caused us to think that they had small conversation with other of the streights.*

Then we bare back again to go with the Queen's Foreland, and the 18th day we came by two islands whereon we went on shore, and found where the people had been; but we saw none of them. This day we were again in the ice, and like to be in as great peril as we were at first; for through the darkness and obscurity of the foggy mist, we were almost run on rocks and islands before we saw them. But God (even miraculously) provided for us, opening the fogs that we might see clearly, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape; or else without fail we had ruinously run upon the rocks.

When we knew perfectly our instant case we cast about to get again on sea-board; which, God be thanked, by night we obtained, and praised God. The clear continued scarce an hour, but the fog fell again as thick as ever it was.

Then the Rear-admiral and the Bear got themselves clear without danger of ice and rocks, struck their sails and lay a hull, staying to have the rest of the fleet come forth, which as yet had not found the right way to clear themselves from the danger of rocks and ice, until the next morning, at what time the Admiral discharged certain warning pieces to give notice that she had escaped, and that the rest (by following her) might let themselves free, which they did that day.

Then having gathered ourselves together, we proceeded on our purposed voyage, bearing off and keeping ourselves distant from the coast till the 19th day of July; at which time the fogs brake up and dispersed, so that we might plainly and clearly behold the pleasant air, which so long had been taken from us, by the obscurity of the foggy mists; and after that time we were not much encumbered therewith, until we had left the confines of the country.

Then we espying a fair sound, supposed it to go into the streights between the Queen's Foreland and Jackman's Sound, which proved as we imagined, for our general sent forth the Gabriel to discover it, who passed through with much difficulty, for there ran such an extreme current of a tide, with such a horrible gulph, that with a fresh gale of wind they were scarcely able to stem it; yet at the length with great travail they passed it, and came to the streights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Buss of Bridgewater; who altogether ventured to bear into the ice again, to see if they could obtain their wished port. But they were so encumbered that with much difficulty they were able to get out again, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Allen and the Gabriel bare in with the western shore, where they found harbour, and there moored their ships until the 4th of August, at which time they came to us in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leak, which caused her to cast again to sea-board, and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast, until we came to the Queen's Foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulph aforesaid, which place or gulph (as some of our masters do credibly report) doth flow nine hours, and ebbs but three. At that point we discovered certain lands southward, which neither time nor opportunity would serve to search. Then being come to the mouth of the streights we met with the Anne Francis, who had lain bunting up and down ever since her departure alone, never finding any of her company. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whom

again we intended to venture and get in, but the ice was yet so thick, that we were compelled again to retire, and get us on sea-board.

There fell also the same day, being the 26th of July, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick upon the hatches, which froze as it fell.

We had also at other times divers cruel storms, both of snow and hail, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the country. Yet for all that we were so many times repulsed and put back from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for us, but hurtful to our voyage, we mutually consented to our valiant general once again, to give the onset.

The 28th therefore of the said July we essayed, and with little trouble (God be praised) we passed the dangers by day-light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, we hulled in the clear, till the cheerful light of the day had chased away the noisome darkness of the night; at which time we set forward toward our wished port: by the 30th day we obtained our expected desire, where we found the Judith and the Michael; which brought no small joy unto the general, and great consolation to the heavy hearts of those wearied wights.

The 30th day of July we brought our ships into the Countess of Warwick's Sound, and moored them; namely, these ships, the Admiral, the Rear-admiral, the Francis of Foy, the Bear, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Bussie of Bridgewater; which being done, our general commanded us all to come ashore, upon the Countess's Island, where he set his miners to work upon the mine, giving charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our general himself, accompanied with his gentlemen, divers times made roads into sundry parts of the country, as well to find new mines, as also to find out and see the people of the country. He found out one mine upon an island by Bear's Sound, and named it the Countess of Suffex Island. One other was found in Winter's Furnace, with divers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly to be laden. In the same roads he met with divers of the people of the country at sundry times, as once at a place called David's Sound; who shot at our men, and very desperately gave them the onset, being not above three or four in number, there being of our countrymen above a dozen; but seeing themselves not able to prevail, they took themselves to flight; whom our men pursued, but being not used to such craggy cliffs, they soon lost the sight of them, and so in vain returned.

We also saw of them at Pear's Sound, both by sea and land in great companies; but they would at all times keep the water between them and us. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the Sound, (as they came divers times because the harbour was not very good,) the ship laded and departed again; then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seen. But when as they perceived the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselves standing upon high cliffs, and call us to come over unto them, but also would come in their boats very near to us, as it were to brag at us; whereof our general having advertisement, sent for the captains and gentlemen of the ships, to accompany and attend upon him, with the captain also of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come unto us; for they and the Fleebote having lost us the 26th day in the great snow, put into an harbour in the Queen's Foreland, where they found good ore, wherewith they laded themselves, and came to seek the general; so that now we had all our ships, saving one bark which was lost, and the Thomas of Ipswich, who (compelled by what fury I know not) forsook our company, and returned home without lading.

Our

Our general, accompanied with his gentlemen (of whom I spake), came all together to the Countess of Suffex Island, near to Bear Sound, where he manned out certain pinnaces, and went over to the people, who perceiving his arrival, fled away with all speed, and in haste left certain darts, and other engines behind them, which we found ; but the people we could not find.

The next morning, our general perceiving certain of them in boats upon the sea, gave chase to them in a pinnace under sail, with a fresh gale of wind, but could by no means come near unto them ; for the longer he failed, the farther off he was from them, which well shewed their cunning and activity. Thus, time wearing away, and the day of our departure approaching, our general commanded us to lade with all expedition, that we might be again on sea-board with our ships ; for whilst we were in the country, we were in continual danger of freezing in : for often snow and hail often falling, the water was so much frozen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could scarce row our boats or pinnaces, especially in Dier's Sound, which is a calm and still water ; which caused our general to make the more haste, so that by the 30th day of August we were all laden and made all things ready to depart.

But before I proceed any further herein, to shew what fortune befell our departure, I will turn my pen a little to M. Captain Fenton, and those gentlemen, which should have inhabited all the year in those countries, whose valiant minds were much to be commended ; for doubtless they had done as they intended, if luck had not withstood their willingness.

For the bark *Dionyse*, which was lost, had in her much of their house which was prepared and should have been builded for them, with many other implements. Also the *Thomas* of Ipswich, which had most of their provision in her, came not into the streights at all, neither did we see her since the day we were separated in the great snow, of which I spake before. For these causes, having not their house nor yet provision, they were disappointed of their pretence to tarry, and therefore laded their ships, and so came away with us.

But before we took shipping, we builded a little house in the Countess of Warwick's Island, and garnished it with many kind of trifles, as pins, points, laces, glasses, combs, babes on horseback and on foot, with innumerable other such fancies and toys ; thereby to allure and entice the people to some familiarity against other year.

Thus having finished all things, we departed the country, as I said before ; but because the *Bulle* had not lading enough in her, she put into Bear's Sound, to take in a little more. In the meanwhile the Admiral, and the rest without at sea stayed for her. And that night fell such an outrageous tempest, beating on our ships with such vehement rigour, that anchor and cable availed nought ; for we were driven on rocks and islands of ice, insomuch that (had not the great goodness of God been miraculously shewed to us) we had been cast away every man. This danger was more doubtful and terrible than any that preceded or went before, for there was not any one ship (I think) that escaped without damage. Some lost anchor and also cables, some boats, some pinnaces, some anchor, cable, boats, and pinnaces.

This boisterous storm so severed us one from another, that one ship knew not what was become of another. The Admiral knew not where to find the Vice-admiral or Rear-admiral, or any other ship of our company. Our general being on land in Bear's Sound, could not come to his ship, but was compelled to go aboard the *Gabriel*, where he continued all the way homeward (which was God's favour towards us), will we, nill we, in such haste, as not any one of us were able to keep in company with other,
but

but were separated. And if by chance any one ship did overtake other, by swiftness of sail, or met, as they often did, yet was the rigour of the wind so hideous, that they could not continue company together the space of one whole night.

Thus our journey outward was not so pleasant, but our coming thither, entering the coasts and country, by narrow streights, perilous ice, and swift tides, our times of abode there in snow and storms, and our departure from thence the 31st of August, with dangerous blustering winds and tempests, which that night arose, was as uncomfortable; separating us so as we sailed, that not any of us met together until the 28th of September, which day we fell on the English coasts, between Scilly and the Land's-end, and passed the channel, until our arrival in the river of Thames.

The Report of Thomas Wiars, Passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Buffle of Bridgewater, wherein James Lecch was Master, one of the Ships in the last Voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, 1578, concerning the Discovery of a great Island in their Way homeward, the 12th of September.

THE Buffle of Bridgewater was left in Bear's Sound at Meta Incognita, the 2d day of September, behind the fleet in some distress, through much wind, riding near the lee-shore, and forced there to ride it out upon the hazard of her cables and anchors, which were all a-ground but two. The 3d of September being fair weather, and the wind N. N. W. she set sail and departed thence, and fell with Frizeland on the 8th day of September at six of the clock at night, and then they set off from the S. W. point of Frizeland, the wind being at east and E. S. E. but that night the wind veered southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night; but on the 10th day in the morning, the wind at W. N. W. fair weather, they steered S. E. by S. and continued that course, until the 12th day of September, when about eleven of the clock before noon, they descried a land which was from them about five leagues, and the southermost part of it was S. E. by E. from them, and the northermost next N. N. E. or N. E. The master accounted that the S. E. point of Frizeland was from him at that instant, when he first descried this new island N. W. by N. 50 leagues. They account this island to be 25 leagues long, and the longest way of it S. E. and N. W. The southern part of it is in the latitude of 57 degrees and one second part, or thereabout. They continued in sight of it from the 12th day at eleven of the clock, till the 13th day at three of the clock in the afternoon, when they left it, and the last part they saw of it, bare from them N. W. by N. There appeared two harbours upon that coast; the greatest of them seven leagues to the northwards of the southermost point, the other but four leagues. There was very much ice near the same land, and also 20 or 30 leagues from it, for they were not clear of ice till the 15th day of September afternoon. They plied their voyage homewards, and fell with the west part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25th day of September.

CAPTAIN FROBISHER'S FIRST VOYAGE.

[ANOTHER ACCOUNT *.]

OUR general, Captain Frobisher, being thoroughly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere, and all other skills appertaining to the art of navigation, as also of the confirmation he hath of the same by many years experience both by sea and land, and being persuaded of a new and nearer passage to Cataya than by Capo de Buona Sperança, which the Portugals yearly use; he began first with himself to devise, and then with his friends to confer, and laid a plain plot unto them, that that voyage was not only possible by the N. W., but also he could prove, easy to be performed. And further he determined and resolved with himself, to go make full proof thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or else never to return again; knowing this to be the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate. But although his will were great to perform this notable voyage, whereof he had conceived in his mind a great hope, by sundry sure reasons and secret intelligence, which here for sundry causes I leave untouched, yet he wanted altogether means and ability to set forward and perform the same. Long time he conferred with his private friends of these secrets, and made also many offers for the performing of the same in effect unto sundry merchants of our country, above fifteen years before he attempted the same, as by good witness shall well appear, (albeit some evil willers which challenge to themselves the fruit of other men's labours, have greatly injured him, in the report of the same, saying that they have been the first authors of that action, and that they have learned him the way, which themselves as yet have never gone); but perceiving that hardly he was hearkened unto of the merchants, which never regard virtue without sure, certain, and present gains, he repaired to the court (from whence, as from the fountain of our common wealth, all good causes have their chief increase and maintenance), and there laid open to many great estates and learned men the plot and sum of his device. And amongst many honourable minds which favoured his honest and commendable enterprise, he was specially bound and beholden to the Right Honourable Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, whose favourable mind and good disposition hath always been ready to countenance and advance all honest actions with the authors and executors of the same; and so by means of my lord's honourable countenance he received some comfort of his cause, and by little and little, with no small expence and pain, brought his cause to some perfection, and had drawn together so many adventurers, and such sums of money as might well defray a reasonable charge to furnish himself to sea withal.

He prepared two small barks of twenty and five and twenty tons a piece, wherein he intended to accomplish his pretended voyage. Wherefore, being furnished with the foresaid two barks, and one small pinnace of ten tons burthen, having therein victuals and other necessaries for twelve months provision, he departed upon the said voyage from Blackwall the 15th of June, Anno Domini 1576.

One of the barks wherein he went was named the *Gabriel*, and the other the *Michael*; and sailing N. W. from England, upon the 11th of July he had sight of an high and ragged land, which he judged to be Frizeland (whereof some authors have made mention), but durst not approach the same, by reason of the great store of ice that lay along the coast, and the great mists that troubled them not a little. Not far

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 67.

from thence he lost company of his small pinnace, which by means of the great storm he supposed to be swallowed up of the sea, wherein he lost only four men.

Also the other bark named the Michael, mistrusting the matter, conveyed themselves privily away from him, and returned home with great report that he was cast away.

The worthy captain, notwithstanding these discomforts, although his mast was sprung, and his topmast blown overboard with extreme foul weather, continued his course towards the N.W., knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, and that some land should have a beginning that way; and determined therefore at the least to bring true proof what land and sea the same might be so far to the north-westwards, beyond any man that hath heretofore discovered. And the 20th of July he had sight of an high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland; after her Majesty's name. And sailing more northerly along that coast, he descried another foreland, with a great gut, bay, or passage, dividing as it were two main lands or continents asunder. There he met with store of exceeding great ice all along this coast, and coveting still to continue his course to the northwards, was always by contrary winds detained overthwart these straights, and could not get beyond. Within few days after, he perceived the ice to be well consumed and gone, either there ingulphed in by some swift currents or indrafts, carried more to the southwards of the same streights, or else conveyed some other way; wherefore he determined to make proof of this place, to see how far that gut had continuance, and whether he might carry himself through the same into some open sea on the backside, whereof he conceived no small hope, and so entered the same the 21st day of July, and passed above fifty leagues therein, as he reported, having upon either hand a great main or continent. And that land upon his right hand as he sailed westward, he judged to be the continent of Asia, and there to be divided from the firm of America, which lieth upon the left hand over against the same.

This place he named after his name, Frobisher's Streights, like as Magellanus at the S.W. end of the world, having discovered the passage to the South Sea, (where America is divided from the continent of that land which lieth under the south pole), and called the same streights, Magellane's Streights.

After he had passed 60 leagues into this foresaid streight, he went ashore, and found signs where fire had been made.

He saw mighty deer which seemed to be mankind, which ran at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fain to use defence and policy to save his life.

In this place he saw and perceived sundry tokens of the people's resorting thither. And being ashore upon the top of a hill, he perceived a number of small things fleeting in the sea afar off, which he supposed to be porpoises or seals, or some kind of strange fish; but coming nearer he discovered them to be men in small boats made of leather. And before he could descend down from the hill, certain of those people had almost cut off his boat from him, having stolen secretly behind the rocks for that purpose, where he speedily hasted to his boat; and went himself to his halberd, and narrowly escaped the danger and saved his boat. Afterwards he had sundry conferences with them, and they came aboard his ship, and brought him salmon, and raw flesh and fish, and greedily devoured the same before our men's faces. And to shew their agility, they tried many masteries upon the ropes of the ship after our mariners fashion, and appeared to be very strong of their arms, and nimble of their bodies. They exchanged coats of seals, and bear skins, and such like, with our men; and received bells, looking-glasses, and other toys, in recompence thereof again. After great courtesie, and many meetings,

meetings, our mariners, contrary to their captain's direction, began more easily to trust them; and five of our men going ashore were by them intercepted with their boat, and were never since heard of to this day again; so that the captain being destitute of boat, bark, and all company, had scarcely sufficient number to conduct back his bark again. He could now neither convey himself ashore to rescue his men (if he had been able), for want of a boat; and again the subtle traitors were so wary, as they would after that never come within our men's danger. The captain notwithstanding, desirous to bring some token from thence of his being there, was greatly discontented that he had not before apprehended some of them; and therefore to deceive the deceivers, he wrought a pretty policy; for knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toys, and especially in bells, he rang a pretty low bell, making signs that he would give him the same that would come and fetch it. And because they would not come within his danger for fear, he flung one bell unto them, which of purpose he threw short, that it might fall into the sea and be lost. And to make them more greedy of the matter, he rang a louder bell, so that in the end one of them came near the ship's side to receive the bell, which when he thought to take at the captain's hand, he was thereby taken himself; for the captain being readily provided, let the bell fall, and caught the man fast, and plucked him with main force, boat and all, into his bark out of the sea. Whereupon when he found himself in captivity, for very choler and disdain he bit his tongue in twain within his mouth; notwithstanding he died not thereof, but lived until he came in England, and then he died of cold which he had taken at sea.

Now with this new prey (which was a sufficient witness of the captain's far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of the world, as did well appear by this strange infidel, whose like was never seen, read, nor heard of before, and whose language was neither known nor understood of any), the said Captain Frobisher returned homeward, and arrived in England in Harwich the 2d of October following, and thence came to London 1576, where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt, but specially famous for the great hope he brought of the passage to Cataya.

And it is especially to be remembered, that at their first arrival in those parts, there lay so great store of ice all the coast along so thick together, that hardly his boat could pass unto the shore. At length, after divers attempts, he commanded his company, if by any possible means they could get ashore, to bring him whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead, stock or stone, in token of Christian possession, which thereby he took in behalf of the Queen's most excellent majesty, thinking that thereby he might justify the having and enjoying of the same things that grew in these unknown parts.

Some of his company brought flowers, some green grass, and one brought a piece of black stone, much like to a sea-coal in colour, which by the weight seemed to be some kind of metal or mineral. This was a thing of no account in the judgment of the captain at first sight, and yet for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came.

After his arrival in London, being demanded of fundry of his friends what thing he had brought them home out of that country, he had nothing left to present them withal, but a piece of this black stone. And it fortun'd a gentlewoman, one of the adventurers' wives, to have a piece thereof, which by chance she threw and burned in the fire, so long, that at the length being taken forth, and quenched in a little vinegar, it glittered with a bright marcasite of gold. Whereupon the matter being called in some question, it was brought to certain gold-finers in London to make an essay thereof, who gave out that it held gold, and that very richly for the quantity. Afterwards the

same gold-miners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought. Some that had great hope of the matter, sought secretly to have a lease at her Majesty's hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the mass of so great a public profit unto their own private gains.

In conclusion: The hope of more of the same gold ore to be found, kindled a greater opinion in the hearts of many, to advance the voyage again. Whereupon, preparation was made for a new voyage against the year following, and the captain more specially directed by commission for the searching this gold ore, than for the searching any further discovery of the passage. And being well accompanied with divers resolute and forward gentlemen, her Majesty then lying at the Right Honourable the Lord of Warwick's house in Essex, he came to take his leave, and kissing her Highness's hands, with gracious countenance and comfortable words departed towards his charge.

A true Report of such Things as happened in the second Voyage of Captain Frobisher, pretended for the Discovery of a new Passage to Cataya, China, and the East Indies, by the North-west. Ann. Dom. 1577.

BEING furnished with one tall ship of her Majesty's, named the Aide, of two hundred tons, and two other small barks, the one named the Gabriel, the other the Michael, about 30 tons a-piece, being fitly appointed with men, ammunition, victuals, and all things necessary for the voyage, the said Captain Frobisher, with the rest of his company, came aboard his ships riding at Blackwall, intending (with God's help) to take the first wind and tide serving him, the 25th day of May, in the year of our Lord God 1577.

The names of such gentlemen as attempted this discovery, and the number of soldiers and mariners in each ship, as followeth:

Aboard the Aide, being Admiral, were the number of 100 men of all sorts, whereof 30 or more were gentlemen and soldiers, the rest sufficient and tall sailors.

Aboard the Gabriel, being Vice-Admiral, were in all 18 persons, whereof six were soldiers, the rest mariners.

Aboard the Michael were 16 persons, whereof five were soldiers, the rest mariners.

Aboard the Aide, was,

General of the whole company for her Majesty	-	Martin Frobisher.
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His Lieutenant	-	George Best.
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His Ensign	-	Richard Philpot.
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Corporal of the Shot	-	Francis Forder.
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{ Henry Carew.

Edmund Stafford.

John Lee.

M. Harvy.

{ Mathew Kinersley.

Abraham Lins.

Robert Kinnerley.

Francis Brakenbury.

{ William Armshaw.

The rest of the gentlemen

The

The Master	-	-	-	-	Christopher Hall.
The Mate	-	-	-	-	Charles Jackman.
The Pilot	-	-	-	-	Andrew Dier.
The Master Gunner	-	-	-	-	Richard Cox.
Aboard the Gabriel, was,					
Captain	-	-	-	-	Edward Fenton.
One gentleman	-	-	-	-	William Tamfield.
The Master	-	-	-	-	William Smith.
Aboard the Michael, was,					
Captain	-	-	-	-	Gilbert Yorke.
One gentleman	-	-	-	-	Thomas Chamberlaine.
The Master	-	-	-	-	James Beare.

On Whit Sunday, being the 26th of May. Anno 1577, early in the morning, we weighed anchor at Blackwall, and fell that tide down to Gravesend, where we remained until Monday at night.

On Monday morning, the 27th of May, aboard the *Aide* we received all the communion by the minister of Gravesend, and prepared us as good Christians towards God, and resolute men for all fortunes; and towards night we departed to Tilbery Hope.

Tuesday the 28th, about nine o'clock at night, we arrived at Harwich in Essex, and there stayed for the taking in of certain victuals, until Friday the 31st, during which time came letters from the Lords of the Council, straitly commanding our General, not to exceed his complement and number appointed him, which was 120 persons; whereupon he discharged many proper men, which with unwilling minds departed.

He also dismissed all his condemned men, which he thought for some purposes very needful for the voyage, and towards night, upon Friday the 31st of May, we set sail and put to the seas again. And sailing northward along the east coasts of England and Scotland, the 7th day of June we arrived in St. Magnus Sound in Orkney Islands, called in Latin *Orcades*, and came to anchor on the south side of the bay, and this place is reckoned from Blackwall, where we set sail first, ——— leagues.

Here our company going on land, the inhabitants of these islands began to flee as from the enemy, whereupon the lieutenant willed every man to stay together, and went himself unto their houses to declare what we were, and the cause of our coming thither, which being understood, after their poor manner they friendly entreated us, and brought us for our money such things as they had. And here our gold-siners found a mine of silver.

Orkney is the principal of the isles of the *Orcades*, and standeth in the latitude of 59 deg. and a half. The country is much subject to cold, answerable for such a climate, and yet yieldeth some fruits, and sufficient maintenance for the people contented so poorly to live.

There is plenty enough of poultry, store of eggs, fish, and fowl.

For their bread they have oaten cakes, and their drink is ewes' milk, and in some parts ale.

Their houses are but poor without, and fluttish enough within, and the people in nature thereunto agreeable; for their fire they burn heath and turf, the country in most parts being void of wood.

They have great want of leather, and desire our old shoes, apparel, and old ropes (before money), for their victuals, and yet are they not ignorant of the value of our coin. The chief town is called Kyrway.

In this island hath been sometime an abbey, or a religious house, called Saint Magnus, being on the west side of the isle, whereof the sound beareth name, through which we passed. Their governor, or chief lord, is called the Lord Robert Stewart, who at our being there, as we understood, was in durance at Edinburgh, by the Regent's commandment of Scotland.

After we had provided us here of matter sufficient for our voyage, the 8th of June we set sail again, and passing through Saint Magnus Sound, having a merry wind by night, came clear and lost sight of all the land, and keeping our course W. N. W. by the space of two days, the wind shifted upon us, so that we lay in traverse on the seas, with contrary winds, making good (as near as we could) our course to the westward, and sometime to the northward, as the wind shifted. And hereabout we met with three sail of English fishermen from Iceland, bound homeward, by whom we wrote our letters unto our friends in England. We traversed these seas by the space of 26 days without any sight of land, and met with much drift wood, and whole bodies of trees. We saw many monstrous fishes, and strange fowls, which seemed to live only by the sea, being there so far distant from any land. At length God favoured us with more prosperous winds, and after we had sailed four days, with good wind in the poop, the 4th of July, the Michael being foremost a-head, shot off a piece of ordnance, and struck all her sails, supposing that they descried land, which by reason of the thick mists, they could not make perfect; howbeit, as well our account, as also the great alteration of the water, which became more black and smooth, did plainly declare we were not far off the coast. Our general sent his master aboard the Michael (who had been with him the year before), to bear in with the place to make proof thereof, who descried not the land perfect, but saw sundry huge islands of ice, which we deemed to be not past 12 leagues from the shore, for about ten of the clock at night, being the 4th of July, the weather being more clear, we made the land perfect, and knew it to be Friseland. And the height being taken here, we found ourselves to be in the latitude of 60 degrees and a half, and were fallen with the southernmost point of this land.

This Friseland sheweth a ragged and high land, having the mountains almost covered over with snow, along the coast full of drift ice, and seemeth almost inaccessible, and is thought to be an island in bigness not inferior to England, and is called of some authors West Friseland, I think because it lyeth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth in latitude very far to the northward, as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren, Venetians, Nicholaus and Anthonius Zeni, who being driven off from Ireland with a violent tempest, made shipwreck here, and were the first known Christians that discovered this land, about 200 years since, and they have in their sea-cards set out every part thereof, and descried the condition of the inhabitants, declaring them to be as civil and religious people as we. And for so much of this land as we have sailed along, comparing their card with the coast, we find it very agreeable. This coast seemeth to have good fishing, for we lying becalmed, let fall a hook without any bait, and presently caught a great fish called a hollibur, who served the whole company for a day's meat, and is dangerous meat for surfeiting. And sounding about five leagues off from the shore, our lead brought up in the tallow, a kind of coral almost white, and small stones as bright as crystal, and it is not to be doubted but this land may be found very rich and beneficial, if it were thoroughly discovered, although we saw no creature there but little birds. It is a marvellous thing to behold of what great bigness and depth some islands of ice be here, some 70, some 80 fathom under water, besides that which is above, seeming islands more than half a mile in circuit. All these ice are in taste fresh, and seem to be

be bred in the sounds thereabouts, or in some land near the pole, and with the winds and tides are driven along the coasts. We found none of these islands of ice salt in taste, whereby it appeareth that they were not congealed of the ocean sea-water, which is always salt, but of some standing or little moving lakes or great fresh waters near the shore, caused either by melted snow from tops of mountains, or by continual access of fresh rivers from the land, and intermingling with the sea-water, bearing yet the dominion (by the force of extreme frost) may cause some part of salt water to freeze so with it, and so seem a little brackish, but otherwise the main sea freezeth not, and therefore there is no *mare glaciale*, or frozen sea, as the opinion hitherto hath been. Our general tried landing here twice, but by the sudden fall of mists (whereunto this coast is much subject), he was like to lose sight of his ships, and being greatly endangered with the driving ice along the coast, was forced aboard, and fain to surcease his pretence till a better opportunity might serve; and having spent four days and nights sailing along this land, finding the coast subject to such bitter cold and continual mists, he determined to spend no more time therein, but to bear out his course towards the streights called Frobisher's Streights, after the general's name, who being the first that ever passed beyond 58 degrees to the northwards, for any thing that hath been yet known of certainty of Newfoundland, otherwise called the continent or firm land of America, discovered the said streights this last year 1576.

Between Frizeland and the streights we had one great storm, wherein the Michael was somewhat in danger, having her stirrage broken, and her topmasts blown overboard, and being not past fifty leagues short of the streights by our account, we struck sail and lay a hull, fearing the continuance of the storm, the wind being at the N. E. and having lost company of the barks in that flaw of wind, we happily met again the 17th day of July, having the evening before seen divers islands of fleeting ice, which gave an argument that we were not far from land. Our general in the morning from the main-top (the weather being reasonably clear) descried land; but to be better assured, he sent the two barks two contrary courses, whereby they might descry either the South or North Foreland, the Aide lying off and on at sea, with a small sail by an island of ice, which was the mark for us to meet again together. And about noon, the weather being more clear, we made the North Foreland perfect, which otherwise is called Hall's Island, and also a small island bearing the name of the said Hall, whence the ore was taken up which was brought into England this last year 1576; the said Hall being present at the finding and taking up thereof, who was then master in the Gabriel with Captain Frobisher. At our arrival here, all the seas about this coast were so covered over with huge quantity of great ice, that we thought these places might only deserve the name of *Mare Glaciale*, and be called the Icy Sea.

This North Foreland is thought to be divided from the continent of the Northerland, by a little sound called Hall's Sound, which maketh it an island, and is thought little less than the Isle of Wight, and is the first entrance of the streights upon the northern side, and standeth in the latitude of 62 degrees and 50 minutes. God having blessed us with so happy a land-fall, we bare into the streights which run in next hand, and somewhat further up to the northward, and came as near the shore as we might for the ice; and upon the 18th day of July, our general taking the gold-finers with him, attempted to go on shore with a small rowing pinnace, upon the small island where the ore was taken up, to prove whether there were any store thereof to be found; but he could not get, in all that island, a piece as big as a walnut, where the first was found. But our men, which sought the other islands thereabouts, found them all to have good store of the ore, whereupon our general with these good tidings returned aboard about

about ten of the clock at night, and was joyfully welcomed of the company, with a volley of shot. He brought eggs, fowls, and a young seal aboard, which the company had killed ashore; and having found, upon those islands, gins set to catch fowl, and sticks new cut, with other things, he well perceived, that, not long before, some of the country people had resorted thither.

Having therefore found those tokens of the people's access in those parts, and being in his first voyage well acquainted with their subtle and cruel disposition, he provided well for his better safety; and on Friday the 19th of July, in the morning early, with his best company of gentlemen and soldiers, to the number of 40 persons, went on shore, as well to discover the in-land and habitation of the people, as also to find out some fit harbour for our ships; and passing towards the shore with no small difficulty, by reason of the abundance of ice, which lay along the coast so thick together, that hardly any passage through them might be discovered, we arrived at length upon the main of Hall's greater island, and found there also, as well as in the other small islands, good store of the ore. And leaving his boats here with sufficient guard, we passed up into the country about two English miles, and recovered the top of a high hill, on the top whereof our men made a column of cross stones, heaped up of a good height together, in good sort, and solemnly sounded a trumpet, and said certain prayers, kneeling about the ensign, and honoured the place with the name of Mount Warwick, in remembrance of the Right Honourable Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, whose noble mind and good countenance in this, as in all other good actions, gave great encouragement and good furtherance. This done, we retired our companies, not seeing any thing here worthy of further discovery; the country seeming barren and full of ragged mountains, and in most parts covered with snow.

And thus marching towards our boats, we descried certain of the country people on the top of Mount Warwick, with a flag waiving us back again, and making great noise, with cries like the mowing of bulls, seeming greatly desirous of conference with us; whereupon the general being therewith better acquainted, answered them again with the like cries; whereat, and with the noise of our trumpets, they seemed greatly to rejoice, skipping, laughing, and dancing for joy. And hereupon we made signs unto them, holding up two fingers, commanding two of our men to go apart from our companies, whereby they might do the like. So that forthwith two of our men and two of theirs met together, a good space from company, neither party having their weapons about them. Our men gave them pins, and points, and such trifles as they had; and they likewise bestowed on our men two bow-cases, and such things as they had. They earnestly desired our men to go up into their country, and our men offered them like kindness about our ships, but neither part (as it seemed) admitted or trusted the others courtesy. Their manner of traffick is thus; they do use to lay down of their merchandize upon the ground, so much as they mean to part withal, and so looking that the other party with whom they make trade, should do the like, they themselves do depart, and then, if they do like of their part, they come again, and take in exchange the others merchandise; otherwise, if they like not, they take their own and depart. The day being thus well near spent, in haste we retired our companies into our boats again, minding forthwith to search along the coast for some harbour fit for our ships, for the present necessity thereof was much, considering that all this while they lay off and on between the two lands, being continually subject, as well to great danger of fleeting ice, which environed them, as to the sudden flows which the coast seemed much subject to. But when the people perceived our departure, with great tokens of affection they earnestly called us back again, following us almost to our boats; whereupon, our general,

general, taking his master with him, who was best acquainted with their manners, went apart unto two of them; meaning, if they could lay sure hold upon them, forcibly to bring them aboard, with intent to bestow certain toys and apparel upon the one, and so to dismiss him with all arguments of courtesy, and retain the other for an interpreter. The general, and his master, being met with their two companions together, after they had exchanged certain things, the one with the other, one of the savages, for lack of better merchandize, cut off the tail of his coat (which is a chief ornament among them), and gave it unto our general for a present: but he presently, upon a watch-word given him with his master, suddenly laid hold upon the two savages; but the ground underfoot being slippery with the snow on the side of the hill, their handfast failed, and their prey escaping, ran away and lightly recovered their bows and arrows, which they had hid not far from them, behind the rocks; and being only two savages in fight, they so fiercely, desperately, and with such fury assailed and pursued our general and his master, being altogether unarmed; and not mistrusting their subtlety, that they chased them to their boats, and hurt the general in the buttock with an arrow, who the rather speedily fled back, because they suspected a greater number behind the rocks. Our soldiers (which were commanded before to keep their boats) perceiving the danger, and hearing our men calling for shot, came speedily to rescue, thinking there had been a greater number. But when the savages heard the shot of one of our calivers, (and yet having first bestowed their arrows,) they ran away, our men speedily following them. But a servant of my Lord of Warwick, called Nicholas Conger, a good footman, and uncumbered with any furniture, having only a dagger at his back, overtook one of them, and being a Cornish man, and a good wrestler, shewed his companion such a Cornish trick, that he made his sides ache against the ground for a month after; and so being stayed, he was taken alive and brought away, but the other escaped. Thus, with their strange and new prey, our men repaired to their boats, and passed from the main to a small island of a mile compass, where they resolved for to tarry all night; for even now a sudden storm was grown so great at sea, that by no means they could recover their ships. And here every man refreshed himself with a small portion of victuals, which was laid into the boats for their dinners, having neither eat nor drank all the day before. But because they knew not how long the storm might last, nor how far off the ships might be put to sea, nor whether they should ever recover them again or not, they made great spare of their victuals, as it greatly behoved them; for they knew full well, that the best cheer the country could yield them, was rocks and stone, a hard food to live withal; and the people more ready to eat them, than to give them wherewithal to eat. And thus, keeping very good watch and ward, they lay there all night, upon hard cliffs of snow and ice, both wet, cold, and comfortless.

These things thus happening with the company on land, the danger of the ships at sea was no less perilous; for within one hour after the general's departing in the morning, by negligence of the cook in overheating, and the workman in making the chimney, the Aide was set on fire, and had been the confusion of the whole, if, by chance a boy espying it, it had not been speedily, with great labour and God's help, well extinguished.

This day also were divers storms and flaws, and by nine of the clock at night the storm was grown so great, and continued such until the morning, that it put our ships at sea in no small peril; for having mountains of fleeting ice on every side, we went roomer for one, and loosed for another; some scraped us, and some happily escaped us, that the least of all of them were as dangerous to strike as any rock, and able to have split asunder the strongest ship of the world. We had a scope of clear, without ice (as

God would), wherein we turned, being otherwise compassed on every side about; but so much was the wind, and so little was the sea-room, that being able to bear only our fore-course, we cast so oft about, that we made fourteen boards in eight glasses running, being but four hours; but God being our best steersman, and by the industry of Charles Jackman and Andrew Dier, the master's mates, both very expert mariners, and Richard Cox, the master gunner, with other very careful sailors, then within board, and also by the help of the clear nights, which are without darkness, we did happily avoid those present dangers, whereat since we have more marvelled than in the present danger feared; for that every man within board, both better and worse, had enough to do with his hands to haul ropes, and with his eyes to look out for danger. But the next morning, being the 20th of July, (as God would,) the storm ceased, and the general espying the ships, with his new captive and whole company, came happily aboard, and reported what had passed ashore, whereupon, all together upon our knees we gave God humble and hearty thanks, for that it had pleased Him from so speedy peril to send us such speedy deliverance; and so from this northern shore we struck over towards the southern land.

The 21st of July we discovered a bay which ran into the land, that seemed a likely harbour for our ships; wherefore our general rowed thither with his boats to make proof thereof, and with his gold-finers to search for ore, having never essayed any thing on the south shore as yet, and the first small island which we landed upon. Here all the sands and cliffs did so glister, and had so bright a marcasite, that it seemed all to be gold; but, upon trial made, it proved no better than black-lead, and verified the proverb, "all is not gold that glistereth."

On the 22d of July we bare into the said sound, and came to anchor a reasonable breadth off the shore, where thinking ourselves in good security, we were greatly endangered with a piece of drift ice, which the ebb brought forth of the sounds, and came thwart us ere we were aware. But the gentlemen and soldiers within board, taking great pains at this pinch at the capstan, overcame the most danger thereof, and yet for all that might be done, it struck on our stern such a blow, that we feared lest it had stricken away our rudder; and being forced to cut our cable in the lawse, we were fain to set our foresail, to run further up within, and if our steerage had not been stronger than in the present time, we feared we had run the ship upon the rocks, leaving a very narrow channel to turn in; but as God would, all came well to pass, and this was named Jackman's Sound, after the name of the master's mate, who had first liking unto the place.

Upon a small island within this sound, called Smith's Island (because he first set up his force there), was found a mine of silver, but was won out of the rocks without great labour. Here our gold-finers made essay upon such ore as they found upon the northern land, and found four sorts thereof to hold gold in good quantity. Upon another small island here was also found a great dead fish, which, as it should seem, had been embayed with ice, and was in proportion round like to a porpoise, being about twelve feet long, and in bigness answerable, having a horn of two yards long growing out of the snout or nostrils. This horn is wreathed and straight, like in fashion to a taper made of wax, and may truly be thought to be the sea-unicorn. This horn is to be seen, and reserved as a jewel by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, in her wardrobe of robes.

Tuesday the 23d of July, our general, with his best company of gentlemen, soldiers, and sailors, to the number of 70 persons in all, marched, with ensign displayed upon the continent of the southernland (the supposed continent of America), where, commanding

manding a trumpet to sound a call for every man to repair to the ensign, he declared to the whole company, how much the cause imported for the service of her Majesty, our country, our credits, and the safety of our own lives; and therefore required every man to be conformable to order, and to be directed by those he should assign. And he appointed for leaders, Captain Fenton, Captain Yorke, and his Lieutenant George Best; which done, we cast ourselves into a ring, and altogether upon our knees, gave God humble thanks, for that it had pleased Him of His goodness to preserve us from such imminent dangers, beseeching likewise the assistance of His Holy Spirit, so to deliver us in safety into our country, whereby the light and truth of these secrets being known, it might redound to the more honour of His Holy Name, and consequently to the advancement of our commonwealth. And so in as good sort, as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountains, which were no less painful in climbing than dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepness and ice. And having passed about five miles by such unwieldy ways, we returned unto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here divers of the gentlemen desired our general to suffer them, to the number of twenty or thirty persons, to march up thirty or forty leagues into the country; to the end they might discover the inland, and do some acceptable service for their country: but he, not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedy desire our country hath to a present favour and return of gain, bent his whole endeavour only to find a mine to freight his ships, and to leave the rest (by God's help) hereafter to be well accomplished. And, therefore, the 26th of July, he departed over to the north-land with the two barks, leaving the Aide riding in Jackman's Sound, and meant, after he had found convenient harbour and freight there for his ships, to discover further for the passage. The barks came the same night to anchor in a sound upon the northerland, where the tides did run so swift, and the place was so subject to indrafts of ice, that by reason thereof they were greatly endangered; and having found a very rich mine, as they supposed, and got almost 20 ton of ore together, upon the 28th of July the ice came driving into the sound where the barks rode, in such sort, that they were therewith greatly distressed: and the Gabriel riding astern the Michael, had her cable galled asunder in the hawse by a piece of driving ice, and lost another anchor; and having but one cable and anchor left, for she had lost two before, and the ice still driving upon her, she was, by God's help, well fenced from the danger of the rest, by one great island of ice, which came a-ground hard a-head of her, which if it had not so chanced, I think, surely, she had been cast upon the rocks with the ice. The Michael moored anchor upon this great ice, and rode under the lee thereof; but, about midnight, by the weight of itself, and the setting of the tides, the ice brake within half the bark's length, and made unto the company within board a sudden and fearful noise. The next flood, towards the morning, we weighed anchor, and went further up the streights, and leaving our ore behind us which we had digged, for haste left the place by the name of Beare's Sound, after the name of the master of the Michael, and named the island Leicester's Island. In one of the small islands here we found a tomb, wherein the bones of a dead man lay together, and our savage captive being with us, and being demanded, by signs, whether his countrymen had not slain this man and eat his flesh so from the bones, he made signs to the contrary, and that he was slain with wolves and wild beasts. Here also was found, hid under stones, good store of fish, and sundry other things of the inhabitants; as sleds, bridles, kayes of fish-skins, knives of bone, and such other like. And our savage declared unto us the use of all those things; and taking in his hand one of those country bridles, he caught one

of our dogs and hampered him handsomely therein, as we do our horses, and with a whip in his hand, he taught the dog to draw in a sled, as we do horses in a coach, setting himself thereupon like a guide; so that we might see they use dogs for that purpose that we do our horses. And we found since by experience, that the lesser sort of dogs they feed fat, and keep them as domestic cattle in their tents for eating, and the greater sort serve for the use of drawing their sleds.

The 29th of July, about five leagues from Beare's Sound, we discovered a bay, which being fenced on each side with small islands, lying off the main, which break the force of the tides, and make the place free from any drafts of ice, did prove a very fit harbour for our ships, where we came to anchor under a small island, which now, together with the sound, is called by the name of that right honourable and virtuous lady, Anne Countess of Warwick. And this is the furthest place that this year we have entered up within the streights, and is reckoned from the cape of the Queen's Foreland, which is the entrance of the streights, not above 30 leagues. Upon this island was found good store of the ore, which, in the washing, to our thinking, held gold, plainly to be seen; whereupon it was thought best rather to load here, where there was store and indifferent good, than to seek further for better, and spend time with jeopardy. And therefore our general, setting the miners to work, and shewing first a good precedent of a painful labourer and a good captain in himself, gave good examples for others to follow him. Whereupon, every man, both better and worse, with their best endeavours, willingly laid to their helping hands; and the next day, being the 30th of July, the Michael was sent over to Jackman's Sound, for the Aide and the whole company to come thither. Upon the main land over against the Countess's Island, we discovered and beheld, to our great marvel, the poor caves and houses of those country people, which serve them, as it should seem, for their winter dwellings, and are made two fathom under ground, in compass round, like to an oven, being joined fast one to another, having holes like a fox or coney berry, to keep and come together. They undertrenched these places with gutters so, that the water falling from the hills above them, may slide away without their annoyance; and are seated commonly in the foot of a hill, to shield them better from the cold winds, having their door and entrance ever open towards the south. From the ground upwards they build with whales bones, for lack of timber, which bending one over another, are handsomely compacted in the top together, and are covered over with seals skins, which, instead of tiles, fence them from the rain; in which house they have only one room, having the one half of the floor raised with broad stones a foot higher than the other, whereon strewing moss, they make their nests to sleep in. They defile these dens most filthily with their beastly feeding, and dwell so long in a place, as we think, until their stutishness loathing them, they are forced to seek a sweeter air, and a new seat, and are, no doubt, a dispersed and wandering nation, as the Tartarians, and live in hordes and troops, without any certain abode, as may appear by sundry circumstances of our experience.

Here, our captive being ashore with us, to declare the use of such things as we saw, stayed himself alone behind the company, and did set up five small sticks round in a circle one by another, with one small bone placed just in the midst of all; which thing when one of our men perceived, he called us back to behold the matter, thinking that he had meant some charm or witchcraft therein. But the best conjecture we could make thereof was, that he would thereby his countrymen should understand, that for our five men, whom they betrayed the last year, (whom he signified by the five sticks,) he was taken prisoner, which he signified by the bone in the midst: for afterwards, when we shewed

shewed him the picture of his countryman, which the last year was brought into England, (whose counterfeit we had drawn, with boat and other furniture, both as he was in his own, and also in English apparel,) he was upon the sudden much amazed thereat, and beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would strain courtesie whether should begin the speech, (for he thought him no doubt a lively creature,) at length began to question with him, as with his companion, and finding him dumb and mute, feared to suspect him, as one disdainful, and would with a little help have grown into choler at the matter, until at last by feeling and handling, he found him but a deceiving picture; and then with great noise and cries, ceased not wondering, thinking that we could make men live or die at our pleasure.

And thereupon calling the matter to his remembrance, he gave us plainly to understand by signs, that he had knowledge of the taking our five men the last year, and confessing the manner of each thing, numbered the five men upon his five fingers, and pointed unto a boat in our ship, which was like unto that wherein our men were betrayed; and when we made him signs that they were slain and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signs to the contrary.

The last of July, the Michael returned with the Aide to us, from the southerland, and came to anchor by us in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, and reported, that since we departed from Jackman's Sound, there happened nothing among them there greatly worth the remembrance, until the 30th. of July, when certain of our company being ashore upon a small island within the said Jackman's Sound, near the place where the Aide rode, did espy a long boat with divers of the country people therein, to the number of 18 or 20 persons, whom so soon as our men perceived, they returned speedily aboard, to give notice thereof unto our company. They might perceive these people climbing up to the top of a hill, where with a start they waded unto our ship, and made great outcries and noises, like so many bulls. Hereupon our men did presently man forth a small skiff, having not above six or seven persons therein, which rowed near the place where those people were, to prove if they could have any conference with them. But after this small boat was sent a greater, being well appointed for their rescue, if need required.

As soon as they espied our company coming near them, they took their boats and hasted away, either for fear, or else for policy, to draw our men from rescue further within their danger; wherefore our men construing that their coming hither was but to seek advantage, followed speedily after them; but they rowed so swiftly away, that our men could come nothing near them, howbeit they failed not of their best endeavour in rowing, and having chased them above two miles into the sea, returned into their ships again.

The 1st of August, being the morning following, Captain Yorke, with the Michael, came into Jackman's Sound, and declared unto the company there, that the last night past he came to anchor in a certain bay (which since was named Yorke's Sound,) about four leagues distant from Jackman's Sound, being put to leeward of that place for lack of wind, where he discovered certain tents of the country people, where going with his company ashore, he entered into them, but found the people departed, as it should seem, for fear of their coming. But amongst sundry strange things which in these tents they found, there was raw and new killed flesh of unknown sorts, with dead carcases and bones of dogs, and I know not what. They also beheld (to their greatest marvel) a doublet of canvas made after the English fashion, a shirt, a girdle, three shoes, for contrary feet, and of unequal bigness, which they well conjectured to be the apparel of our five poor countrymen, which were intercepted the last year by these country people,

people, about fifteen leagues from this place, further within the streights; whereupon our men being in good hope, that some of them might be here, and yet living, the captain devising for the best, left his mind behind him in writing, with pen, ink, and paper also, whereby our poor captive countrymen, if it might come to their hands, might know their friends' minds, and of their arrival, and likewise return their answer. And so without taking any thing away in their tents, leaving there also looking-glasses, points, and others of our toys, (the better to allure them by such friendly means,) departed aboard his bark, with intent to make haste to the Aide, to give notice unto the company of all such things as he had there discovered, and so meant to return to those tents again, hoping that he might by force or policy entrap or entice the people to some friendly conference. Which things when he had delivered to the whole company there, they determined forthwith to go in hand with the matter. Hereupon Captain Yorke, with the master of the Aide and his mate, (who the night before had been at the tents, and came over from the other side in the Michael with him,) being accompanied with the gentlemen and soldiers, to the number of 30 or 40 persons, in two small rowing pinnaces, made towards the place where the night before they discovered the tents of those people, and setting Charles Jackman, being the master's mate, ashore, with a convenient number, for that he could best guide them to the place, they marched over land, meaning to compass them on the one side, whilst the captain, with his boats, might entrap them on the other side. But landing at last at the place where the night before they left them, they found them with their tents removed. Notwithstanding, our men which marched up into the country, passing over two or three mountains, by chance espied certain tents in a valley underneath them, near unto a creek by the sea-side, which because it was not the place where the guide had been the night before, they judged them to be another company, and besetting them about, determined to take them if they could; but they having quickly descried our company, launched one great and another small boat, being about 16 or 18 persons, and very narrowly escaping, put themselves to sea. Whereupon, our soldiers discharged their calivers, and followed them, thinking the noise thereof being heard to our boats at sea, our men there would make what speed they might to that place. And thereupon, indeed, our men which were in the boats, crossing upon them in the mouth of the sound, whereby their passage was let for getting sea-room, wherein it had been impossible for us to overtake them by rowing, forced them to put themselves ashore upon a point of land within the said sound, (which, upon occasion of the slaughter there, was since named The Bloody Point,) whereunto our men so speedily followed, that they had little leisure left them to make any escape. But so soon as they landed, each of them brake his oar, thinking by that means to prevent us in carrying away their boats for want of oars; and desperately returning upon our men, resisted them manfully in their landing, so long as their arrows and darts lasted, and after gathering up those arrows which our men shot at them; yea, and plucking our arrows out of their bodies, encountered afresh again, and maintained their cause until both weapons and life failed them: and when they found they were mortally wounded, being ignorant of what mercy meaneth, with deadly fury they cast themselves headlong from off the rocks into the sea, lest perhaps their enemies should receive glory or prey of their dead carcases, for they supposed us belike to be cannibals, or eaters of man's flesh. In this conflict one of our men was dangerously hurt in the belly with one of their arrows, and of them were slain five or six, the rest by flight escaping among the rocks, saving two women, whereof the one being old and ugly, our men thought she had been a devil or some witch, and therefore let her go, the other being young and cumbered with a sucking child at her back,

hiding herself behind the rocks, was espied by one of our men, who supposing she had been a man, shot through the hair of her head, and pierced through the child's arm, whereupon she cried out, and our surgeon meaning to heal her child's arm, applied salves thereunto. But she not acquainted with such kind of surgery, plucked those salves away, and by continual licking with her own tongue, not much unlike our dogs, healed up the child's arm. And because the day was well near spent, our men made haste unto the rest of our company, which on the other side of the water remained at the tents, where they found by the apparel, letter, and other English furniture, that they were the same company which Captain Yorke discovered the night before, having removed themselves from the place where he left them.

And now considering their sudden flying from our men, and their desperate manner of fighting, we began to suspect that we had heard the last news of our men which the last year were betrayed of these people : and considering also their ravenous and bloody disposition, in eating any kind of raw flesh or carrion, howsoever stinking, it is to be thought that they had slain and devoured our men, for the doublet which was found in their tents, had many holes therein, being made with their arrows and darts.

But now the night being at hand, our men with their captives, and such poor stuff as they found in their tents, returned towards their ships ; when being at sea, there arose a sudden flaw of wind, which was not a little dangerous for their small boats, but as God would, they came all safely aboard. And with these good news they returned (as before mentioned) into the Countess of Warwick's Sound unto us. And between Jackman's Sound, from whence they came, and the Countess of Warwick's Sound, between land and land, being thought the narrowest place of the streights, were judged nine leagues over at the least. And Jackman's Sound being upon the southerland, lieth directly almost over-against the Countess' Sound, as is reckoned scarce thirty leagues within the streights from the Queen's Cape, which is the entrance of the streights of the southerland. This cape, being named Queen Elizabeth's Cape, standeth in the latitude of sixty-two degrees and a half to the northwards of Newfoundland, and upon the same continent, for any thing that is yet known to the contrary.

Having now got a woman captive for the comfort of our man, we brought them both together ; and every man with silence desired to behold the manner of their meeting and entertainment, the which was more worth the beholding than can be well expressed by writing. At their first encountering they beheld each the other very wistly a good space, without speech or word uttered, with great change of colour and countenance, as though it seemed the grief and disdain of their captivity had taken away the use of their tongues and utterance ; the woman at the first very suddenly, as though she disdained, or regarded not the man, turned away, and began to sing as though she minded another matter ; but being again brought together, the man brake up the silence first, and with stern and staid countenance began to tell a long solemn tale to the woman, whereunto she gave good hearing, and interrupted him nothing till he had finished, and afterwards being grown into more familiar acquaintance by speech, they were turned together, so that (I think) the one would hardly have lived without the comfort of the other ; and for so much as we could perceive, although they lived continually together, yet they did never use as man and wife, though the woman spared not to do all necessary things that appertained to a good housewife indifferently for them both, as in making clean their cabin, and every other thing that appertained to his ease ; for when he was sea-sick, she would make him clean ; she would kill and slay the dogs for their eating, and dress his meat. Only I think it worth the noting, the continency of them both ; for the man would never shift himself, except he had first caused the woman to depart
out

out of the cabin, and they both were most shamefaced, lest any of their privy parts should be discovered, either of themselves or any other body.

On Monday the 6th of August, the lieutenant with all the soldiers, for the better guard of the miners and the other things ashore, pitched their tents in the Countess's island, and fortified the place for their better defence as well as they could, and were to the number of forty persons; when being all at labour, they might perceive upon the top of a hill over against them a number of the country people, wafting with a flag, and making great outcries unto them, and were of the same company which had encountered lately our men upon the other shore, being come to complain their late losses, and to entreat (as it seemed) for restitution of the woman and child, which our men in the late conflict had taken and brought away. Whereupon the general, taking the savage captive with him, and setting the woman where they might best perceive her, in the highest place of the island, went over to talk with them. This captive, at his first encounter of his friends, fell so out into tears, that he could not speak a word in a great space; but after a while overcoming his kindness, he talked at full with his companions, and bestowed friendly upon them such toys and trifles as we had given him, whereby we noted that they are very kind one to another, and greatly sorrowful for the loss of their friends. Our general, by signs, required his five men which they took captive the last year, and promised them not only to release those which he had taken, but also to reward them with great gifts and friendship. Our savage made signs in answer from them, that our men should be delivered us, and were yet living; and made signs likewise unto us, that we should write our letters unto them, for they knew very well the use we have of writing, and received knowledge thereof, either of our poor captive countrymen which they betrayed, or else by this our new captive, who hath seen us daily write, and repeat again such words of his language as we desired to learn; but they for this night, because it was late, departed without any letter, although they called earnestly in haste for the same. And the next morning early, being the 7th of August, they called again for the letter, which being delivered unto them, they speedily departed, making signs with three fingers, and pointing to the sun, that they meant to return within three days, until which time we heard no more of them, and about the time appointed they returned, in such sort as you shall afterwards hear.

This night, because the people were very near unto us, the lieutenant caused the trumpet to found a call, and every man in the island repairing to the ensign, he put them in mind of the place, so far from their country wherein they lived, and the danger of a great multitude which they were subject unto, if good watch and ward were not kept; for at every low-water the enemy might come almost dry-foot from the main unto us: wherefore he willed every man to prepare him in good readiness upon all sudden occasions; and so giving the watch their charge, the company departed to rest.

I thought the captain's letter well worth remembering, not for the circumstance of curious inditing, but for the substance and good meaning therein contained, and therefore have repeated here the same, as by himself it was hastily written.

The Form of M. Martin Frobisher's Letter to the English Captives.

IN the name of God, in whom we all believe, who (I trust) hath preserved your
bodies and souls amongst these infidels, I commend me unto you. I will be glad to
seek

seek by all means you can devise for your deliverance, either with force or with any commodities within my ships, which I will not spare for your sakes, or any thing else I can do for you. I have aboard of theirs, a man, a woman, and a child, which I am contented to deliver for you; but the man which I carried away from hence the last year, is dead in England. Moreover you may declare unto them, that if they deliver you not, I will not leave a man alive in their country. And thus, if one of you can come to speak with me, they shall have either the man, woman, or child, in pawn for you. And thus unto God, whom I trust you do serve, in haste I leave you, and to him we will daily pray for you. This Tuesday morning the 7th August, Anno 1577.

Your's to the uttermost of my power,

MARTIN FROBISHER.

"I have sent you by these bearers, pen, ink, and paper, to write back unto me again, if personally you cannot come, to certify me of your estate."

Now had the general altered his determination for going any farther into the streights at this time, for any further discovery of the passage, having taken a man and woman of that country, which he thought sufficient for the use of language; and having also met with these people here, which intercepted his men last year, (as the apparel and English furniture which was found in their tents very well declared,) he knew it was but a labour lost to seek them further off, when he had found them there at hand. And considering also the short time he had in hand, he thought it best to bend his whole endeavour for the getting of mine, and to leave the passage further to be discovered hereafter. For his commission directed him in this voyage, only for the searching of the ore, and to defer the further discovery of the passage until another time.

On Thursday the 9th of August, we began to make a small fort for our defence, in the Countess's Island, and entrenched the corner of a cliff, which on three parts, like a wall of good height, was encompassed and well fenced with the sea, and we finished the rest with casks of the earth to good purpose, and this was called Best's Bulwark, after the lieutenant's name, who first devised the same. This was done, for that we suspected more, lest the desperate men might oppress us with multitude, than any fear we had of their force, weapons, or policy of battle: but as wisdom would us in such a place, so far from home, not to be of ourselves altogether careless; so the signs which our captive made unto us, of the coming down of his Governor or Prince, which he called Catchoe, gave us occasion to foresee what might ensue thereof; for he shewed by signs, that this Catchoe was a man of higher stature far than any of our nation is, and he is accustomed to be carried upon men's shoulders.

About midnight the lieutenant caused a false alarm to be given in the island, to prove as well the readiness of the company there ashore, as also what help might be hoped for upon the sudden, if need so required, and every part was found in good readiness upon such a sudden.

Saturday the 11th of August, the people shewed themselves again, and called unto us from the side of a hill over against us. The general (with good hope to hear of his men, and to have answer of his letter) went over unto them, where they presented themselves, not above three in sight, but were hidden indeed in great numbers behind the rocks, and making signs of delay with us, to entrap some of us to redeem their own, did only seek advantage to train our boat about a point of land from sight of our company: whereupon our men justly suspecting them, kept aloof without their danger, and yet set one of our company ashore, which took up a great bladder which one of them

them offered us, and leaving a looking-glass in the place, came into the boat again. In the mean while our men, which stood in the Countess's Island to behold, who might better discern them than those in the boat, by reason they were on higher ground, made a great outcry unto our men in the boat, for that they saw divers of the savages creeping behind the rocks towards our men; whereupon the general presently returned without tidings of his men.

Concerning this bladder which we received, our captive made signs that it was given him to keep water and drink in; but we suspected rather it was given him to swim and shift away withal, for he and the woman sought divers times to escape, having loosed our boats from a-stern our ships, and we never a boat left to pursue them withal, and had prevailed very far, had they not been very timely espied and prevented therein.

After our general's coming away from them, they mustered themselves in our sight upon the top of a hill, to the number of twenty in a rank, all holding hands over their heads, and dancing with great noise and songs together; we supposed that they made this dance and shew for us to understand, that we might take view of their whole companies and force, meaning belike that we should do the same. And thus they continued upon the hill tops until night, when hearing a piece of our great ordnance, which thundered in the hollowness of the high hills, it made unto them so fearful a noise, that they had no great will to tarry long after. And this was done more to make them know our force, than to do them any hurt at all.

On Sunday the 12th of August, Captain Fenton trained the company, and made the soldiers maintain skirmish among themselves, as well for their exercise as for the country people to behold in what readiness our men were always to be found; for it was to be thought that they lay hid in the hills thereabouts, and observed all the manner of our proceedings.

On Wednesday the 14th of August, our general, with two small boats well appointed, for that he suspected the country people to lie lurking thereabouts, went up a certain bay, within the Countess's Sound, to search for ore, and met again with the country people, who so soon as they saw our men, made great outcries, and with a white flag made of bladders sewed together with the guts and sinews of beasts, wafted us amain unto them, but shewed not above three of their company. But when we came near them, we might perceive a great multitude creeping behind the rocks, which gave us good cause to suspect their traiterous meaning; whereupon we made them signs, that if they would lay their weapons aside, and come forth, we would deal friendly with them, although their intent was manifested unto us: but for all the signs of friendship we could make them, they came still creeping towards us behind the rocks, to get more advantage of us, as though we had no eyes to see them, thinking belike that our single wits could not discover so bare devices and simple drifts of their's. Their spokesman earnestly persuaded us with many enticing shews, to come eat and sleep ashore, with great arguments of courtesy, and clapping his bare hands over his head in token of peace and innocency, willed us to do the like. But the better to allure our hungry stomachs, he brought us a trim bait of raw flesh, which for fashion sake with a boat-hook we caught into our boat: but when the cunning eater perceived his first cold morsel could nothing sharpen our stomachs, he cast about for a new train of warm flesh to procure our appetites; wherefore he caused one of his fellows in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rocks; and the better to declare his kindness in carving, he hoisted him upon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water-side where we were, left him there limping, as an easy prey to be taken of us. His hope was that we would

would bite at this bait, and speedily leap ashore within their danger, whereby they might have apprehended some of us, to ransom their friends home again, which before we had taken. The gentlemen and soldiers had great will to encounter them ashore; but the general, more careful by process of time to win them, than wilfully at the first to spoil them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himself in any hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the ore, and not for the conquest. Notwithstanding, to prove this cripple's footmanship, he gave liberty for one to shoot; whereupon the cripple having a parting blow, lightly recovered a rock, and went away a true and no feigned cripple; and hath learned his lesson for ever halting afore such cripples again. But his fellows, which lay hid before, full quickly then appeared in their likenesses, and maintained the skirmish with their slings, bows, and arrows, very fiercely, and came as near as the water suffered them; and with as desperate mind as hath been seen in any man, without fear of shot or any thing, followed us all along the coast, but all their shot fell short of us, and are of little danger. They had belayed all the coast along for us, and being dispersed so, were not well to be numbered; but we might discern of them about a hundred persons, and had cause to suspect a greater number. And thus without loss or hurt we returned to our ships again.

Now our work growing to an end, and having, with only five poor miners, and the help of a few gentlemen and soldiers, brought aboard almost 200 ton of ore, in the space of twenty days, every man therewithal well comforted, determined lustily to work afresh for a bone voyage, to bring our labour to a speedy and happy end.

And on Wednesday, at night, being the 21st of August, we fully finished the whole work. And it was now good time to leave, for as the men were well wearied, so their shoes and cloaths were well worn; their baskets' bottoms torn out, their tools broken, and the ships reasonably well filled. Some, with over-straining themselves, received hurts not a little dangerous, some having their bellies broken, and others their legs made lame. And about this time the ice began to congeal and freeze about our ships' sides a-night, which gave us a good argument of the sun's declining southward, and put us in mind to make more haste homeward.

It is not a little worth the memory, to the commendation of the gentlemen and soldiers herein, who leaving all reputation a-part, with so great willingness and with courageous stomachs, have themselves almost overcome in so short a time the difficulty of this so great a labour; and this to be true, the matter, if it be well weighed without further proof, now brought home doth well witness.

Thursday, the 22d of August, we plucked down our tents, and every man hastened homeward, and making bonfires upon the top of the highest mount of the island, and marching with ensign displayed round about the island, we gave a volley of shot for a farewell, in honour of the Right Honourable Lady Anne Countess of Warwick, whose name it beareth; and so departed aboard.

The 23d, having the wind large at west, we set sail from out of the Countess's Sound homeward, but the wind calming, we came to anchor within the point of the same sound again.

The 24th, about three of the clock in the morning, having the wind large at west, we set sail again, and by nine of the clock at night we left the Queen's Foreland a-stern of us, and being clear of the streights, we bore further into the main ocean, keeping our course more southerly, to bring ourselves the sooner under the latitude of our own climate.

The wind was very great at sea, so that we lay a hull all night, and had snow half a foot deep on the hatches.

From the 24th until the 28th, we had very much wind, but large, keeping our course S. S. E. and had like to have lost the barks, but by good hap we met again.

The 29th the wind blew much at north-east, so that we could bear only a bunt of our fore-sail, and the barks were not able to carry any sail at all.

The Michael lost company of us, and shaped her course toward Orkney, because that way was better known unto them, and arrived at Yarmouth.

The 30th, with the force of the wind, and a surge of the sea, the master of the Gabriel and the boatswain were stricken both overboard; and hardly was the boatswain recovered, having hold on a rope hanging overboard in the sea, and yet the bark was laced fore and after with ropes a breast high within board.

This master was called William Smith, being but a young man and a very sufficient mariner, who being all the morning before exceeding pleasant, told his captain, he dreamt that he was cast over-board, and that the boatswain had him by the hand, and could not save him; and so immediately upon the end of his tale, his dream came right evilly to pass; and indeed the boatswain in like sort held him by one hand, having hold on a rope with the other, until his force failed, and the master drowned. We at this time reckoned ourselves to be about two hundred leagues from the Queen's Cape.

The last of August, about midnight, we had two or three sudden and great flaws or storms.

The first of September, the storm was grown very great, and continued almost the whole day and night, and lying a hull to tarry for the barks, our ship was much beaten with the seas, every sea almost overtaking our poop, so that we were constrained with a bunt of our sail to try it out, and ease the rolling of our ship. And so the Gabriel, not able to bear any sail to keep company with us, and our ship being higher in the poop, and a tall ship, whereon the wind had more force to drive, went so fast away that we lost sight of them, and left them to God and their good fortune of sea. The second day of September, in the morning, it pleased God of his goodness to send us a calm, whereby we perceived the rudder of our ship torn in twain, and almost ready to fall away. Wherefore taking the benefit of the time, we slung half a dozen of our best men over-board, who taking great pains under water, driving planks and binding with ropes, did well strengthen and mend the matter, who returned the most part more than half dead out of the water, and, as God's pleasure was, the sea was calm until the work was finished. In this voyage commonly we took the latitude of the place by the height of the sun, because the long day taketh away the light, not only of the polar, but also of all other fixed stars. And here the north star is so much elevated above the horizon, that with the staff it is hardly to be well observed, and the degrees in the astrolabe are too small to observe minutes. Therefore we always used the staff and the sun, as fittest instruments for this use.

Having spent four or five days in traverse of the seas with contrary wind, making our southerly way good as near as we could, to raise our degrees to bring ourselves with the latitude of Scilly, the 11th of September, about six o'clock at night, the wind came good S. W. we veered sheet, and set our course S. E.

The 13th, being in the latitude of Scilly, the wind W. S. W. we kept our course E. to run in with the Sleeve, or channel so called, being our narrow seas, and reckoned us short of Scilly twelve leagues.

Monday,

Monday, the 15th, about four o'clock, we began to found with our lead, and had ground at sixty-one fathoms depth, white small sandy ground, and reckoned us upon the back of Scilly, and set our course E. by N., E. N. E., and N. E. among.

The 16th, about eight o'clock in the morning founding, we had sixty fathoms oozy sand, and thought ourselves thwart of St. George's Channel a little within the banks; and bearing a small sail all night, we made many foundings, which were about forty fathoms, and so shallow that we could not tell well where we were.

The 17th we founded, and had forty fathoms, and were not far off the land's-end, and being within the bay, we were not able to double the point with a S. by E. way, but were fain to make another board, the wind being at S. W. by W. and yet could not double the point to come clear of the land's-end, to bear along the Channel, and the weather cleared up when we were hard aboard the shore, and we made the land's-end perfect, and so put up along St. George's Channel; and the weather being very foul at sea, we coveted some harbour, because our steerage was broken, and so came to anchor in Padstow-road in Cornwall. But riding there a very dangerous road, we were advised by the country to put to sea again, and of the two evils to choose the less, for there was nothing but present peril where we rode; whereupon we plied along the channel to get to Londy, from whence we were again driven; but being an open road, where our anchor came home, and with force of weather put to sea again, and about the 23d of September arrived at Milford Haven in Wales, which being a very good harbour, made us happy men, that we had received such long-desired safety.

About one month after our arrival here, by order from the Lords of the Council, the ship came up to Bristow, where the ore was committed to keeping in the castle there. Here we found the Gabriel, one of the barks, arrived in good safety, who having never a man within board very sufficient to bring home the ship, after the master was lost, by good fortune, when she came upon the coast, met with a ship of Bristow at sea, which conducted her in safety thither.

Here we heard good tidings of the other bark also, called the Michael, in the north parts, which was not a little joyful unto us, that it pleased God so to bring us to a safe meeting again; and we lost in all the voyage only one man, besides one that died at sea, who was sick before he came aboard, and was so desirous to follow this enterprize, that he rather chose to die therein, than not to be one to attempt so notable a voyage.

THE THIRD VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN FROBISHER,

PRETENDED FOR THE DISCOVERY OF CATAYA.

BY META INCOGNITA, ANNO DOM. 1578.

THE general being returned from the second voyage, immediately after his arrival in England, repaired with all haste to the Court, being then at Windsor, to advertise Her Majesty of his prosperous proceeding and good success in this last voyage, and of the plenty of gold ore, and other matters of importance which he had in these septentrional parts discovered. He was courteously entertained, and heartily welcomed of many noblemen; but especially for his great adventure commended of Her Majesty, at whose hands he received great thanks, and most gracious countenance according to his deserts. Her Highness also greatly commended the rest of the gentlemen in this service, for their great forwardness in this so dangerous an attempt; but especially she rejoiced very much, that among them was so good order of government, so good agreement, every man so ready in his calling, to do whatever the general should command; which due commendation graciously of Her Majesty remembered, gave so great encouragement to all the captains and gentlemen, that they, to continue Her Highness so good and honourable opinion of them, have since neither spared labour, limb, nor life, to bring this matter (so well begun) to a happy and prosperous end. And finding that the matter of the gold ore had appearance, and made shew of great riches and profit, and the hope of the passage to Cataya by this last voyage greatly increased, Her Majesty appointed special commissioners chosen for this purpose, gentlemen of great judgment, art, and skill, to look thoroughly into the cause, for the true trial and due examination thereof, and for the full handling of all matters thereunto appertaining. And because that place and country hath never heretofore been discovered, and therefore had no special name by which it might be called and known, Her Majesty named it very properly Meta Incognita, as a mark and bound utterly hitherto unknown. The commissioners, after sufficient trial and proof made of the ore, and having understood by sundry reasons, and substantial grounds, the possibility and likelihood of the passage; advertised Her Highness that the cause was of importance, and the voyage greatly worthy to be advanced again. Whereupon preparation was made of ships and all other things necessary, with such expedition as the time of the year then required. And because it was assuredly made account of, that the commodity of mines there already discovered, would at the least countervail in all respects the adventurers' charges, and give further hope and likelihood of greater matters to follow, it was thought needful, both for the better guard of those parts already found, and for the further discovery of the inland and secrets of those countries, and also for further search of the passage to Cataya (whereof the hope continually more and more increaseth), that certain numbers of chosen soldiers and discreet men for those purposes should be assigned to inhabit there. Whereupon there was a strong fort or house of timber, artificially framed and cunningly devised, by a notable learned man here at home, in ships to be carried there, whereby those men that were appointed to winter and stay there the whole winter, might as well be defended from

the danger of the snow and cold air, as also fortified from the force or offence of those country people, which perhaps otherwise with too great multitudes might oppress them. And to this great adventure and notable exploit many well-minded and forward young gentlemen of our country willingly have offered themselves. And first, Captain Fenton, lieutenant-general for Captain Frobisher, and in charge of the company with him there, Captain Best and Captain Philpot, unto whose good discretions the government of that service was chiefly commended; who, as men not regarding peril in respect of the profit and common wealth of their country, were willing to abide the first brunt and adventure of those dangers among a savage and brutal kind of people, in a place hitherto ever thought for extreme cold not habitable. The whole number of men which had offered, and were appointed to inhabit Meta Incognita all the year, were one hundred persons, whereof forty should be mariners for the use of the ships, thirty miners for gathering the gold ore together for the next year, and thirty soldiers for the better guard of the rest, within which last number are included the gentlemen, gold-miners, bakers, carpenters, and all necessary persons. To each of the captains was assigned one ship, as well for the further searching of the coast and country there, as for to return and bring back their companies again, if the necessity of the place so urged, or, by miscarrying of the fleet the next year, they might be disappointed of their further provision. Being therefore thus furnished with all necessaries, there were ready to depart upon the said voyage fifteen sail of good ships, whereof the whole number was to return again with their lading of gold ore in the end of the summer, except those three ships which should be left for the use of those captains which should inhabit there the whole year. And being in so good readiness, the general with all the captains came to the Court, then lying at Greenwich, to take their leave of Her Majesty, at whose hands they all received great encouragement and gracious countenance. Her Highness, besides other good gifts and greater promises, bestowed on the general a fair chain of gold, and the rest of the captains kissed her hand, took their leave, and departed every man towards their charge.

The Names of the Ships, with their several Captains.

1. In the Aide, being Admiral, was the General,	Captain Frobisher.
2. The Thomas Allen, Vice-admiral,	- Yorke.
3. The Judith, Lieutenant-general,	- Fenton.
4. The Anne Francis	- Best.
5. The Hopewell	- Carew.
6. The Beare	- Philpot.
7. The Thomas of Ipswich	- Tanfield.
8. The Emanuel of Exeter	- Courtney.
9. The Francis of Foy	- Moyles.
10. The Moon	- Upcot.
11. Emanuel of Bridgewater	- Newton.
12. Salomon of Weymouth	- Randal.
13. The Bark Dennis	- Kendal.
14. The Gabriel	- Harvey.
15. The Michael	- Kinnerley.

The said fifteen sail of ships arrived and met together at Harwich the 27th of May, anno 1578, where the general and the other captains made view and mustered their companies.

companies. And every severall captain received from the general certain articles of direction, for the better keeping of order and company together in the way; which articles are as followeth:

Imprimis, to banish swearing, vice, and card-playing, and filthy communication, and to serve God twice a day, with the ordinary service usual in the Church of England, and to clear the glass, according to the old order of England.

The admiral shall carry the light, and after his light be once put out, no man to go a-head of him, but every man to set his sails to follow as near as they may, without endangering one another.

That no man shall, by day or by night, depart further from the admiral than the distance of one English mile, and as near as they may, without danger one of another.

If it chance to grow thick and the wind contrary, either by day or by night, that the admiral be forced to cast about, before her casting about she shall give warning, by shooting off a piece, and to her shall answer the vice-admiral, and the rear-admiral, each of them with a piece, if it be by night or in a fog; and that the vice-admiral shall answer first, and the rear-admiral last.

That no man in the fleet descrying any sail or sails, give upon any occasion any chase before he have spoken with the admiral.

That every evening all the fleet come up and speak with the admiral at seven o'clock, or between that and eight; and if the weather will not serve them all to speak with the admiral, then some shall speak with the vice-admiral, and receive the order of their course of Master Hall, chief pilot of the fleet, as he shall direct them.

If to any man in the fleet there happen any mischance, they shall presently shoot off two pieces by day, and if it be by night, two pieces, and shew two lights.

If any man in the fleet come up in the night, and hail his fellow, knowing him not, he shall give him this watch-word, "Before the world was God." The other shall answer him (if he be one of our fleet), "After God came Christ his Son." So that if any be found amongst us, not of our own company, he that first descrieth any such sail or sails, shall give warning to the admiral by himself or any other that he can speak to, that fails better than he, being nearest unto him.

That every ship in the fleet, in time of fogs, which continually happen with little winds, and most part calms, shall keep a reasonable noise with trumpet, drum, or otherwise, to keep themselves clear one of another.

If it fall out so thick or misty that we lay it to hull, the admiral shall give warning with a piece, and putting out three lights one over another, to the end that every man may take in his sails; and at his setting of sails again do the like, if it be not clear.

If any man discover land by night, that he give the like warning that he doth for mischances, two lights, and two pieces; if it be by day one piece, and put out his flag, and strike all his sails he hath abroad.

If any ship happen to lose company by force of weather, then any such ship or ships shall get her into the latitude of ———, and so keep that latitude until they get Frisland; and after they be past the west parts of Frisland, they shall get them into the latitude of ——— and ———, and not to the northward of ———; and being once entered within the streights, all such ships shall every watch shoot off a good piece, and look out well for smoke and fire, which those that get in first, shall make every night, until all the fleet be come together.

That upon the sight of an ensign on the mast of the admiral (a piece being shot off), the whole fleet shall repair to the admiral, to understand such conference as the general is to have with them.

If we chance to meet with any enemies, that four ships shall attend upon the admiral, viz. the Francis of Foy, the Moon, the bark Dennis, and the Gabriel; and four upon my lieutenant-general in the Judith, viz. the Hopewell, the Armenal, the Beare, and the Salomon; and the other four upon the vice-admiral, viz. the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, the Emanuel, and the Michael.

If there happen any disordered person in the fleet, that he be taken and kept in safe custody until he may conveniently be brought on board the admiral, and there to receive such punishment as his or their offences shall deserve,

By me, MARTIN FROBISHER.

Having received these articles of direction, we departed from Harwich the 31st of May, and sailing along the south part of England westward, we at length came by the coast of Ireland, at Cape Clear, the 6th of June, and gave chase there to a small bark which was supposed to be a pirate, or rover on the seas; but it fell out indeed that they were poor men of Bristow, who had met with such company of Frenchmen, as had spoiled and slain many of them, and left the rest so sore wounded, that they were like to perish in the sea, having neither hand nor foot whole to help themselves with, nor victuals to sustain their hungry bodies. Our general, who well understood the office of a soldier and an Englishman, and knew well what the necessity of the sea meaneth, pitying much the misery of the poor men, relieved them with surgery and salves to relieve their hurts, and with meat and drink to comfort their pining hearts; some of them having neither eaten nor drank more than olives and stinking water in many days before, as they reported. And after this good deed done, having a large wind, we kept our course upon the said voyage, without staying to take in fresh water, or any other provision, whereof many of the fleet were not thoroughly furnished; and sailing towards the N. W. parts from Ireland, we met with a great current from out of the S. W. which carried us, by our reckoning, one point to the northward of our said course; which current seemed to us to continue itself towards Norway, and other the N. E. parts of the world, whereby we may be induced to believe, that this is the same which the Portugals meet at Capo de Buona Sperança, where striking over from thence to the Streights of Magellan, and finding no passage there for the narrowness of the said streights, runneth along into the great Bay of Mexico; where also having a lot of land, it is forced to strike back again towards the N. E. as we not only here, but in another place also, further to the north-ward, by good experience this year have found, as shall be hereafter in its place more at large declared.

Now had we sailed about fourteen days without sight of any land, or any other living thing except certain fowls, as wiluots, noddies, gulls, &c. which there seem only to live by sea.

The 20th of June, at two o'clock in the morning, the general descried land, and found it to be West Frizland, now named West England. Here the general and other gentlemen went ashore; being the first known Christians that we have true notice of, that ever set foot upon that ground. And therefore the general took possession thereof to the use of our sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and discovered here a goodly harbour for the ships, where were also certain little boats of that country. And being there landed, they espied certain tents, and people of the country, which were (as they judged) in all sorts very like those of Meta Incognita, as by the apparel and other things which we found in their tents appeared.

The savage and simple people, so soon as they perceived our men coming toward them (supposing there had been no other world but theirs), fled fearfully away, as men
much

much amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of human shape, so far in apparel, complexion, and other things, different from themselves. They left in their tents all their furniture for haste behind them, where amongst other things were found a box of small nails, and certain red herrings, boards of fir-tree well cut, with divers other things artificially wrought, whereby it appeareth that they have trade with some civil people, or else are, indeed, themselves artificial workmen.

Our men brought away with them only two of their dogs, leaving in recompence bells, looking-glasses, and divers of our country toys behind them.

The country, no doubt, promiseth good hope of great commodity and riches, if it may be well discovered. Some are of opinion that this West England is firm land with the north-east parts of Meta Incognita, or else with Greenland. And their reason is, because the people, apparel, boats, and other things, are so like to theirs. And another reason is, the multitude of islands of ice, which lay between it and Meta Incognita; both argue that on the north side there is a bay, which cannot be but by the conjoining of the two lands together.

And having a fair and large wind, we departed from thence towards Frobisher's Streights, the 23d of June. But first we gave name to a high cliff in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certain similitude, we called it Charing Crofs. Then we bare southerly towards the sea, because to the northwards of this coast, we met with much driving ice, which by reason of the thick mists and weather might have been some trouble unto us.

On Monday the last of June, we met with many great whales, as they had been porpoises.

This same day the Salamander, being under both her courses and bounets, happened to strike a great whale with her full stem, with such a blow that the ship stood still, and stirred neither forward nor backward. The whale thereat made a great and ugly noise, and cast up his body and tail, and so went under water; and within two days after, there was found a great whale dead, swimming above water, which we supposed was that which the Salamander struck.

The 2d day of July, early in the morning, we had sight of the Queen's Foreland, and bare in with the land all the day, and passing through great quantity of ice, by night were entered somewhat within the streights; perceiving no way to pass further in, the whole place being frozen over from the one side to the other, and as it were, with many walls, mountains, and bulwarks of ice, choaked up the passage and denied us entrance. And yet do I not think that this passage or sea hereabouts is frozen over at any time of the year; albeit it seemed so unto us by the abundance of ice gathered together, which occupied the whole place; but I do rather suppose these ice to be bred in the hollow sounds and freshets thereabouts, which by the heat of the summer's sun, being loose, do empty themselves with the ebbs into the sea, and so gather in great abundance there together.

And to speak somewhat here of the ancient opinion of the frozen sea in these parts; I do think it to be rather a bare conjecture of men, than that ever any man hath made experience of any such sea; and that which they speak of Mare Glaciale, may be truly thought to be spoken of these parts, for this may well be called indeed the icy sea, but not the frozen sea, for no sea consisting of salt-water can be frozen; as I have more at large herein shewed my opinion in my second voyage, for it seemeth impossible for any sea to be frozen which hath its course of ebbing and flowing, especially in those places where the tides do ebb and flow above ten fathoms. And also all these said ice, which we sometimes met one hundred miles from land, being gathered out

out of the salt sea, are in taste fresh, and being dissolved, become sweet and wholesome water.

And the cause why this year we have been more cumbered with ice, than at other times before, may be by reason of the easterly and southerly winds, which brought us more timely hither than we looked for; which blowing from the sea directly upon the place of our straits, have kept in the ice, and not suffered them to be carried out to the main sea, where they would in more short time have been dissolved. And all these fleeting ice are not only so dangerous in that they wind and gather so near together, that a man may pass sometimes ten or twelve miles as it were upon one firm island of ice; but also for that they open and shut together in such sort with the tides and sea-gate, that whilst one ship followeth the other with full sails, the ice which was open to the foremost, will join and close again before the latter can follow the first, whereby many times our ships were brought into great danger, as being not able so suddenly to take in our sails, or stay the swift way of our ships.

We were forced many times to stem and strike great rocks of ice, and so as it were make way through mighty mountains. By such means some of the fleet, where they found the ice open, entered in, and passed so far within the danger thereof with continual desire to recover their port, that it was the greatest wonder of the world that they ever escaped safe, or were ever heard of again; for even at this present time we missed two of the fleet, that is, the Judith, wherein was the lieutenant-general, Captain Fenton; and the Michael, whom both we supposed had been utterly lost, having not heard any tidings of them in more than twenty days before.

And one of our fleet, named the bark Denis, being of one hundred tons burthen, seeking way in amongst these ice, received such a blow with a rock of ice, that she sunk down therewith in sight of the whole fleet; howbeit having signified her danger, by shooting off a piece of great ordnance, new succour of other ships came so readily unto them, that the men were all saved with boats.

Within this ship that was drowned, there was parcel of our house, which was to be erected for them that should stay all the winter in Meta Incognita.

This was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm that presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger; for the fleet being thus compassed (as foresaid) on every side with ice, having left much behind them, through which they passed, and finding more before them through which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden and terrible tempest at the S.E. which blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the straits, brought together all the ice a sea-board of us upon our backs, and thereby debarred us of returning back to recover sea-room again; so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men, with sundry devices, sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships, where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little birth of sea-room, did take in their sails, and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting ice. And again some were so fast shut up, and compassed in among an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice, that they were fain to commit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cable, beds, matts, planks, and such like, which being hanged over-board on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress men of best valour are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting, with what invincible mind every captain

encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor miners (unacquainted with such extremities), to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these great and extreme dangers: for some, even without board upon the ice, and some within board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision; for planks of timber, of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the furling of the sea and billow, with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships; so that it will seem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many substantial witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burthens, with the meeting of the contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up between islands of ice, a foot well near out of the sea, above their water-mark, having their knees and timbers within board both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilst some laboured for defence of the ships, and fought to save their bodies, other some, of more mild spirit, fought to save their souls by devout prayer and meditation to the Almighty, thinking, indeed, by no other means possible than by a divine miracle to have their deliverance; so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that held himself in best security had (God knoweth) but only bare hope remaining for his best safety.

Thus all the gallant fleet and miserable men, without hope of ever getting forth again, distressed with these extremities, remained here all the whole night and part of the next day, excepting four ships; that is, the Anne Francis, the Moon, the Francis of Foy, and the Gabriel, which being somewhat a sea-board of the fleet, and being fast ships by a wind, having a more scope of clear, tried it out all the time of the storm under sail, being hardly able to bear a coast of each.

And albeit, by reason of the fleeting ice, which were dispersed here almost the whole sea over, they were brought many times to the extremest point of peril, mountains of ice ten thousand times escaping them scarce one inch, which to have stricken had been their present destruction, considering the swift course and way of the ships, and the unwieldiness of them to stay and turn as a man would wish; yet they esteemed it their better safety, with such peril to seek sea-room, than without hope of ever getting liberty, to lie striving against the stream, and beating amongst the icy mountains, whose bigness and monstrous greatness was such, that no man would credit, but such as to their pains saw and felt it. And these four ships, by the next day at noon, got out to sea, and were first clear of the ice, who now enjoying their own liberty, began anew to sorrow and fear for their fellows' safeties; and devoutly kneeling about their main-mast, they gave unto God humble thanks, not only for themselves, but besought Him likewise highly for their friends' deliverance: and even now, whilst amidst these extremities, this gallant fleet and valiant men were altogether overlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearful continuance of the foresaid dangers, it pleased God with His eyes of mercy to look down from heaven to send them help in good time, giving them, the next day, a more favourable wind at W. N. W. which did not only disperse and drive forth the ice before them, but also gave them liberty of more scope and sea-room, and they were by night of the same day following perceived of the other four ships, where to their greatest comfort, they enjoyed again the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships; some in setting up their topmasts, and

ing their sails and tacklings; again, some complaining of their false stem borne away; some in stopping their leaks; some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time and labour: so that I dare well avouch, there were never men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by God's providence delivered; and hereof both the torn ships, and the wearied bodies of the men arrived, do bear most evident mark and witness. And now the whole fleet plied off to sea-ward, resolving there to abide until the sun might consume, or the force of the wind disperse, these ice from the place of their passage; and being a good birth off the shore, they took in their sails and lay adrift.

The 7th of July, as men nothing yet dismayed, we cast about towards the inward, and had sight of land, which rose in form like the northerland of the streights, which some of the fleet, and those not the worst mariners, judged to be the north foreland; howbeit, other some were of contrary opinion; but the matter was not well to be discerned, by reason of the thick fog which for a long time hung upon the coast, and the new falling snow which yearly altereth the shape of the land, and taketh away, oftentimes, the mariners' marks; and by reason of the dark mists which continued by the space of twenty days together, this doubt grew the greater and the longer perilous: for whereas, indeed, we thought ourselves to be upon the N. E. side of Frobisher's Streights, we were now carried to the south-westwards of the Queen's Foreland, and being deceived by a swift current coming from the N. E. were brought to the south-westward of our said course many miles more than we did think possible could come to pass; the cause whereof we have since found, and it shall be at large hereafter declared.

Here we made a point of land, which some mistook for a place in the streights called Mount Warwick; but how we should be so far shot up so suddenly within the said streights, the expertest mariners began to marvel, thinking it a thing impossible that they could be so far overtaken in their accounts, or that any current could deceive them here which they had not by former experience proved and found out. Howbeit, many confessed that they found a swifter course of flood than before time they had observed; and truly it was wonderful to hear and see the rushing and noise that the tides do make in this place, with so violent a force, that our ships, lying a-hull, were turned sometimes round about, even in a moment, after the manner of a whirlpool, and the noise of the stream no less to be heard afar off than the water-fall of London-bridge.

But whilst the fleet lay thus doubtful amongst great store of ice, in a place they knew not, without sight of sun whereby to take the height, and so to know the true elevation of the pole, and without any clear of light to make perfect the coast; the general, with the captains and masters of his ships, began doubtfully to question of the matter, and sent his pinnace aboard to hear each man's opinion, and especially of James Beare, master of the Anne Francis, who was known to be a sufficient and skilful mariner, and having been there the year before, had well observed the place, and drawn out cards of the coast. But the rather this matter grew the more doubtful, for that Christopher Hall, chief pilot of the voyage, delivered a plain and public opinion, in the hearing of the whole fleet, that he had never seen the aforesaid coast before, and that he could not make it for any place of Frobisher's Streights, as some of the fleet supposed, and yet the land doth lie and trend so like, that the best mariners may be therein deceived.

The 10th of July, the weather still continuing thick and dark, some of the ships, in the fog, lost sight of the admiral and the rest of the fleet, and wandering to and fro, with doubtful opinion whether it were best to seek back again to seaward, through

great store of ice, or to follow on a doubtful course in a sea-bay, or streights they knew not, or along a coast, whereof, by reason of the dark mists, they could not discern the dangers, if by chance any rock or broken ground should lie off the place, as commonly in these parts it doth.

The vice-admiral, Captain Yorke, considering the foresaid opinion of the pilot Hall, who was with him in the *Thomas Allen*, having lost sight of the fleet, turned back to sea again, having two other ships in company with him.

Also, the captain of the *Anne Francis*, having also lost company of the fleet, and being all alone, held it for best to turn it out again to sea, until they might have clear weather to take the sun's altitude, and with incredible pain and peril got out of the doubtful place into the open sea again, being so narrowly distressed by the way, by means of continual fog and ice, that they were many times ready to leap upon an island of ice to avoid the present danger, and so hoping to prolong life a while, meant rather to die a pining death.

Some hoped to save themselves on chests, and some determined to tie the hatches of the ship together, and to bind themselves, with their furniture, fast thereon, and so to be towed with the ship-boat ashore, which otherwise could not receive half of the company; by which means, if happily they had arrived, they should either have perished for lack of food to eat, or else should themselves have been eaten of those ravenous, bloody, and men-eating people.

The rest of the fleet following the course of the general, which led them the way, passed up above 60 leagues within the said doubtful and supposed streights, having always a fair continent upon their starboard side, and a continuance still of an open sea before them.

The general, albeit with the first perchance he found out the error, and that this was not the old streights; yet he persuaded the fleet always that they were in their right course, and known streights. Howbeit, I suppose, he rather dissembled his opinion therein than otherwise, meaning by that policy (being himself led with an honourable desire of further discovery) to induce the fleet to follow him, to see a further proof of that place; and, as some of the company reported, he hath since confessed, that if it had not been for the charge and care he had of the fleet and freighted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seek to find to the rich country of Cataya.

1. Of which mistaken streights, considering the circumstance, we have great cause to confirm our opinion, to like and hope well of the passage in this place; for the foresaid bay or sea, the further we sailed therein, the wider we found it, with great likelihood of endless continuance: and where in other places we were much troubled with ice, as in the entrance of the same, so, after we had sailed 50 or 60 leagues therein, we had no let of ice, or other thing at all, as in other places we found.

2. Also this place seemeth to have a marvellous great indraft, and draweth unto it most of the drift ice, and other things which do float in the sea, either to the north or eastward of the same, as by good experience we have found.

3. For here also we met with boards, laths, and divers other things, driving in the sea, which was of the wreck of the ship called the bark *Denis*, which perished amongst the ice as foresaid, being lost at the first attempt of the entrance, overthwart the Queen's Foreland, in the mouth of Frobisher's Streights, which could by no means have been so brought thither, neither by wind nor tide, being lost so many leagues off, if by force of the said current the same had not been violently brought; for if the same had been brought thither by tide of flood, look how far the said flood had carried it.

the ebb would have recarried it as far back again; and by the wind it could not so come to pass, because it was then sometime calm, and most times contrary.

And some mariners do affirm, that they have diligently observed, that there runneth in this place nine hours flood to three ebb; which may thus come to pass by force of the said current: for whereas the sea, in most places of the world, doth more or less ordinarily ebb and flow once every twelve hours, with six hours ebb and six hours flood; so also would it do there, were it not for the violence of this hastening current, which forceth the flood to make appearance to begin before his ordinary time one hour and a half, and also to continue longer than his natural course by another hour and a half, until the force of the ebb be so great, that it will no longer be resisted; according to the saying, *Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurrit*. Although nature and natural course be forced and resisted never so much, yet at last they will have their own sway again.

Moreover, it is not possible that so great course of floods and current, so high swelling tides, with continuance of so deep waters, can be digested here without unburdening themselves into some open sea beyond this place, which argueth the more likelihood of the passage to be hereabouts: also we suppose these great indrafts do grow and are made up by the reverberation and reflection of that same current, which, at our coming by Ireland, met and crossed us, of which, in the first part of this discourse, I spake; which coming from the bay of Mexico, passing by and washing the S.W. parts of Ireland, reboundeth over to the N.E. parts of the world, such as Norway, Island, &c. where not finding any passage to an open sea, but rather being there increased by a new access, and another current meeting with it from the Scythian sea, passing the bay of St. Nicholas westward, it doth once again rebound back, by the coasts of Greenland, and from thence upon Frobisher's Streights, being to the south-westwards of the same.

5. And if that principle of philosophy be true, that *Inferiora corpora reguntur à superioribus*; that is, if inferior bodies be governed, ruled, and carried after the manner and course of the superiors, then the water, being an inferior element, must needs be governed after the superior heaven, and so follow the course of *primum mobile* from east to west.

6. But every man that hath written or considered any thing of this passage, hath more doubted the return by the same way, by reason of a great downfall of water, which they imagine to be thereabouts (which we also by experience partly find), than any mistrust they have of the same passage at all; for we find (as it were) a great downfall in this place, but yet not such but that we may return, although with much ado; for we were easier carried in one hour, than we could get forth again in three. Also, by another experience at another time, we found this current to deceive us in this sort; that whereas we supposed it to be 15 leagues off, and lying a hull, we were brought within two leagues of the shore, contrary to all expectation.

Our men that sailed furthest in the same mistaken streights (having the main land upon their starboard side), affirm that they met with the outlet or passage of water, which cometh through Frobisher's Streights, and followeth as all one into this passage.

Some of our company also affirm, that they had sight of a continent upon their larboard side, being 60 leagues within the supposed streights; howbeit, except certain islands in the entrance hereof, we could make no part perfect thereof. All the foresaid tract of land seemeth to be more fruitful, and better stored of grafs, deer, wild fowl, ~~as~~ partridges, larks, sea-mews, owls, wilmots, falcons, and tassel gentils, ravens, bears,

bears, hares, foxes, and other things, than any other part we have yet discovered, and is more populous. And here Luke Ward, a gentleman of the company, traded merchandize, and did exchange knives, bells, looking-glasses, &c. with those country people, who brought him fowl, fish, bear-skins, and such like, as their country yieldeth, for the same. Here also they saw of those greater boats of the country, with twenty persons in a piece.

Now after the general had bestowed these many days here, not without many dangers, he returned back again. And by the way of sailing along this coast (being the backside of the supposed continent of America), and the Queen's Foreland, he perceived a great sound to go through into Frobisher's Straights. Whereupon he sent the Gabriel, the 21st of July, to prove whether they might go through and meet again with him in the straits, which they did, and, as we imagined before, the Queen's Foreland proved an island, as I think most of these supposed continents will. And so he departed towards the straits, thinking it were high time now to recover his port, and to provide the fleet of their lading, whereof he was not a little careful, as shall by the proceeds and his resolute attempts appear. And in his return with the rest of the fleet, he was so entangled, by reason of the dark fog, amongst a number of islands and broken ground that lie off this coast, that many of the ships came over the top of rocks, which presently after they might perceive to lie dry, having not half a foot water more than some of their ships did draw. And by reason they could not with a small gale of wind stem the force of the flood, whereby to go clear off the rocks, they were fain to let an anchor fall with two bent of cable together, at an hundred and odd fathom depth, where otherwise they had been by the force of the tides carried upon the rocks again and perished: so that if God in these fortunes, as a merciful guide, beyond the expectation of man, had not carried us through, we had surely perished amidst these dangers; for being many times driven hard aboard the shore, without any sight of land, until we were ready to make shipwreck thereon, being forced commonly with our boats to sound before our ships, lest we might light thereon before we could discern the same; it pleased God to give us a clear of sun and light for a short time, to see and avoid thereby the danger, having been continually dark before, and presently after. Many times also, by means of fogs and currents, being driven near upon the coast, God lent us, even at the very pinch, one prosperous breath of wind or other, whereby to double the land and avoid the peril; and when that we were all without hope of help, every man recommending himself to death, and crying out, "Lord, now help or never; now, Lord, look down from heaven, and save us sinners, or else our safety cometh too late;" even then the mighty Maker of heaven, and our merciful God, did deliver us; so that they who have been partakers of these dangers, do even in their souls confess, that God even by miracle hath sought to save them, whose name be praised evermore.

Long time now the Anne Francis had lain beating off and on all alone before the Queen's Foreland, not being able to recover their port for ice, albeit they many times dangerously attempted it, for yet the ice choaked up the passage, and would not suffer them to enter; and having never seen any of the fleet since twenty days past, when, by reason of the thick mists, they were severed in the mistaken straits, they did now, this present 23d of July, overthwart a place in the straits called Hatton's Headland, where they met with seven ships of the fleet again; which good hap did not only rejoice them of themselves, in respect of the comfort which they received from such good company, but especially that by this means they were put out of doubt of their friends, whose safeties long time they did not a little suspect and fear.

At their meeting they hailed the admiral after the manner of the sea, and with great joy welcomed one another with a thundering volley of shot. And now every man declared at large the fortunes and dangers which they had passed.

The 24th of July we met with the Francis of Foy, who with much ado fought way back again through the ice, from out of the mistaken streights, where, to their great peril, they proved to recover their port. They brought the first news of the vice-admiral, Captain York, who many days, with themselves and the Buffle of Bridgewater, was missing. They reported, that they left the vice-admiral reasonably clear of the ice, but the other ship they greatly feared, whom they could not come to help, being themselves so hardly distressed as never men more. Also they told us of the Gabriel, who, having got through from the backside and western point of the Queen's Foreland into Frobisher's Streights, fell into their company about the Cape of Good Hope.

And upon the 27th of July, the ship of Bridgewater got out of the ice, and met with the fleet which lay off and on under Hatton's Headland. They reported of their marvellous accidents and dangers, declaring their ship to be so leaky, that they must of necessity seek harbour, having their stem so beaten within their huddings, that they had much ado to keep themselves above water. They had (as they say) 500 strokes at the pump in less than half a watch, being scarce two hours; their men being so overwearied therewith, and with the former dangers, that they desired help of men from the other ships. Moreover, they declared that there was nothing but ice and danger where they had been, and that the streights within were frozen up, and that it was the most impossible thing of the world to pass up unto the Countess of Warwick's Sound, which was the place of our port.

The report of these dangers by these ships thus published among the fleet, with the remembrance of the perils past, and those present before their face, brought no small fear and terror into the hearts of many considerate men; so that some began privily to murmur against the general for this wilful manner of proceeding. Some desired to discover some harbour thereabouts, and to refresh themselves, and reform their broken vessels for a while, until the north and north-west winds might disperse the ice, and make the place more free to pass. Other some, forgetting themselves, spake more undutifully in this behalf, saying, that they had as lieve be hanged when they came home, as without hope of safety to seek to pass, and so to perish amongst the ice.

The general not opening his cares to the peevish passion of any private person, but chiefly respecting the accomplishment of the cause he had undertaken (wherein the chief reputation and fame of a general and captain consisteth), and calling to his remembrance the short time he had in hand to provide so great a number of ships their loading, determined with this resolution to pass and recover his port, or else there to bury himself with his attempt.

Notwithstanding, somewhat to appease the feeble passions of the fearfuller sort, and the better to entertain time for a season, whilst the ice might the better be dissolved, he hailed on the fleet with belief that he would put them into harbour. Thereupon, whilst the ships lay off and on under Hatton's Headland, he sought to go in with his pinnaces amongst the islands there, as though he meant to search for harbour, where indeed he meant nothing less, but rather sought if any ore might be found in that place, as by the sequel appeared.

In the mean time, whilst the fleet lay thus doubtful, without any certain resolution what to do, being hard aboard the lee shore, there arose a sudden and terrible tempest at the S. S. E. whereby the ice began marvellously to gather about us.

Whereupon

Whereupon every man, as in such case of extremity he thought best, fought the wifest way to save himself. The good part of the fleet, which were farther shot up within the ice, were so pressed by the levants, as that they could not double the land, following the course of the wind, who led them the way, took in their sails, and laid it a-hull, until the ice, and so sailed over the storm, and had no extremity at all, but found themselves in the same place.

Howbeit the other fleet, which plied out to sea, had an extreme storm for a longer time, and the cause of the place is such, that it is subject diversly to divers winds, according to the sundry situations of the great ridges and mountains there, every mountain casting a several blast, and plying after the manner of a levant.

In this storm, being the sixth of July, there fell so much snow with such bitter cold air, that we could scarce see one another for the time, nor open our eyes to handle our ropes and sails, the snow being about half a foot deep upon the hatches of our ship, which did so wet through our poor seamen's clothes, that he that had five or six shifts of apparel, had scarce one dry thread to his back; which kind of wet and coldness, together with the overwhelming of the poor men amongst the ice, bred no small sickness amongst the crew, which somewhat discouraged some of the poor men, who had not experience of the like before, every man persuading himself that the winter there must needs be extreme, where they found so unseasonable a summer.

And yet notwithstanding this cold air, the sun many times hath a marvellous force of heat amongst those mountains, inasmuch that when there is no breath of wind to bring the cold air from the adjacent ice upon us, we shall be weary of the bloming heat, and then suddenly with a perry of wind, which cometh down from the hollowness of the hills, we shall have such breath of heat brought upon our faces, as though we were entered within some bath-stove or hot-house, and when the first of the perry and blast is past, we shall have the wind suddenly anew blow cold again.

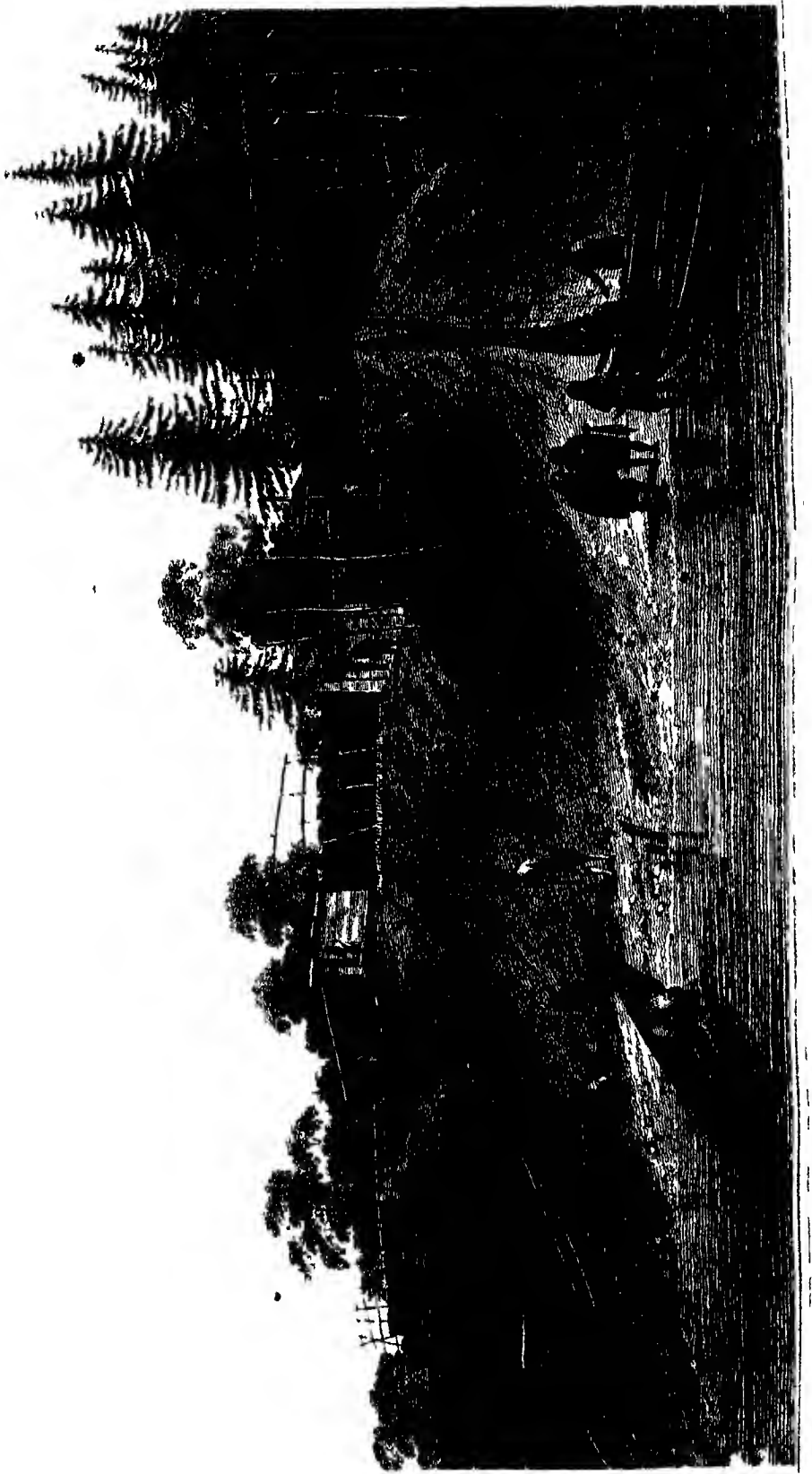
In this storm the *Anne Francis*, the *Moon*, and the *Thomas of Ipswich*, who found themselves able to hold it up with a sail, and could double about the cape of the *Queen's Foreland*, plied out to the seaward, holding it for better policy and safety to seek sea-room, than to hazard the continuance of the storm, the danger of the ice, and the lee shore.

And being uncertain at this time of the general's private determinations, the weather being so dark that they could not discern one another, nor perceive which way he wrought, desired themselves to this course for the best and safest.

The general, notwithstanding the great storm, following his own former resolution, fought by all means possible by a shorter way to recover his port, and where he saw the ice near so little coast, he got in at one gap and out at another, and so himself valiantly, and the way showed before, to induce the fleet to follow after, and with incredible pain and labour, and danger, got through the ice, and upon the 31st of July recovered his long wished-for port, after many attempts and sundry times being put back, and came to anchor in the *Queen's Foreland*, in the entrance whereof, when he thought all past, he encountered a great island of ice, which gave the *Aide* such a blow, having a little before mistook her anchor a creakbill, that she struck the anchor fluke through the ship, and so the water, which caused so great a leak, that with much ado they preserved the ship from sinking.

And when here they perceived two ships at anchor within the harbour, whereat they were much to marvel and greatly to rejoice, for those they knew to be the *Michael*, who was the lieutenant-general *Captain Fenton*, and the small bark called the *Gabriel*, who so long time were missing, and never heard of before, whom every man made the last reckoning never to hear of again.

Here



Here every man greatly rejoiced of their happy meeting, and welcomed one another after the sea manner, with their great ordnance. And when each party had ripped up their fundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praised God, and altogether upon their knees gave him due, humble, and hearty thanks; and master Wollfall, a learned man, appointed by her Majesty's council to be their minister and preacher, made unto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankful to God for their strange and miraculous deliverance in these so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the uncertainty of man's life, willed them to make themselves always ready as resolute men, to enjoy and accept thankfully whatsoever adventure his divine Providence should appoint. This master Wollfall being well seated and settled at home in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage, so well begun, might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole year, if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resoluteest men of all. Wherefore in this behalf he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profit of his flock spared not to venture his own life.

But to return again to Captain Fenton's company, and to speak somewhat of their dangers (albeit they be more than by writing can be expressed), they reported that from the night of the first storm, which was about the first of July, until seven days before the general's arrival, which was the 26th of the same, they never saw one day or hour wherein they were not troubled with continual danger and fear of death, and were 20 days almost together fast amongst the ice. They had their ship stricken through and through on both sides, their false stem borne quite away, and could go from their ships in some places very many miles, and might easily have passed from one island of ice to another, even to the shore; and if God had not wonderfully provided for them and their necessity, and time had not made them more cunning to seek strange remedies for strange kinds of dangers, it had been impossible for them ever to have escaped: for among other devices, wheresoever they found any island of ice of greater bigness than the rest, (as there be some of more than half a mile compass about, and almost 40 fathom high,) they commonly coveted to recover the same, and thereof to make a bulwark for their defence, whereon having moored anchor, they rode under the lee thereof for a time, being thereby guarded from the danger of the lesser driving ice; but when they must needs forego this new found fort by means of other ice, which at length would undermine and compass them round about, and when that by heaving of the billow they were therewith likely to be bruised in pieces, they used to make fast the ship unto the most firm and broad piece of ice they could find, and binding her nose fast thereunto, would fill all their sails, whereon the wind having great power, would force forward the ship, and so the ship bearing before her the ice, and so one ice driving forward another, should at length get scope and sea room; and having by this means at length put their enemies to flight, they occupied the clear place for a pretty season among fundry mountains and alps of ice. One there was found by measure to be 65 fathom above water, which for a kind of similitude was called Salomon's Porch. Some think those islands eight times so much under water as they are above, because of their monstrous weight. But now I remember I saw very strange wonders, men walking, running, leaping, and shooting upon the main sea, 40 miles from any land, without any ship or other vessel under them. Also I saw fresh rivers running amidst

the salt sea 100 miles from land, which if any man will not believe, let him know that many of our company leaped out of their ship upon islands of ice, and running there up and down, did shoot at butts upon the ice, and with their calivers did kill great seals, which use to lie and sleep upon the ice, and this ice melting above at top by reflection of the sun, came down in sundry streams, which uniting together, made a pretty brook able to drive a mill.

The said Captain Fenton recovered his port ten days before any man, and spent good time in searching for mine, and he found good store thereof. He also discovered about ten miles up into the country, where he perceived neither town, village, nor likelihood of habitation; but it seemeth (as he saith) barren, as the other parts which as yet we have entered upon; but their victuals and provisions went so scant with them, that they had determined to return homeward within seven days after, if the fleet had not then arrived.

The general, after his arrival in the Countess's Sound, spent no time in vain, but immediately at his first landing called the chief captains of his council together, and consulted with them for the speedier execution of such things as then they had in hand. As first, for searching and finding out good mineral for the miners to be occupied on. Then, to give good orders to be observed of the whole company ashore. And lastly, to consider for the erecting up the fort and house for the use of them which were to abide there the whole year. For the better handling of these and all other important causes in this service, it was ordained from her Majesty and the council, that the general should call unto him certain of the chief captains and gentlemen in council, to confer, consult, and determine of all occurrents in this service, whose names are as they here follow :

Captains	{	Fenton.
		Yorke.
		Best.
		Carew.
		Philpot.

And in sea causes to have as assistants, Christopher Hall and Charles Jackman, being both very good pilots, and sufficient mariners, whereof the one was chief pilot of the voyage, and the other for the discovery. From the place of our habitation westward, master Selman was appointed notary, to register the whole manner of proceeding in these affairs, that true relation thereof might be made, if it pleased her Majesty to require it.

The first of August, every captain, by order from the general and his council, was commanded to bring ashore unto the Countess's Island, all such gentlemen, soldiers, and miners, as were under their charge, with such provision as they had of victuals, tents, and things necessary for the speedy getting together of mine, and freight for the ships.

The muster of the men being taken, and the victuals with all other things viewed and considered, every man was set to his charge, as his place and office required. The miners were appointed where to work, and the mariners discharged their ships.

Upon the 2d of August, were published and proclaimed upon the Countess of Warwick's Island, with sound of trumpet, certain orders by the general and his council, appointed to be observed of the company during the time of their abiding there.

In the mean time, whilst the mariners plied their work, the captains sought out new mines, the gold-miners made trial of the ore, the mariners discharged their ships, the gentlemen for example sake laboured heartily, and honestly encouraged the inferior sort to work. So that the finall time of that little leisure that was left to tarry was not spent in vain.

The 2d of August, the Gabriel arrived, who came from the vice-admiral, and being distressed fore with ice, put into harbour near unto Mount Oxford, and now was the whole fleet arrived safely at their port, excepting four, besides the ship that was lost; that is, the Thomas Allen, the Anne Francis, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Moon, whose absence was some let unto the works and other proceedings, as well for that these ships were furnished with the better sort of miners, as with other provision for the habitation.

The 9th of August, the general, with the captains of his council, assembled together, and began to consider and take order for the erecting up of the house or fort for them that were to inhabit there the whole year, and that presently the masons and carpenters might go in hand therewith. First, therefore, they perused the bills of lading, that every man received into his ship, and found that there was arrived only the east side and the south side of the house, and yet not that perfect and entire, for many pieces thereof were used for fenders in many ships, and so broken in pieces, whilst they were distressed in the ice. Also after due examination had, and true account taken, there was found want of drink and fuel to serve one hundred men, which was the number appointed first to inhabit there, because their greatest store was in the ships which were not yet arrived. Then Captain Fenton, seeing the scarcity of the necessary things aforesaid, was contented, and offered himself to inhabit there with 60 men. Whereupon they caused the carpenters and masons to come before them, and demanded in what time they would take upon them to erect up a less house for sixty men. They required eight or nine weeks, if there were timber sufficient, whereas now they had but 26 days in all to remain in that country. Wherefore it was fully agreed upon, and resolved by the general and his council, that no habitation should be there that year. And therefore they willed master Selman the register, to set down this decree, with all their consents, for the better satisfying of her Majesty, the lords of the council, and the adventurers.

The Anne Francis, since she was parted from the fleet, in the last storm before spoken of, could never recover above five leagues within the streights, the wind being sometime contrary, and most times the ice compassing of them round about; and from that time, being about the 27th of July, they could neither hear nor have sight of any of the fleet, until the 3d of August, when they descried a sail near unto Mount Oxford, with whom when they had spoken, they could understand no news of any of the fleet at all; and this was the Thomas of Ipswich, who had lain beating off and on at sea with very foul weather and contrary winds ever since that foresaid storm, without sight of any man. They kept company not long together, but were forced to lose one another again; the Moon being consort always with the Anne Francis, and keeping very good company, plied up together into the streights, with great desire to recover their long wished port. And they attempted as often, and passed as far as possible the wind, weather, and ice gave them leave, which commonly they found very contrary; for when the weather was clear and without fog, then commonly the wind was contrary; and when it was either easterly or southerly, which would serve their turns, then had they so great a fog and dark mist therewith, that either they could not discern way through the ice, or else the ice lay so thick together, that it was impossible for them to pass; and on the other side, when it was calm, the tides had force to bring the ice so suddenly about them, that commonly then they were most distressed therewith, having no wind to carry them from the danger thereof.

By the 6th of August, being with much ado got up as high as Leicester Point, they had good hope to find the southern shore clear, and so pass up toward their port; but being there becalmed, and lying a hull openly upon the great bay which cometh

out

out of the mistaken streights before spoken of, they were so suddenly compassed with ice round about, by means of the swift tides which run in that place, that they were never afore so hardly beset as now; and in seeking to avoid these dangers in the dark weather, the Anne Francis lost sight of the other two ships, who being likewise hardly distressed, signified their danger, as they since reported, by shooting off their ordnance, which the other could not hear, nor if they had heard could have given them any remedy, being so busily occupied to wind themselves out of their own troubles.

The fleeboat called the Moon, was here heaved above the water with the force of the ice, and received a great leak thereby. Likewise the Thomas of Ipswich and the Anne Francis were forely bruised at that instant, having their false stems borne away, and their ships side stricken quite through.

Now, considering the continual dangers and contraries, and the little leisure that they had to tarry in these parts, besides that every night the ropes of their ships were so frozen, that a man could not handle them without cutting his hands, together with the great doubt they had of the fleet's safety, thinking it an impossibility for them to pass into their port, as well for that they saw themselves, as for that they heard by the former report of the ships which had proved before, who affirmed that the streights were all frozen over within; they thought it now very high time to consider of their estates and safeties that were yet left together. And hereupon the captains and masters of these ships desired the captain of the Anne Francis to enter into consideration with them of these matters. Wherefore Captain Tanfield of the Thomas of Ipswich, with his pilot Richard Cox, and Captain Upcote of the Moon, with his master John Lakes, came aboard the Anne Francis the 8th of August, to consult of these causes; and being assembled together in the captain's cabin, sundry doubts were there alledged; for the fearfuller sort of mariners being overtired with the continual labour of the former dangers, coveted to return homeward, saying that they would not again tempt God so much, who had given them so many warnings, and delivered them from so wonderful dangers; that they rather desired to lose wages, freight, and all, than to continue and follow such desperate fortunes. Again, their ships were so leaky, and the men so weary, that to amend the one and refresh the other, they must of necessity seek into harbour.

But on the other side it was argued again to the contrary, that to seek into harbour thereabouts, was but to subject themselves to double dangers, if happily they escaped the dangers of rocks in their entering, yet being in, they were nevertheless subject there to the danger of the ice, which with the swift tides and currents is carried in and out in most harbours thereabouts, and may thereby gall their cables asunder, drive them upon the shore, and bring them to much trouble. Also, the coast is so much subject to broken ground and rocks, especially in the mouth and entrance of every harbour, that albeit the channell be founded over and over again, yet are you never the nearer to discern the dangers; for the bottom of the sea holding like shape and form as the land, being full of hills, dales, and ragged rocks, suffereth you not by your soundings to know and keep a true guess of the depth: for you shall sound upon the side or hollowness of one hill or rock under water, and have 100, 50, or 40 fathom depth, and before the next cast, ere you shall be able to heave your lead again, you shall be upon the top thereof, and come aground to your utter confusion.

Another reason against going to harbour was, that the cold air did threaten a sudden freezing up of the sounds, seeing that every ice there was new congealed ice, even of that water which remained within their ships; and therefore it should seem to be more safe to lie off and on at sea, than for lack of wind to bring them forth from port to port, or to be hazarded by sudden frosts to be shut up the whole year.

After

After many such dangers and reasons alledged, and large debating of these causes on both sides, the Captain of the *Anne Francis* delivered his opinion unto the company to this effect :—First, concerning the question of returning home, he thought it so much dishonourable, as not to grow in any further question; and again to return home, at length (as at length they must needs), and not to be able to bring a certain report of the fleet, whether they were living or lost, or whether any of them had recovered their port or not, in the Countess's Sound, (as it was to be thought most part would if they were living); he said it would be so great an argument either of want of courage or discretion in them, as he resolved rather to fall into any danger, than so shamefully consent to return home, protesting that it should never be spoken of him, that he would ever return without doing his endeavour to find the fleet, and know the certainty of the general's safety. He put his company in remembrance of a pinnace of five ton burthen, which he had within his ship, which was carried in pieces, and unmade up, for the use of those which should inhabit there the whole year, the which if they could find means to join together, he offered himself to prove before therewith, whether it were possible for any boat to pass for ice, whereby the ship might be brought in after, and might also thereby give true notice if any of the fleet were arrived at their port or not.

But notwithstanding, for that he well perceived that the most part of his company were addicted to put into harbour, he was willing the rather for these causes somewhat to incline thereto. As first, to search along the same coast, and the sounds thereabouts, he thought it to be to good purpose, for that it was likely to find some of the fleet there, which being leaky, and sore bruised with the ice, were the rather thought likely to be put into an ill harbour, being distressed with foul weather in the last storm, than to hazard their uncertain safeties amongst the ice; for about this place they lost them, and left the fleet then doubtfully questioning of harbour.

It was likely also, that they might find some fit harbour thereabouts, which might be behoveful for them against another time. It was not likewise impossible to find some ore or mine thereabouts, wherewithal to freight their ships, which would be more commodious in this place, for the nearness to seaward, and for a better outlet, than farther within the streights, being likely here always to load in a shorter time, howsoever the streight should be pelted with ice within; so that if it might come to pass that thereby they might either find the fleet, mine, or convenient harbour, any of these three would serve their present turns, and give some hope and comfort unto their companies, which now were altogether comfortless. But if that all fortune should fall out so contrary, that they could neither recover their port, nor any of these afore said helps, that yet they would not depart the coast, as long as it was possible for them to tarry there, but would lie off and on at sea athwart the place: therefore his final conclusion was set down thus; first, that the *Thomas* of Ipswich and the *Moon* should consort and keep company together carefully with the *Anne Francis*, as near as they could, and as true Englishmen and faithful friends, should supply one another's wants in all fortunes and dangers. In the morning following, every ship to send off his boat, with a sufficient pilot, to search out and sound the harbours for the sake bringing in of their ships; and being arrived in harbour, where they might find convenient place for the purpose, they resolved forthwith to join and set together the pinnace, wherewithal the Captain of the *Anne Francis* might, according to his former determination, discover up into the streights.

After these determinations thus set down, the *Thomas* of Ipswich the night following lost company of the other ships, and afterward shaped a contrary course homeward, which fell out, as it manifestly appears, very much against their captain Master Tanfield's mind,

mind, as by due examination before the lords of her Majesty's most honourable privy council it hath since been proved, to the great discredit of the pilot Cox, who specially persuaded his company, against the opinion of his said captain, to return home.

And as the captain of the *Anne Francis* doth witness, even at their conference together, Captain Tanfield told him, that he did not a little suspect the said pilot Cox, saying that he had opinion in the man neither of honest duty, manhood, nor constancy. Notwithstanding the said ship's departure, the captain of the *Anne Francis* being desirous to put in execution his former resolutions, went in his ship's boat (being accompanied also with the *Moon's* skiff), to prove amongst the islands which lie under Hatton's headland, if any convenient harbour, or any knowledge of the fleet, or any good ore were there to be found. The ships lying off and on at sea the while under sail, searching through many sounds, they saw them all full of many dangers and broken ground; yet one there was, which seemed an indifferent place to harbour in, and which they did very diligently sound over, and searched again.

Here the said captain found a great black island, whereunto he had a good liking, and certifying the company thereof, they were somewhat comforted, and with the good hope of his words, rowed cheerfully unto that place; where when they arrived, they found such plenty of black ore of the same sort which was brought into England this last year, that if the goodness might answer the great plenty thereof, it was thought that it might reasonably suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world. This island, the captain for cause of this good hap, called after his own name, *Best's Blessing*; and with these good tidings returning aboard his ship the 9th of August, about 10 o'clock at night, he was joyfully welcomed of his company, who before were discomforted, and greatly expected some better fortune at his hands.

The next day, being the 10th of August, the weather reasonably fair, they put into the foresaid harbour, having their boat, for their better security, founding before their ship. But for all the care and diligence that could be taken in founding the channel over and over again, the *Anne Francis* came aground upon a sunken rock within the harbour, and lay thereon more than half dry until the next flood, when by God's almighty Providence, contrary almost to all expectation, they came afloat again, being forced all that time to underfet their ship with their main-yard, which otherwise was likely to overset, and put thereby in danger the whole company. They had above two thousand strokes together at the pump, before they could make their ship free of the water again, so sore she was bruised by lying upon the rocks. The *Moon* came safely, and rode at anchor by the *Anne Francis*, whose help in their necessity they could not well have missed.

Now whilst the mariners were rummaging their ships, and mending that which was amiss, the miners followed their labour for getting together a sufficient quantity of ore, and the carpenters endeavoured to do their best for the making up of the boat or pinnace; which to bring to pass they wanted two special and most necessary things, that is, certain principal timbers that are called knees, which are the chiefest strength of any boat, and also nails, wherewithal to join the planks together; whereupon, having by chance a smith amongst them, (and yet unfurnished of his necessary tools to work and make nails withal,) they were fain of a gun-chamber to make an anvil to work upon, and to use a pickaxe instead of a sledge to beat withal, and also to occupy two pair of small bellows instead of one pair of great smith's bellows; and for lack of small iron for the easier making of the nails, they were forced to break their tongs, gridiron, and fire-shovel in pieces.

The 11th of August the captain of the *Anne Francis*, taking the master of his ship with him, went up to the top of Hatton's headland, which is the highest land of all the streights, to the end to descry the situation of the country underneath, and to take a true plot of the place, whereby also to see what store of ice was yet left in the streights, and also to search what mineral matter or fruit that soil might yield; and the rather for the honour the said captain doth owe to that honourable name which himself gave thereunto the last year, in the highest part of this headland, he caused his company to make a column or cross of stone in token of Christian possession. In this place there is plenty of black ore, and divers pretty stones.

The 14th of August, the captains with their companies chased and killed a white bear, which adventured and gave a fierce assault upon 20 men, being weaponed; and he served them for good meat many days.

The 18th, with much ado the pinnace being set together, the said Captain Best determined to depart up the streights, to prove and make trial as before was pretended, some of his company greatly persuading him to the contrary, and specially the carpenter that set the same together, who said that he would not adventure himself therein for 500 *l.* for that the boat hung together but only by the strength of the nails, and lacked some of her principal knees and timbers.

These words somewhat discouraged some of the company which should have gone therein; whereupon the captain, as one not altogether advised to his own self-will, but somewhat foreseeing how it might be afterward spoken, if contrary fortune should happen him, ("Lo! he hath followed his own opinion and desperate resolutions, and so thereafter it is befallen him,") calling the master and mariners of best judgment together, declared unto them how much the cause imported him in his credit to seek out the general, as well to confer with him of some causes of weight, as otherwise to make due examination and trial of the goodness of the ore, whereof they had no assurance but by the guess of the eye, and it was well like the other; which so to carry home, not knowing the goodness thereof, might be as much as if they should bring so many stones; and therefore he desired them to deliver their plain and honest opinion, whether the pinnace were sufficient for him so to adventure in or no. It was answered, that by careful heed taken thereunto amongst the ice, and the foul weather, the pinnace might suffice; and hereupon the master's mate of the *Anne Francis*, called John Gray, manfully and honestly offering himself unto his captain in this adventure and service, gave cause to others of his mariners to follow the attempt.

And upon the 19th of August, the said captain being accompanied with Captain Upcote of the *Moon*, and 18 persons, in the small pinnace, having convenient portion of victuals and things necessary, departed upon the said pretended voyage, leaving their ship at anchor in good readiness for the taking in of their freight. And having little wind to sail withal, they plied along the southern shore, and passed above 30 leagues, having the only help of man's labour with oars, and so intending to keep that shore aboard until they were got up to the farthest and narrowest of the streights, minded there to cross over, and to search likewise along the northland unto the Countess's Sound, and from thence to pass all that coast along, whereby if any of the fleet had been distressed by wreck of rock or ice, by that means they might be perceived of them, and so they thereby to give them such help and relief as they could. They did greatly fear, and ever suspect that some of the fleet were surely cast away, and driven to seek four falads among the cold cliffs.

And being shot up about 40 leagues within the streights, they put over towards the north shore, which was not a little dangerous for their small boats; and by means

of a sudden flaw were driven, and fain to seek harbour in the night, amongst all the rocks and broken ground of Gabriels Islands, a place so named within the straits, where the Countess of Warwick's Sound; and by the way where they landed, they found certain great stones set up by the country people, as it seemed to them, where they also made many crosses of stone, in token that Christians had been there.

The captain, being in sight of the Countess's Sound, and made the place perfect from the top of the hill, keeping along the northern shore, perceived the smoke of a fire under a hill, whereupon they diversely deemed. When they came nearer the place, they saw a great number of people, which waited unto them, as it seemed, with a flag or ensign. The captain, seeing the country people had used to do the like, when they perceived any of our men to come by, they judged them to be the same; and coming somewhat nearer, they saw a flag of white, after the English fashion. But because they could see no ship, nor any harbour within five or six leagues about, and knew that none of our men were so frequent those parts, they could not tell what to judge thereof, but imagined that some of the ships being carried so high with the storm and mists, had made them seem to be the ice or broken islands there, and were spoiled by the country people, who might use the sundry coloured flag for a policy, to bring them likewise into danger. Whereupon the said captain with his companies, resolved to recover the ship, if it were so, from those base people, or else to lose their lives, and together with the end they discerned them to be their countrymen, and then they went on shore, and saw their ships, and so to be gathered together for their better strength. The other side, the company ashore feared that the captain having lost his ship, might be in the fleet for the relief in his poor pinnace, so that their extremity was to suspect the worst.

The captain, when his pinnace being come near the shore, commanded his boat carefully to be kept, lest in their necessity they might win the same from him, and seek safety for themselves; for every man in that case is next himself. They hailed one another according to the manner of the sea, and demanded what cheer; and either party answered the other, that all was well; whereupon there was a sudden and joyful outburst, with great singing up of caps, and a brave volley of shot to welcome one another. And truly it was a most strange case to see how joyful and glad every party was to see themselves met in safety again, after so strange and incredible dangers; yet to be so that their dangers were great, so their God was greater.

And now the company were working upon new mines, which Captain York, being here arrived, had found out in this place, and it is named the Countess of Sussex mine.

After that the captain with his friends here, the captain of the Anne Francis departed, he went to the Countess of Warwick's Sound, to speak with the general, and to have trial of the mines he had brought thither, by the gold-miners. And so he determined to stay in this place, and to have his ship. And having spoken with the general, he received a letter of commendation as well for the bringing up of his ship to the Countess of Warwick's Sound, as for his ship with the same ore, which he himself had found, was by the general supposed to be very good.

The captain, when he met the other captains (commissioners) of the general, they considered and consulted of the mines, which were appointed by the notary, were appointed here and now to be done against another year.

The



The 24th, the general, with two pinnaces and good number of men, went to Beare's Sound, commanding the said captain with his pinnace to attend the service, to see if he could encounter or apprehend any of the people, for sundry times they shewed themselves busy thereabouts, sometimes with seven or eight boats in one company, as though they minded to encounter with our company, which were working there at the mines in no great numbers. But when they perceived any of our ships to ride in that road (being belike more amazed at the countenance of a ship, and a more number of men,) they did never shew themselves again there at all. Wherefore our men sought with their pinnaces to compass about the island where they did use, supposing there suddenly to intercept some of them. But before our men could come near, having belike some watch in the top of the mountains, they conveyed themselves privily away, and left (as it should seem) one of their great darts behind them for haste, which we found near to a place of their caves and housing. Therefore, though our general were very desirous to have taken some of them to have brought into England, they being now grown more wary by their former losses, would not, at any time come within our dangers. About midnight of the same day, the captain of the Anne Francis departed thence, and set his course over the freights towards Hatton's Headland, being about 15 leagues over, and returned aboard his ship the 25th of August, to the great comfort of his company, who long expected his coming, where he found his ships ready rigged and laden. Wherefore he departed from thence again the next morning towards the Countess's Sound, where he arrived the 28th of the same. By the way he set his miners ashore at Beare's Sound, for the better dispatch and gathering the ore together, for that some of the ships were behind-hand with their freight, the time of the year passing suddenly away.

The 24th of August the Anne Francis was brought aground, and had eight great leaks mended, which she had received by means of the rocks and ice. This day the masons suer a house, which Captain Fenton caused to be made of lime and stone upon the Countess of Warwick's Island, to the end we might prove against the next year, whether the snow could overwhelm it, the frost break it up, or the people dismember the same; and the better to allure those brutish and uncivil people to courtesy against other times of our coming, we left therein divers of our country toys, as bells and knives, wherein they specially delight, one for necessary use, and the other for the great pleasure thereof; also pictures of men and women in lead, men on horseback, looking-glasses, whistles, and pipes; also in the house was made an oven, and bread left baked therein for them to see and taste.

We buried the timber of our pretended fort; also here we sowed pease, corn, and other grain, to prove the fruitfulness of the soil against the next year.

The fleet now being in some good readiness for their lading, the general calling together the gentlemen and captains to consult, told them that he was very desirous that some further discovery should be attempted, and that he would not only, by God's help, bring home his ships laden with ore, but also meant to bring some certificate of further discovery of the country, which thing to bring to pass (having sometime therein consulted) they found very hard, and almost invincible. And considering, that already they had spent some time in searching out the trending and fashion of the mistaken freights, therefore it could not be said, but that by this voyage they had notice of a further discovery, and that the hope of the passage thereby is much furthered and increased, as appeared before in the discourse thereof. Yet, notwithstanding, if any means might be further devised, the captains were contented and willing, as the general should appoint and command, to take any enterprize in hand; which after long debating was found a thing very impossible, and that rather consultation was to be had of returning homeward,

homeward, especially for these causes following:—first, the dark foggy mists, the continual falling snow and stormy weather, which they commonly were vexed with, and now daily more and more increased, have no small argument of the winter's drawing near; and also the frost every night was so hard and congealed without the sound, that if by evil hap they should be long kept in by contrary winds, it was greatly to be feared that they should be shut up there fast the whole year, which, being utterly unprovided, would be their utter destruction. Again, drink was so scant throughout all the fleet, by reason of the great leakage, that not only the provision that was laid in for the habitation was wanting and wasted, but also each ship's several provision spent and lost, which many of our company to their great grief found in their return since, for all the way homewards they drank nothing but water. And the great cause of this leakage and wasting was, for that the great timber and sea-coal, which lay so weighty upon the barrels, brake, bruised, and rotted the hoops insunder. Yet notwithstanding these reasons alledged, the general himself (willing the rest of the gentlemen and captains every man to look to his charge and lading, that against a day appointed they should be all in readiness to set homeward) went in a pinnace, and discovered further northwards in the streights, and found that by Beare's Sound and Hall's Island, the land was not firm, as it was first supposed, but all broken islands in manner of an archipelagus, and so with other secret intelligence to himself he returned to the fleet. Where presently upon his arrival at the Countess's Sound, he began to take order for their returning homewards, and first caused certain articles to be proclaimed, for the better keeping of order and courses in their return; which articles were delivered to every captain.

Having now received articles and directions for our return homewards, other things being in forwardness and good order, the last day of August they departed from the Countess's Sound, except the Judith and the Anne Francis, who stayed for the taking in of fresh water, and came the next day, and met the fleet lying off and on, athwart Beare's Sound, who stayed for the general, who then was gone ashore to dispatch the two barks and the Buffle of Bridgewater for their loading, whereby to get the companies and other things aboard. The captain of the Anne Francis having most part of his company ashore, the 1st of September went also to Beare's Sound in his pinnace, to fetch his men aboard; but the wind grew so great immediately upon their landing, that the ships at sea were in great danger, and some of them forcibly put from their anchors, and greatly feared to be utterly lost, as the Hopewell, wherein was Captain Carew and others, who could not tell on which side their danger was most; for having mighty rocks threatening on the one side, and driving islands of cutting ice on the other side, they greatly feared to make shipwreck, the ice driving so near them that it rouched their bolt-sprit; and by means of the sea that was grown so high, they were not able to put to sea with their small pinnaces to recover their ships; and again, the ships were not able to tarry or lie athwart for them, by means of the outrageous winds and swelling seas. The general willed the captain of the Anne Francis, with his company, for that night to lodge aboard the Buffle of Bridgewater, and went himself, with the rest of his men, aboard the barks; but their numbers were so great, and the provision of the barks so scant, that they pestered one another exceedingly. They had great hope that the next morning the weather would be fair, whereby they might recover their ships; but in the morning following it was much worse, for the storm continued greater, the sea being more swollen, and the fleet gone quite out of sight: so that now their doubts began to grow great for the ship of Bridgewater, which was of greatest receipt, and whereof they had best hope and made most account, rode so far to leeward of the

harbour's mouth, that they were not able for the rocks that lay between the wind and them, to lead it out to sea with a sail; and the barks were already so pestered with men and so slenderly furnished with provision, that they had scarce meat for six days for such numbers.

The general in the morning departed to sea in the *Gabriel*, to seek the fleet, leaving the *Busse* of Bridgewater and the *Michael* behind in Beare's Sound. The *Busse* set sail, and thought by turning in the narrow channel in the harbour to get to windward, but being put to leeward more, by that means was fain to come to anchor for her better safety amongst a number of rocks, and there left in great danger of ever getting forth again. The *Michael* set sail to follow the general, and could give the *Busse* no relief, although they earnestly desired the same. And the captain of the *Anne Francis* was left in the hard election of two evils; either to abide his fortune with the *Busse* of Bridgewater, which was doubtful of ever getting forth, or else to be towed in his small pinnace at the stern of the *Michael* through the raging seas, for that the bark was not able to receive or relieve half his company, wherein his danger was not a little perilous.

So after he resolved to commit himself with all his company unto that fortune of God and sea, and was dangerously towed at the stern of the bark for many miles, until at length they espied the *Anne Francis* under sail hard under their lee, which was no small comfort unto them; for no doubt both these and a great number more had perished for lack of victuals and convenient room in the barks, without the help of the said ship. But the honest care that the master of the *Anne Francis* had of his captain, and the good regard of duty toward his general, suffered him not to depart, but honestly ^{ende} to hazard a dangerous road all the night long, and notwithstanding all the ^{rough} weather, when all the fleet besides departed. And the pinnace came no sooner aboard the ship, and the men entered, but she presently shivered and sunk in pieces at the ship's stern, with all the poor men's furniture, so weak was the boat with towing, and so forcible was the sea to bruise her in pieces. But as God would, the men were all saved.

At this present in this storm many of the fleet were dangerously distressed, and were severed almost all asunder; but thanks be to God, all the fleet arrived safely in England about the first of October, some in one place and some in another. But amongst other, it was most marvellous how the *Busse* of Bridgewater got away, who being left behind the fleet in great danger of never getting forth, was forced to seek a way northward through an unknown channel full of rocks, upon the back side of Beare's Sound, and there by good hap found out a way into the North Sea; a very dangerous attempt, save that necessity, which hath no law, forced them to try masteries. This aforesaid North Sea is the same which lieth upon the back side of Frobisher's Straights, where first the general himself in his pinnaces, and after some other of our company have discovered (as they affirmed) a great foreland, where they would have also a great likelihood of the greatest passage toward the South Sea.

The *Busse* of Bridgewater, as she came homeward, to the southward of Friseland discovered a great island in the latitude of fifty-seven degrees and a half, which was never yet found before, and sailed three days along the coast, the land seeming to be fruitful, full of woods, and a champain country.

There died in the whole fleet in all this voyage not above forty persons, which number is not great, considering how many ships were in the fleet, and how strange fortunes we passed.

A general and brief Description of the Country, and Condition of the People, which are found in Meta Incognita.*

Having now sufficiently and truly set forth the whole circumstance and particular handling of every occurrent in the three voyages of our worthy general, Captain Frobisher, it shall not be from the purpose to speak somewhat in general of the nature of the country called Meta Incognita, and the condition of the savages there inhabiting.

First, therefore, touching the topographical description of the place, it is now found in the last voyage, that Queen Elizabeth's Cape, being situate in latitude 61 degrees and a half, which before was supposed to be part of the firm land with America, and also all the rest of the south side of Frobisher's Streights, are all several islands and broken land, and likewise so will all the north side fall out to be, as I think. And some of our company being entered above 60 leagues within the mistaken streights, in the third voyage mentioned, thought certainly that they had descried the firm land of America towards the south, which I think will fall out so to be.

These broken lands and islands being very many in number, do seem to make there an archipelagus, which as they all differ in greatness, form, and fashion, one from another, so are they in goodness, colour, and soil, much unlike. They all are very high lands, mountains, and in most parts covered with snow even all the summer long. The norther lands have less store of snow, more grass, and are more plain countries, the cause whereof may be, for that the souther islands receive all the snow, that the cold winds and piercing air bring out of the north; and contrarily, the north parts receive more warm air from the milder blasts of the south, whereupon may grow the cause why the people covet to inhabit more upon the north parts than the south, as far as we can yet by our experience perceive they do. These people I judge to be a kind of Tartar; or rather a kind of Samoed of the same sort and condition of life that the Samoeds be to the north-eastwards towards Muscovy, who are called Samoeds, which is as much to say in the Muscovy tongue, as eaters of themselves, and so the Russians their borderers do name them. And by late conference with a friend of mine (with whom I did sometime travel in Muscovy) who hath great experience of those Samoeds, and people of the north-east, I find that in all their manner of living, those people of the north-east, and these of the north-west are alike. They are of the colour of a ripe olive, which how it may come to pass, being born in so cold a climate, I refer to the judgment of others, for they are naturally born children of the same colour and complexion that all the Americans are, which dwell under the equinoctial line.

They are men very active and nimble. They are a strong people and very warlike, for in our sight upon the tops of the hills they would often muster themselves, and after the manner of a skirmish trace their ground very nimbly, and manage their bows and darts with great dexterity. They go clad in coats made of the skins of beasts, as of seals, deer, bears, foxes, and hares. They have also some garments of feathers, being made of the cases of fowls, finely sewed and compact together; of all which sorts we brought home some with us into England, which we found in their tents. In summer they used to wear the hair side of their coats outward, and sometime go naked for too much heat; and in winter (as by signs they have declared) they wear four or five fold upon their bodies with the hair for warmth turned inward. Hereby it appeareth, that the air there is not indifferent; but either it is fervent hot, or else extreme cold, and far more excessive in both qualities than the reason of the climate should yield;

for there it is colder, being under 62 degrees in latitude than it is at Wardhouse in the voyage to St. Nicholas in Muscovy, being at about 72 degrees in latitude. The reason hereof perhaps may be, that this Meta Incognita is much frequented and vexed with eastern and north-eastern winds, which from the sea and ice bringeth often an intolerable cold air; which was also the cause that this year our streights were so long shut up with so great store of ice; but there is great hope and likelihood, that further within the streights it will be more constant and temperate weather.

These people are in nature very subtle and sharp-witted, ready to conceive our meaning by signs, and to make answer well to be understood again; and if they have not seen the thing whereof you ask them, they will wink and cover their eyes with their hands, as who would say, it hath been hid from their sight. If they understand you not whereof you asked them, they will stop their ears. They will teach us the name of each thing in their language which we desire to learn, and are apt to learn any thing of us. They delight in music above measure, and will keep time and stroke, to any tune you shall sing, both with their voice, head, hand, and foot, and will sing the same tune aptly after you. They will row with our oars in our boats, and keep a true stroke with our mariners, and seem to take great delight therein.

They live in caves of the earth, and hunt for their dinners and prey, even as the bear or other wild beast do; they eat raw flesh and fish, and refuse no meat, howsoever it be stinking. They are desperate in their fight, fullen of nature, and ravenous in their manner of feeding.

Their fullen and desperate nature doth herein manifestly appear, that a company of them being environed by our men on the top of a high cliff, so that they could by no means escape our hands, finding themselves in this case distressed, chose rather to cast themselves headlong down the rocks into the sea, and so be bruised and drowned, rather than to yield themselves to our men's mercies.

For their weapons to offend their enemies or kill their prey withal, they have darts, flings, bows, and arrows headed with sharp stones, bones, and some with iron. They are exceeding friendly and kind-hearted one to the other, and mourn greatly at the loss or harm of their fellows, and express their grief of mind, when they part one with another, with a mournful song and dirges. They are very shamefaced in bewraying the secrets of nature, and very chaste in the manner of their living: for when the man which we brought from thence into England the last voyage, should put off his coat or discover his whole body for change, he would not suffer the woman to be present, but put her forth of his cabin. And in all the space of two or three months, while the man lived in company with the woman, there was never any thing seen or perceived between them, more than might have passed between brother and sister. But the woman was in all things very serviceable for the man, attending him carefully when he was sick, and he likewise, in all the meats which they did eat together, would carve unto her of the sweetest, fattest, and best morsels they had. They wondered much at all our things, and were afraid of our horses and other beasts out of measure. They began to grow more civil, familiar, pleasant, and docible amongst us in very short time.

They have boats made of leather, and covered clean over, saving one place in the middle to sit in, planked within with timber; and they use to row them with one oar, more swiftly a great deal, than we in our boats can do with twenty. They have one sort of greater boats wherein they carry about twenty persons, and have a mast with a sail thereon, which sail is made of thin skins or bladders, sewed together with the sinews of fishes.

They

They are good fishermen, and in their small boats being disguised in their coats of seal skins, they deceive the fish, who take them rather for their fellow seals, than for deceiving men. They are good marksmen; with their dart or arrow they will commonly kill a duck, or any other fowl, in the head, and commonly in the eye. When they shoot at a great fish with any of their darts, they use to tie a bladder thereunto, whereby they may the better find them again, and the fish not able to carry it so easily away (for that the bladder doth buoy the dart) will at length be weary and die therewith.

They use to traffick and exchange their commodities with some other people, of whom they have such things as their miserable country, and ignorance of art to make, denieth them to have, as bars of iron, heads of iron for their darts, needles made four square, certain buttons of copper, which they use to wear upon their foreheads for ornament, as our ladies in the court of England do use great pearl.

Also they have made signs unto us, that they have seen gold, and such bright plates of metals, which are used for ornaments among some people with whom they have conference.

We found also in their tents a guinea bean of red colour, the which do usually grow in the hot countries. Whereby it appeareth that they trade with other nations which dwell far off, or else themselves are great travellers.

They have nothing in use among them to make fire withal, saving a kind of heath and moss which groweth there; and they kindle their fire with continual rubbing and fretting one stick against another, as we do with flints.

They draw with dogs in sleds upon the ice, and remove their tents therewithal, whercin they dwell in summer, when they go a hunting for their prey and provision against winter. They do sometime parboil their meat a little and feed the same in kettles made of seals skins; they have also pans, cut and made of stone very artificially: they use pretty gins wherewith they take fowl.

The women carry their sucking children at their backs, and do feed them with raw flesh, which first they do a little chew in their own mouths. The women have their faces marked or painted over with small blue spots. They have black and long hair on their heads, and trim the same in a decent order. The men have but little hair on their faces, and very thin beards. For their common drink, they eat ice to quench their thirst withal. Their earth yieldeth no grain or fruit of sustenance for man, or almost for beast to live upon; and the people will eat grass or shrubs of the ground, even as our kine do. They have no wood growing in their country thereabouts, and yet we find they have some timber among them, which we think doth grow far off to the southwards of this place, about Canada or some other part of Newfoundland: for there belike, the trees standing on the cliffs of the sea-side, by the weight of ice and snow in winter overcharging them with weight, when the summer's thaw cometh about, and also the sea underfretting them beneath, which winneth daily of the land, they are undermined and fall down from those cliffs into the sea, and with the tides and currents are driven to and fro upon the coasts further off; and by conjecture are taken up here by these country people, to serve them to plank and strengthen their boats withal, and to make darts, bows, and arrows, and such other things necessary for their use. And of this kind of drift-wood we find all the seas over great store, which being cut or sawed asunder, by reason of long driving in the sea is eaten of worms, and full of holes, of which sort theirs is found to be.

We have not yet found any venomous serpent, or other hurtful thing in these parts, but there is a kind of small fly or gnat, that stingeth and offendeth sorely, leaving
many

many red spots in the face and other places where she stingeth. They have snow and hail in the best time of their summer, and the ground frozen three fathom deep.

These people are great enchanters, and use many charms of witchcraft; for when their heads do ache, they tie a great stone with a string unto a stick, and with certain prayers and words done to the stick, they lift up the stone from ground, which sometimes with all a man's force they cannot stir, and sometime again they lift as easily as a feather; and hope thereby with certain ceremonious words to have ease and help. And they made us by signs to understand, lying grovelling with their faces upon the ground, and making a noise downward, that they worship the devil under them.

They have great store of deer, bears, hares, foxes, and innumerable numbers of fundry sorts of wild fowl, as sea-mews, gulls, wilmots, ducks, &c. whereof our men killed in one day fifteen hundred. They have also store of hawks, falcons, taffels, &c. whereof two alighted on one of our ships at their return, and were brought into England, which some think will prove very good: there are also great store of ravens, larks, and partridges, whereof the country people feed. All these fowls are far thicker clothed with down and feathers, and have thicker skins than any in England have; for as that country is colder, so nature hath provided a remedy thereunto.

Our men have eaten of their bears, hares, partridges, larks, and of their wild-fowl, and find them reasonable good meat, but not so delectable as ours. Their wild-fowl must be all flean, their skins are so thick, and they taste best fried in pans.

The country seemeth to be much subject to earthquakes. The air is very subtle, piercing and searching, so that if any corrupted or infected body, especially with the disease called *morbus gallicus* come there, it will presently break forth and shew itself, and cannot there by any kind of salve or medicine be cured.

Their longest summer's day is of great length, without any dark night, so that in July all the night long we might perfectly and easily write and read whatsoever had pleased us; which lightsome nights were very beneficial unto us, being so distressed with abundance of ice as we were.

The sun setteth to them in the evening at a quarter of an hour after ten of the clock, and riseth again in the morning, at three quarters of an hour after one of the clock, so that in summer their sun shineth to them twenty hours and a half, and in the night is absent three hours and a half: and although the sun be absent these three hours and a half, yet it is not dark that time, for that the sun is never above three or four degrees under the edge of their horizon. The cause is, that the Tropic of Cancer doth cut their horizon at very uneven and oblique angles. But the moon at any time of the year being in Cancer, having north latitude, doth make a full revolution above their horizon, so that sometimes they see the moon above twenty-four hours together. Some of our company of the more ignorant sort, thought we might continually have seen the sun and moon, had it not been for two or three high mountains.

The people are now become so wary and so circumspect by reason of their former losses, that by no means we can apprehend any of them, although we attempted often in this last voyage. But to say truth, we could not bestow any great time in pursuing them, because of our great business in lading, and other things.

THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS OF THE ENGLISH NATION
TO VIRGINIA,

AND THE SEVERAL DISCOVERIES THEREOF ;

CHIEFLY AT THE CHARGES OF

THE HONOURABLE SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT,

From 33 to 40 Degrees of Latitude :

TOGETHER WITH THE SUCCESS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES THERE
PLANTED ;.

AS LIKEWISE A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, WITH THE INHABITANTS, AND
THE MANIFOLD COMMODITIES.

Whereunto are annexed the Patents, Letters, Discourses, &c. to this Part belonging. *

*The Letters Patents, granted by the Queen's Majesty to M. Walter Raleigh, now Knight,
for the discovering and planting of new Lands and Countries, to continue the Space of
Six Years, and no more.*

“ **E**LIZABETH by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting.
* Know ye that of our special grace, certain science, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to our trusty and well beloved servant Walter Raleigh Esquire, and to his heirs and assigns for ever, free liberty and licence from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs and assigns, and to every or any of them shall seem good ; and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patent may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate : and the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heirs and successors, shall go or travel thither to inhabit or remain, there to build and fortify, at the discretion of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, the statutes or acts of parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

“ And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full authority, liberty, and power, to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may, at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said voyage, and travel thitherward, or to inhabit there with him or them, and every or any of them, such and so many of our subjects, as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them; and to whom also we do by these presents, give full liberty and authority in that behalf, and also to have, take, and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations and navigations in that behalf, so that none of the same persons, or any of them, be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heirs or successors.

“ And further, that the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, shall have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, and every of them for ever, all the soil of all such lands, territories, and countries, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesaid, and of all such cities, castles, towns, villages, and places in the same, with the rights, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the said lands or countries, or the seas thereunto adjoining, to be had or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part, in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as near as the same conveniently may be, at his and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remain within the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors: reserving always to us, our heirs and successors, for all services, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained: all which lands and territories shall for ever be holden of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said payment of the said fifth part, reserved only for all services.

“ And moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repel and resist, as well by sea as by land, and by all other ways whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especial liking and licence of the said Walter Raleigh, and of his heirs and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within the said countries, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues near to the place or places within such countries as aforesaid, (if they shall not be before planted or inhabited within the limits, as aforesaid, with the subjects of any Christian prince being in amity with us,) where the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or his or their or any of their associates or company, shall within six years (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by sea or land the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giving and granting by these presents, further power and authority to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, to take and surprize by all manner of means whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their ships, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the said Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, or assigns, as aforesaid, shall be found trafficking into any harbour or harbours, creek or creeks, within the limits aforesaid, (the subjects of our realms and dominions, and all other persons in amity with us trading to the Newfoundlands for fishing, as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest, or ship-

wreck only excepted :) and those persons, and every of them, with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture, to detain and possess as of good and lawful prize, according to the discretion of him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amity, of such countries, lands and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid, with our realms of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises; we do by these presents grant and declare, that all such countries, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited, as is aforesaid, from thenceforth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors. And we do grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and to all and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our courts of record within our realm of England, that with the assent of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, shall in his journeys for discovery, or in the journeys for conquest, hereafter travel to such lands, countries, and territories, as aforesaid, and to their, and to every of their heirs, that they, and every or any of them, being either born within our said realms of England or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries, and territories, with such licence (as aforesaid), shall and may have all the privileges of free denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance, in such like ample manner and form, as if they were born and personally resident within our said realm of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories, as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journeys or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace and civil quietness, each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril; We, for us, our heirs and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and grant to the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, for ever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may, from time to time, for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, have full and mere power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journeys or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabit such lands, countries, or territories, as aforesaid, or that shall abide within 200 leagues of any of the said place or places, where the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabit within six years next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, laws, and ordinances, as shall be by him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them, devised or established for the better government of the said people, as aforesaid. So always as the said statutes, laws, and ordinances may be, as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, statutes, government, or policy of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England; nor in anywise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors, as their immediate Sovereign, under God.

“ And further, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority to our trusty and well beloved counsellor Sir William Cecill, Knight; Lord Burleigh, our High Treasurer of England; and to the Lord Treasurer
of

of England for us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, and to the privy council of us, our heirs and successors, or any four or more of them, for the time being, that he, they, or any four or more of them, shall and may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their hands or seals, by virtue of these presents, authorise and license the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them, by him, and by themselves, or by their or any of their sufficient attorneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to imbarke and transport out of our realm of England and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessities and commodities of any of our realms, as to the said lord treasurer, or four or more of the privy council, of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being (as aforesaid) shall be, from time to time, by his or their wisdoms or discretions, thought meet and convenient, for the better relief and supportation of him the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associates and companies, any act, statute, law, or any thing to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

“ Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter rob or spoil, by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or to any of the subjects of the kings, princes, rulers, governors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amity with us, our heirs and successors; and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor, or estate, or their subjects, We, our heirs and successors, shall make open proclamation within any of the ports of our realm of England, that the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, or any to whom these our letters patents may extend, shall, within the terms to be limited by such proclamation, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done; so as both we and the said princes, or other so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented: and that if the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, shall not make, or cause to be made, satisfaction accordingly, within such time to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heirs and successors, to put the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaid), or any of them, out of our allegiance and protection; and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs, assigns, and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession, and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostility, as being not our subjects, nor by us any way to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging; for that express mention of the clear yearly value of the certainty of the premises, or any part thereof, or of any other gift or grant by us, or any our progenitors or predecessors to the said Walter Raleigh, before this time made, in these presents be not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint, to the contrary thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves, at Westminster, the five and twentieth day of March, in the six and twentieth year of our reign.”

The First Voyage made to the Coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered Part of the Country now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said Captains, and sent to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, at whose Charge and Direction the said Voyage was set forth.

THE 27th day of April, in the year of our Redemption 1584, we departed the west of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments delivered by yourself at our leaving the river of Thames. And I think it a matter both unnecessary for the manifest discovery of the country, as also for tediousness sake, to remember unto you the diurnal of our course, sailing thither and returning; only I have presumed to present unto you this brief discourse, by which you may judge how profitable this land is likely to succeed, as well to yourself (by whose direction and charge, and by whose servants this our discovery hath been performed), as also to her Highness, and the commonwealth, in which we hope your wisdom will be satisfied, considering that as much by us hath been brought to light, as by those small means and number of men we had, could any way have been expected or hoped for.

The 10th of May we arrived at the Canaries; and the 10th of June, in this present year, we were fallen with the islands of the West Indies, keeping a more south-easterly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogueing between the Cape of Florida and Havanna, had been of greater force than afterward we found it to be. At which islands we found the air very unwholesome, and our men grew for the most part ill-disposed; so that having refreshed ourselves with sweet water and fresh victual, we departed the twelfth day of our arrival there. These islands, with the rest adjoining, are so well known to yourself, and to many others, as I will not trouble you with the remembrance of them.

The 2d of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant; and keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the said month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land, and we sailed along the same 120 English miles, before we could find any entrance, or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three harquebuz-shots within the haven's mouth, on the left hand of the same; and after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful Queen and Princess of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant and letters patents under her Highness' great seal. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandy and low towards the water side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them, of which we found such plenty, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills, as in the plains, as well on every little shrub, as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to

to be found; and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.

We passed from the sea-side towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height, and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides, to the north and to the south, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not above six miles broad. Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar trees, and having discharged our harquebuz-shot, such a flock of cranes (the most part white) arose under us, with such a cry, redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

This island had many goodly woods full of deer, conies, hares, and fowl, even in the midst of summer, in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hercynia, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars of the world, far bettering the cedars of the Azores, of the Indies, or Lybanus; pines, cypresses, sassafras, the lentisk, or the tree that beareth the mastick, the tree that beareth the rind of black cinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the Streights of Magellan, and many other of excellent smell and quality.

We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country; the third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons: this boat came to the island side, four harquebuz-shot from our ships, and there two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore side towards us, and we being then all within board, he walked up and down upon the point of the land next unto us; then the master and the pilot of the admiral, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captain Philip Amadas, myself, and others, rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any shew of fear or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well; and after having viewed both barks, he departed and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining: as soon as he was two bow-shots into the water, he fell to fishing, and in less than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnace; which, after he had (as much as he might) requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with 40 or 50 men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina, the country Wingandacoa, and now by her Majesty Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats altogether, as the first man did, a little from the ships, by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with 40 men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down, and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like; the rest of his men stood round about him, somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor ever mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to shew we were all one, smiling and making shew, the best he could, of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long

speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time; only the four which were at the other end spake one in the other's ear very softly.

The king is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered. The king himself, in person, was, at our being there, fore wounded in a fight which he had with the king of the next country, called Wingina, and was shot in two places through the body, and once clean through the thigh; but yet he recovered; by reason whereof, and for that he lay at the chief town of the country, being six days' journey off, we saw him not at all.

After we had presented this his brother with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gave somewhat to the other that sat with him on the mat; but presently he arose and took all from them, and put it into his own basket, making signs and tokens, that all things ought to be delivered unto him, and the rest were but his servants and followers.

A day or two after this we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had, for chamoyes, buff, and deer-skins: when we shewed him all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up and clapt it before his breast, and after made a hole in the brim thereof, and hung it about his neck, making signs, that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows; for those people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for 20 skins, worth 20 crowns, or 20 nobles; and a copper kettle for 50 skins, worth 50 crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes, and for knives, and would have given any thing for swords; but we would not depart with any.

After two or three days the king's brother came on board the ships, and drank wine, and eat of our meat and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof; and after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children: his wife was very well favoured, of mean stature and very bashful: she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times: in her ears she had bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle, (whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet,) and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest of her women of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear, and some of the children of the king's brother, and other noblemen, have five or six in either ear: he himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold or copper; for being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be, neither would he suffer us by any means to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily: his apparel was as his wife's, only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowish, and their hair black for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut coloured hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kinds of dyes very excellent, and exchanged with us; but when Granganimeo the king's brother was present, none durst trade but himself; except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself, for that is the difference between the noblemen, and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors, than these do. The king's brother's wife, when

she came to us (as she did many times), was followed by 40 or 50 women always, and when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order, as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached.

Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine, or of pitch trees, a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal; if they have any they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out of a wreck which happened upon their coast of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship or some part of her being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments. The manner of making their boats is thus; they burn down some great tree, or take such as are wind-fallen, and putting gum and rosin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on gums, which burn away the timber; and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport 20 men: their oars are like scoops, and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth.

The king's brother had great liking of our armour, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearl in gage for them; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew; which now your worship doth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise; for many times we delivered him merchandize upon his word, but ever he came within the day and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourds, peas, and divers roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their country corn, which is very white, fair, and well tasted, and groweth three times in five months: in May they sow, in July they reap; in June they sow, in August they reap; in July they sow, in September they reap; only they cast the corn into the ground, breaking a little of the soft turf with a wooden mattock or pickaxe. Ourselves proved the soil, and put some of our pease in the ground, and in ten days they were of 14 inches high. They have also beans very fair, of divers colours, and wonderful plenty; some growing naturally, and some in their gardens; and so have they both wheat and oats.

The soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world; there are above 14 several sweet smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bays and such like; they have those oaks that we have, but far greater and better.

After they had been divers times on board our ships, myself with seven more went twenty miles into the river that runneth towards the city of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and on the evening following we came to an island, which they call Raonoak, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp-trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turn-pike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water side, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us very cheerfully and

and friendly ; her husband was not then in the village ; some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore for the beating of the billow ; others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground ; and others to bring our oars into the house for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer room, having five rooms in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes and washed them, and dried them again ; some of the women plucked off our stockings and washed them ; some washed our feet in warm water ; and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house, some wheat like fermenty ; sodden venison and roasted ; fish sodden, boiled, and roasted ; melons, raw and sodden ; roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits : their drink is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth they drink wine, and for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable herbs and trees.

We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty (after their manner) as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth : their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory : their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet ; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber : within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol, which they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gate two or three men with their bows and arrows from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons ; but as soon as she espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows and break them, and withal beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gaye us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat-side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She perceiving our jealousy, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women, to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats fine mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to rest in their houses ; but because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not venture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

Beyond this island there is the main land, and overagainst this island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam by the inhabitants, on which standeth a town called Pomeiock, and six days journey from the same is situate their greatest city called Skicoak, which this people affirm to be very great ; but the savages were never at it, only they speak of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard it affirm to be above one hour's journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river called Cipo, in which there is found great store of muscles, in which there are pearls ; likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river called Nomapana, on the one side whereof standeth a great town called Chawanook, and the lord of that town and country is called Pooneno : this Pooneno

is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa, but is a free lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these three kings are in league with each other. Towards the S. W. four days journey, is situate a town called Sequotan, which is the southernmost town of Wingandacoa, near unto which 26 years, past, there was a ship cast away, whereof some of the people were saved, and those were white people, whom the country people preserved.

And after ten days remaining in an out island uninhabited, called Wocokon, they with the help of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boats of the country together, and made masts unto them, and sails of their shirts, and having taken into them such victuals as the country yielded, they departed, after they had remained in this out island three weeks : but shortly after it seemed they were cast away, for the boats were found upon the coast, cast a-land in another island adjoining; other than these, there was never any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seen or heard of among these people, and these aforesaid were seen only of the inhabitants of Secotan, which appeared to be very true, for they wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins, ever coveting to touch our breasts, and to view the same. Besides, they had our ships in marvellous admiration, and all things else were so strange unto them, as it appeared that none of them had ever seen the like. When we discharged any piece, were it but an harquebuz, they would tremble thereat for very fear, and for the strangeness of the same; for the weapons which themselves use are bows and arrows : the arrows are but of small canes, headed with a sharp shell or tooth of a fish, sufficient enough to kill a naked man; their swords be of wood hardened; likewise they use wooden breast-plates for their defence; they have beside a kind of club, in the end whereof they fasten the sharp horns of a stag or other beast. When they go to wars, they carry about with them their idol, of whom they ask counsel, as the Romans were wont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songs as they march towards the battle, instead of drums and trumpets : their wars are very cruel and bloody, by reason whereof, and of their civil dissensions which have happened of late years amongst them, the people are marvellously wasted, and in some places the country left desolate.

Adjoining to this country aforesaid called Secotan, beginneth a country called Pomouick, belonging to another king whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the country Newfiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus : these kings have mortal war with Wingina a king of Wingandacoa : but about two years past there was a peace made between the king Piemacum, and the lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England, have given us to understand : but there remaineth a mortal malice in the Secotans, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum. They invited divers men and thirty women of the best of his country to their town to a feast, and when they were altogether merry, and praying before their idol (which is nothing else but a mere illusion of the devil), the captain or lord of the town came suddenly upon them, and slew them every one, reserving the women and children : and these two have oftentimes since persuaded us to surprize Piemacum his town, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities : but whether their persuasion be to the end they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they bear to us, we leave that to the trial hereafter.

Beyond this island called Roanoak, are main islands very plentiful of fish, and other natural increases, together with many towns and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the islands, and some stretching up further into the land.

When we first had sight of this country, some thought the first land we saw to be the continent : but after we entered into the haven, we saw before us another mighty long sea ; for there lyeth along the coast a tract of islands, 200 miles in length, adjoining to the ocean sea, and between the islands two or three entrances : when you are entered between them (these islands being very narrow for the most part, as in most places six miles broad, in some places less, in few more), then there appeareth another great sea, containing in breadth in some places 40, and in some 50, in some 20 miles over, before you come unto the continent : and in this inclosed sea there are above an hundred islands of divers bignesses, whereof one is 16 miles long, at which we were, finding it a most pleasant and fertile ground, replenished with goodly cedars, and divers other sweet woods, full of currants, of flax, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leisure to view. Besides this island there are many, as I have said, some of two, of three, of four, of five miles, some more, some less, most beautiful and pleasant to behold, replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance.

Thus, Sir, we have acquainted you with the particulars of our discovery made this present voyage, as far forth as the shortness of the time we there continued would afford us to take view of : and so contenting ourselve with this service at this time, which we hope hereafter to enlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be given, we resolved to leave the country, and to apply ourselves to return for England, which we did accordingly, and arrived safely in the west of England about the middle of September.

And whereas we have above certified you of the country taken in possession by us to her Majesty's use, and so to yours by her Majesty's grant, we thought good for the better assurance thereof to record some of the particular gentlemen, and men of account, who then were present, as witnesses of the same ; that thereby all occasion of cavil to the title of the country, in her Majesty's behalf, may be prevented, which otherwise, such as like not the action, may use and pretend ; whose names are

Captains	- -	{	Master Philip Amadas.
		{	Master Arthur Bark
		{	William Greenhouse.
		{	John Wood.
		{	James Browewich.
Of the Company		{	Henry Greene.
		{	Benjamin Wood.
		{	Simon Ferdinando.
		{	Nicholas Petm
		{	John Hewes.

We brought home also two of the savages, being lusty men, whose names were *Manchese* and *Manteo*.



The Voyage made by Sir Richard Greeneville, for Sir Walter Raleigh, to Virginia, in the Year 1585.

THE ninth day of April, in the year aforesaid, we departed from Plymouth, our fleet consisting of the number of seven sails, to wit, the Tiger, of the burthen of seven score tons, a fly-boat called the Roe-buck, of the like burden, the Lion of 100 tons or thereabouts, the Elizabeth of 50 tons, and the Dorothy, a small bark: whereunto were also adjoined for speedy services, two small pinnaces. The principal gentlemen of our company were these, M. Ralph Lane, M. Thomas Candish, M. John Arundell, M. Raymund, M. Stukeley, M. Bremige, M. Vincent, and M. John Clarke, and divers others, whereof some were captains, and other some assistants for counsel, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14th day of April we fell with Lancerota and Forteventura, isles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our course for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the west India, wherewith we fell the 7th day of May, and the 10th day following we came to anchor at Cotesa, a little island situated near to the Island of S. John, where we landed and refreshed ourselves all that day.

The 12th day of May we came to an anchor in the bay of Moskito, in the Island of S. John, within a faulcon shot of the shore; where our general, Sir Richard Greeneville, and the most part of our company landed, and began to fortify very near to the sea side; the river ran by the one side of our fort, and the other two sides were environed with woods.

The 13th day, we began to build a new pinnacle within the fort, with the timber that we then felled in the country, some part whereof we fetcht three miles up in the land, and brought it to our fort upon trucks, the Spaniard not daring to make or offer resistance.

The 16th day, there appeared unto us out of the woods, eight horsemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a mile from our fort, staying about half an hour in viewing our forces; but as soon as they saw ten of our shot marching towards them, they presently retired into the woods.

The 19th day, Master Candish, who had been separated from our fleet in a storm in the bay of Portugal, arrived at Cotesa, within the sight of the Tiger; we thinking him afar off to be either a Spaniard or a French man of war, thought it good to weigh anchors, and to go room with him, which the Tiger did, and discerned him at last to be one of our consorts; for joy of whose coming, our ships discharged their ordnance, and saluted him according to the manner of the seas.

The 22d day, 20 other Spanish horsemen shewed themselves to us upon the other side of the river, who being seen, our general dispatched 20 footmen toward them, and two horsemen of ours, mounted on Spanish horses, which we before had taken in the time of our being on the island: they shewed to our men a flag of truce, and made signs to have a parle with us; whereupon two of our men went half of the way upon the lands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offered very great salutations to our men, but began, according to their Spanish proud humours, to expostulate with them about their arrival and fortifying in their country, who notwithstanding by our men's discreet answers were so cooled, that (whereas they were told, our principal intention was only to furnish ourselves with water and victuals, and other necessities, whereof we stood in need, which we craved might be yielded us with fair and friendly means, otherwise our resolution was to practise force, and to relieve our-

selves

selves by the sword,) the Spaniards in conclusion seeing our men so resolute, yielded to our request with large promises of all courtesy and great favour, and so our men and theirs departed.

The 23d day, our pinnace was finished and launched; which being done, our general with his captains and gentlemen marched up into the country about the space of four miles, where in a plain marsh, they stayed expecting the coming of the Spaniards according to their promise, to furnish us with victuals, who keeping their old custom for perjury and breach of promise, came not; whereupon our general fired the woods thereabout, and so retired to our fort, which the same day was fired also, and each man came aboard to be ready to set sail the next morning.

The 26th day, we set sail from S. John's, being many of us stung before upon shore by the muskitos; but the same night we took a Spanish frigate, which was forsaken by the Spaniards upon the sight of us, and the next day in the morning very early we took another frigate, with good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account in her, which afterwards we ransomed for good round sums, and landed them in S. John's.

The 29th day, our lieutenant, M. Ralph Lane, went in one of the frigates which we had taken, to Roxo Bay, upon the S. W. side of S. John's, to fetch salt, being thither conducted by a Spanish pilot: as soon as he arrived there, he landed with his men to the number of 20, and intrenched themselves upon the sands immediately, compassing one of their salt hills within the trench; who being seen of the Spaniards, there came down towards him two or three troops of horsemen and footmen, who gave him the looking and gazing on, but durst not come near him to offer any resistance; so that Master Lane, in spite of their troops, carried their salt aboard, and laded his frigate, and so returned again to our fleet the 29th day, which rode at S. German's Bay. The same day we all departed, and the next day arrived in the island of Hispaniola.

The first day of June, we anchored at Isabella on the north side of Hispaniola.

The 3d day of June, the governor of Isabella, and the captain of the Port de Plata, being certified by the reports of sundry Spaniards, who had been well entertained aboard our ships by our general, that in our fleet were many brave and gallant gentlemen, who greatly desired to see the governor aforesaid, he thereupon sent gentle commendations to our general, promising within few days to come to him in person, which he performed accordingly.

The 5th day, the aforesaid governor, accompanied with a lusty friar, and 20 other Spaniards, with their friends and negroes, came down to the sea side, where our ships rode at anchor; who being seen, our general manned immediately the most part of his boats with the chief men of our fleet, every man appointed and furnished in the best sort. At the landing of our general, the Spanish governor received him very courteously, and the Spanish gentlemen saluted our English gentlemen, and their inferior sort did also salute our soldiers and seamen, liking our men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first they seemed to stand in fear of us, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the courtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all fear and mistrust on the Spaniards part was abandoned.

In the mean time, while our English general and the Spanish governor discoursed betwixt them of divers matters, as of the state of the country, the multitude of the towns and people, and the commodities of the island; our men provided two banquetting houses covered with green boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the servants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in, served by us all in plate,

with the found of trumpets, and concert of music, wherewith the Spaniards were more than delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spaniards in recompence of our courtesy, caused a great herd of white bulls and kine to be brought together from the mountains, and appointed for every gentleman and captain that would ride, a horse ready saddled, and then singled out three of the best of them, to be hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew very pleasant for the space of three hours, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one took the sea, and there was slain with a musket. After this sport many rare presents and gifts were given and bestowed on both parts, and the next day we played the merchants with them by way of truck and exchange of divers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kine, bulls, goats, swine, sheep, bull-hides, sugar, ginger, pearl, tobacco, and such like commodities of the island.

The 7th day we departed, with great good will from the Spaniards, from the island of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort do impute this great shew of friendship and courtesy used towards us by the Spaniards, rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilance and watchfulness that was amongst us, than to any hearty good will, or sure friendly entertainment; for doubtless if they had been stronger than we, we might have looked for no better courtesy at their hands, than master John Hawkins received at S. John de Ulva, or John Oxnam near the Straights of Darien, and divers others of our countrymen in other places.

The 8th day, we anchored at a small island to take seals, which in that place we understood to have been in great quantity, where the general and certain others with him in the pinnace were in very great danger to have been all cast away, but by the help of God, they escaped the hazard, and returned aboard the Admiral in safety.

The 9th day, we arrived and landed in the Isle of Caycos, in which island we searched for salt ponds, upon the advertisement and information of a Portugal: who indeed abused our general and us, deserving a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased us.

The 12th, we anchored at Guanima, and landed.

The 15th and 16th, we anchored and landed at Cyguateo.

The 20th, we fell in with the main of Florida.

The 23d, we were in great danger of a wreck on a beach called the Cape of Fear.

The 24th, we came to anchor in a harbour, where we caught in one tide so much fish as would have yielded us 20 pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26th, we came to anchor at Wococon.

The 29th, we weighed anchor to bring the Tiger into the harbour, where through the unskilfulness of the master, whose name was Fernando, the Admiral struck on ground and sunk.

The 3d of July, we sent word of our arriving at Wococon, to Wingina at Roanoak.

The 6th, M. John Arundell was sent to the main, and Manteo with him; and Captain Aubrey and Captain Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there with 30 other, by Captain Raymond, some 20 days before.

The 8th, Captain Aubrey and Captain Boniten returned, with two of our men found by them, to us at Wococon.

The 11th day, the general accompanied in his tilt boat with Master John Arundell, Master Stukeley, and divers other gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Hariot, and 20 others in the new pinnace, Captain Amadas, Captain Clarke, with 10 others in a ship boat, Francis Brook and John White in another ship boat, passed over the water from Wococon to the main land, victualled for eight days, in this voyage we first discovered the towns of Pomeiok, Aquascogoc, and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the savages Paquipe, with divers other places, and so returned with that discovery to our fleet.

The 12th, we came to the town of Pomeiok.

The 13th, we passed by water to Aquascogok.

The 15th, we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the savages.

The 16th, we returned thence, and one of our boats with the Admiral was sent to Aquascogok, to demand a silver cup which one of the savages had stolen from us, and receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoiled their corn and town, all people being fled.

The 18th, we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboard our fleet riding at Wococon.

The 21st, our fleet anchoring at Wococon, we weighed anchor for Hatoraske.

The 27th, our fleet anchored at Hatoraske, and there we rested.

The 29th, Grangino, brother to king Wingina, came on board the Admiral, and Manteco with him.

August the 2d, the Admiral was sent to Weapomeiok.

The 5th, M. John Arundell was sent for England.

The 25th, our general weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

About the 31st, he took a Spanish ship of 300 ton, richly laden, boarding her with a boat made with boards of chests, which fell asunder and sunk at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it.

The 10th of September, by foul weather, the general then shipped in the prize, lost sight of the Tiger.

The 6th of October, the Tiger fell with the Lands-end, and the same day came to anchor at Falmouth.

The 18th, the general came with the prize to Plymouth, and was courteously received by divers of his worshipful friends.

The Names of those as well Gentlemen as others, that remained one whole year in Virginia, under the government of Master Ralph Lane.

Master Philip Amadas, Admiral
of the country.

Master Hariot.

Master Acton.

Master Edward Stafford.

Thomas Luddington.

Master Marvyn.

Master Gardiner.

Captain Vaughan.

Master Kendall.

Master Pridcox.

Robert Holecroft.

Rife Courtney.

Master Hugh Rogers.

Master Thomas Harvie.

Master Snelling.

Master Anthony Ruffe.

Master Allyne.

Master Michael Polifon.

John Cage.

Thomas Parre.

William Randes.

Geoffrey Churchman.

William Farthow.

John Taylor.

Philip Robyns.

Thomas Philips.

Valentine Beale.

Thomas Foxe.

Darby Glande.

Edward Nugen.

Edward Kelley.

John Gostigo.

Erasmus Clefs.

Edward Ketchenan.

John Linsey.

Thomas Rottenbury.

Roger Deane.

John Harris.

Francis Norris.

Mathew Lyne.

Edward Kettell.

Thomas Wisse.	Thomas Heskett.
Robert Bilcombe.	William Wasse.
William Backhouse.	John Fever.
William White.	Daniel.
Henry Potkin.	Thomas Taylor.
Dennis Barnes.	Richard Humfrey.
Joseph Borges.	John Wright.
Dougham Gannes.	Gabriel North.
William Tenche.	Bennet Chappell.
Randall Latham.	Richard Sarc.
Thomas Hulmc.	James Lacie.
Walter Mill.	Smolkin.
Richard Gilbert.	Thomas Smart.
Steven Pomarie.	Robert.
John Brocke.	John Evans.
Bennett Harrie.	Roger Large.
James Stevenfon.	Humfrey Garden.
Charles Stevenfon.	Francis Whitton.
Christopher Lowde.	Rowland Griffyn.
Jeremy Man.	William Millard.
James Mafon	John Twit.
David Salter.	Edward Seclemore.
Richard Ireland.	John Anwike.
Thomas Bookener.	Christopher Marshall.
William Philips.	David Williams.
Randal Mayne.	Nicholas Swabber.
James Skinner.	Edward Chipping.
George Efeven.	Silvester Beching.
John Chandelcer.	Vincent Cheyne.
Philip Blunt.	Hance Walters.
Richard Poore.	Edward Barecombe.
Robert Yong.	Thomas Skevelabs.
Marmaduke Constable.	William Walters.

An Extract of Master Ralph Lane's Letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the Middle Temple, from Virginia.

"In the mean while you shall understand, that since Sir Richard Greenville's departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweet trees, that bring such sundry rich and pleasant gums, grapes of such greatness, yet wild, as France, Spain, nor Italy have no greater; so many sorts of apothecary drugs, such several kinds of flax, and one kind like silk, the same gathered of, a grass, as common there as grass is here. And now within these few days we have found here maize or Guinea wheat, whose ear yieldeth corn for bread 400 upon one ear, and the cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also *terra Samia*, otherwise *terra sigillata*. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the continent is of an huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely, and the climate so wholesome, that we had not one sick since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but horses and kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure myself, being inhabited

habited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it. For this already we find, that what commodities soever France, Spain, Italy, or the east parts do yield unto us, in wines of all sorts, in oils, in flax, in rosins, pitch, frankincense, currants, sugars, and such like, these parts do abound with the growth of them all; but being savages that possess the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here we find great abundance of. The people naturally are most courteous, and very desirous to have cloaths, but especially of coarse cloth rather than silk, coarse canvases they also like well of, but copper carrieth the price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt, and M. H. I have joined you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me most heartily to you both, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. From the new fort in Virginia, this 3d of September, 1585.

Your most assured friend,

“RALPH LANE.”

An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenville under the charge of Master Ralph Lane, General of the same, from the 17th August 1585, until the 18th of June 1586, at which time they departed the Country; sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh.

THAT I may proceed with order in this discourse, I think it requisite to divide it into two parts. The first shall declare the particularities of such parts of the country within the main, as our weak number and supply of things necessary did enable us to enter into the discovery of.

The second part shall set down the reasons generally moving us to resolve on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Francis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barks, pinnaces, and boats with the masters and mariners, meant by him to be left in the country for the supply of such, as for a further time meant to have stayed there, were carried away with tempest and foul weather. In the beginning whereof shall be declared the conspiracy of Pemisapan with the savages of the main, to have cut us off, &c.

The First Part, declaring the Particularities of the Country of Virginia.

First therefore touching the particularities of the country, you shall understand that our discovery of the same hath been extended from the island of Roanoak (the same having been the place of our settlement or inhabitation) into the south, into the north, into the N. W. and into the west.

The uttermost place to the southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation four-score miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the main, the same being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and shoals: we had but one boat with four oars to pass through the same, which boat could not carry above fifteen men, with their furniture, baggage, and victual for seven days at the most; and as for our pinnace, besides that she drew too deep water for that shallow sound, she would not stir for an oar: for these and other reasons (winter also being at hand) we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts until our stronger supply.

To the northward our farthest discovery was to the Chesepians, distant from Roanoak, about 130 miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous, by reason of breadth of the sound, and the little succour that upon any flaw was there to be

But

But the territory and soil of the Chesepians (being distant 15 miles from the shore), was for pleasantness of seat, for temperature of climate, for fertility of soil, and for the commodity of the sea, besides multitude of bears (being an excellent good victual), with great woods of sassafras, and walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever.

There be fundry kings whom they call Weroances, and countries of great fertility adjoining to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Oposians, which all came to visit the colony of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.

To the N. W. the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook distant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the channel of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the channel full of shoals.

The towns about the waterside situated by the way are these following : Passaquenoke, the Woman's Town, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem ; all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco : from Muscamunge we enter into the river, and jurisdiction of Chawanook. There the river beginneth to straighten until it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames between Westminster and Lambeth.

Between Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as we pass thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a town which we called The Blind Town, but the savages called it Ohanoak, and hath a very goodly corn field belonging unto it ; it is subject to Chawanook.

Chawanook itself is the greatest province and feignory lying upon that river, and the very town itself is able to put 700 fighting men into the field, besides the forces of the province itself.

The king of the said province is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a savage, a very grave and wise man, and of a very singular good discourse in matters concerning the state, not only of his own country, and the disposition of his own men, but also of his neighbours round about him as well far as near, and of the commodities that each country yieldeth. When I had him prisoner with me, for two days that we were together, he gave me more understanding and light of the country, than I had received by all the searches and savages, that before I or any of my country had had conference with : it was in March last past, 1586. Amongst other things he told me, that going three days journey in a canoe up his river of Chawanook, and then descending to the land, you are within four days journey to pass over land N. E. to a certain king's country, whose province lyeth upon the sea, but his place of greatest strength is an island situated, as he described unto me, in a bay, the water round about the island very deep.

Out of this bay he signified unto me, that this king had so great quantity of pearl, and doth so ordinarily take the same, as that not only his own skins that he weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the said pearl, but also his beds and houses are garnished with them ; and that he hath such quantity of them, that it is a wonder to see.

He shewed me that the said king was with him at Chawanook two years before, and brought him certain pearl, but the same of the worst sort, yet was he fain to buy them of him for copper at a dear rate, as he thought. He gave me a rope of the same pearl, but they were black and nought, yet many of them were very great, and a few amongst a number very orient and round ; all which I lost with other things, of mine, coming aboard Sir Francis Drake his fleet : yet he told me that the said king had great store of pearl that were white, great, and round, and that his black pearl his men did take out of shallow water, but the white pearl his men fished for in very deep water.

It seemed to me by his speech, that the said king had traffick with white men that had cloaths as we have, for these white pearl, and that was the reason that he would not depart with other than with black pearls, to those of the same country.

The king of Chawanook promised to give me guides to go over land into that king's country whensoever I would; but he advised me to take good store of men with me, and good store of victuals, for he said that the king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his country, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any pearl there, and that he was able to make a great many of men into the field, which he said would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolved with myself, that if your supply had come before the end of April, and that you had sent any store of boats or men, to have had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men and victuals to have found us until the new corn were come in, I would have sent a small bark with two pinnares about by sea to the northward to have found out the bay he spake of, and to have founded the bar if there were any, which should have ridden there in the said bay about that island, while I with all the small boats I could make, and with 200 men, would have gone up to the head of the river of Chawanook with the guides that Menatonon would have given me, which I would have been assured should have been of his best men (for I had his best beloved son prisoner with me) who also should have kept me company in an handlock with the rest, foot by foot, all the voyage over land.

My meaning was further at the head of the river in the place of my descent where I would have left my boats, to have raised a sconce with a small trench, and a palisado upon the top of it, in the which, and in the guard of my boats I would have left 25 or 30 men; with the rest would I have marched with as much victual as every man could have carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two days journey. In the end of my march, upon some convenient plot would I have raised another sconce according to the former, where I would have left 15, or 20. And if it would have fallen out conveniently, in the way I would have raised my said sconce upon some corn field, that my company might have lived upon it.

And so I would have holden this course of insconing every two days march, until I had been arrived at the bay or port he spake of; which finding to be worth the possession, I would there have raised a main fort, both for the defence of the harbour, and our shipping also, and would have reduced our whole habitation from Ronaoak, and from the harbour and port there (which by proof is very naught), unto this other beforementioned, from whence, in the four days march before specified, could I at all times return with my company back unto my boats riding under my sconce, very near whereunto directly from the west, runneth a most notable river, and in all those parts most famous, called the river of Moratoc. This river openeth into the broad sound of Weapomeiok. And whereas the river of Chawanook, and all the other sound and bays, salt and fresh, shew no current in the world in calm weather, but are moved altogether with the wind: this river of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the west and S. W. that it made me almost of opinion that with oars it would scarce be navigable: it passeth with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirty miles rowing and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich and the Isle of Dogs, in some place more, and in some less: the current runneth as strong, being entered so high into the river, as at London bridge upon a vale water.

For that not only Menatonon, but also the savages of Moratoc themselves do strange things of the head of that river, and that from Moratoc itself, which is the principal town upon that river, it is thirty days as some of them say, and some say

forty days voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a main rock in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent stream; and further, that this huge rock standeth so near unto a sea, that many times in storms (the wind coming outwardly from the sea) the waves thereof are beaten into the said fresh stream, so that the fresh water for a certain space groweth salt and brackish. I took a resolution with myself, having dismissed Menatonon upon a ransom agreed for, and sent his son into the pinnace to Roanoak, to enter presently so far into that river with two double wherries, and forty persons one or other, as I could have victual to carry us, until we could meet with more either of the Moratoks, or of the Mangoaks, which is another kind of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said river: but the hope of recovering more victual from the savages made me and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discovery before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina upon the death of his brother Granganimo, had given both the Choanists and Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I having been enforced to make him privy to the same, to be served by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet he did never rest to solicit continually my going upon them, certifying me of a general assembly even at that time made by Menatonon at Chawanook of all his Weroances, and allies to the number of 3000 bows, preparing to come upon us at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks were also joined in the same confederacy, who were able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprize. And true it was that at that time the assembly was holden at Chawanook about us, as I found at my coming thither, which being unlooked for, did so disunay them, as it made us have the better hand at them. But this confederacy against us of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himself, as Menatonon confessed unto me, who sent them continual word, that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he told me, that they had the like meaning towards us.

He in like sort having sent word to the Mangoaks of my intention to pass up into their river, and to kill them (as he said), both they and the Moratoks, with whom before we were entered into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us, abandoned their towns along the river, and retired themselves with their women, and their corn within the main; inasmuch as having passed three days voyage up the river, we could not meet a man, nor find a grain of corn in any their towns: whereupon considering with myself that we had but two days victual left, and that we were then 160 miles from home, besides casualty of contrary winds or storms, and suspecting treason of our own savages in the discovery of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtful to any of them, otherwise than for our copper to have had corn of them: I at night upon the corps of guard, before the putting forth of centinels, advertised the whole company of the case we stood in for victual, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our own savages, and of purpose drawn forth by them upon vain hope to be in the end starved, seeing all the country fled before us, and therefore while we had those two days victual left, I thought it good for us to make our return homeward, and that it were necessary for us to get the other side of the sound Weapomeiok in time, where we might be relieved upon the wears of Chypanum, and the Women's Town, although the people were fled.

Thus much I signified unto them, as the safest way: nevertheless I did refer it to the greater number of voices, whether we should adventure the spending of our whole victual in some further view of that most goodly river, in hope to meet with some better

hap, or otherwise to retire ourselves back again. And for that they might be the better advised, I willed them to deliberate all night upon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboard to set our course according to the desires of the greater part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left but one half pint of corn for a man, we should not leave the search of that river, and that there were in the company two mastiffs, upon the pottage of which with sassafras leaves (if the worst fell out) the company would make shift to live two days, which time would bring them down the current to the mouth of the river, and to the entry of the sound, and in two days more at the furthest they hoped to cross the sound, and to be relieved by the weares, which two days they would fast rather than be drawn back a foot till they had seen the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please me, since it came of themselves, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to have been rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to have some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship, or otherwise to have had one or two of them prisoners, was, for that it is a thing most notorious to all the country, that there is a province, to the which the said Mangoaks have recourse, and traffic up that river of Moratoc, which hath a marvellous and most strange mineral. This mine is so notorious amongst them, as not only to the savages dwelling up the said river, and also to the savages of Chawanook, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the main: the country's name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Waffador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Waffador every metal whatsoever: they say it is the colour of our copper, but our copper is better than theirs; and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan, is very soft and pale: they say that they take the said metal out of a river, that falleth very swift from high rocks and hills, and they take it in shallow water; the manner is this. They take a great bowl, by their description as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skin over the hollow part thereof, leaving one part open to receive in the mineral: that done, they watch the coming down of the current, and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly chop down the bowl with the skin, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever as much as their bowl will hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doth yield in five parts, at the first melting, two parts of metal for three parts of ore. Of this metal the Mangoaks have so great store, by report of all the savages adjoining, that they beautify their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I received by report of all the country, and particularly by young Skiko, the king of Chawanook's son, my prisoner, who also himself had been prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set down all the particularities to me before mentioned: but he had not been to Chaunis Temoatan himself; for he said it was twenty days journey over land from the Mangoaks to the said mineral country, and that they passed through certain other territories between them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon report of the premises, which I was very inquisitive in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the savages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himself, who in every thing did very particularly inform me, and promised me guides of his own men, who should go over with me, even to the said country of Chaunis Temoatan, (for overland from Chawanook to the Mangoaks is but one day's journey from sun rising to sun setting, whereas by water it is

is seven days with the soonest): these things, I say, made me very desirous by all means possible to recover the Mangoaks, and to get some of that their copper for an essay, and therefore I willingly yielded to their resolution: but it fell out very contrary to all expectation and likelihood; for after two days travel, and our whole victual spent, lying on shore all night, we could never see man, only fires we might perceive made amongst the shore where we were to pass, and up into the country, until the very last day: in the evening whereof, about three of the clock, we heard certain savages call, as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betook him to his piece, and told me that they meant to fight with us: which word was not so soon spoken by him, and the light-horsemen ready to put to shore, but there alighted a volley of their arrows amongst them in the boat, but did no hurt (God be thanked) to any man. Immediately the other boat lying ready with their shot to scour the place for our hand weapons to land upon, which was presently done, although the land was very high and steep, the savages forthwith quitted the shore, and betook themselves to flight: we landed, and having fair and easily followed for a small time after them, who had wooded themselves we know not where; the sun drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day if we would pursue them, though we might happen to meet with them, yet we should be assured to meet with none of their victual, which we then had good cause to think of: therefore choosing for the company a convenient ground in safety to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of guard, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sun, to be going back again, if possibly we might recover the mouth of the river, into the broad sound, which at my first motion I found my whole company ready to assent unto: for they were now come to their dog's porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves, if that befell them which did, and I therefore did mistrust we should hardly escape. The end was, we came the next day by night to the river's mouth within four or five miles of the same, having rowed in one day down the current, as much as in four days we had done against the same: we lodged upon an island, where we had nothing to eat but pottage of sassafras leaves, the like whereof for a meat was never used before as I think.

The broad sound we had to pass the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the wind blew so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibility of passage without sinking of our boats. This was upon an Easter eve, which was fasted very truly. Upon Easter-day in the morning the wind coming very calm, we entered the sound, and by four of the clock were at Chipanum, whence all the savages that we had left there were fled, but their weares did yield us some fish, as God was pleased not utterly to suffer us to be lost; for some of our company of the light-horsemen were far spent. The next morning we arrived at our home Roanoak.

I have set down this voyage somewhat particularly, to the end that it may appear unto you (as true it is) that there wanted no great good-will from the most to the least amongst us, to have perfected this discovery of the mine: for that the discovery of a good mine, by the goodness of God, or a passage to the South Sea, or some way to it, and nothing else can bring this country in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will be the most sweet and healthfulest climate, and therewithal the most fertile soil (being manured) in the world:
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and then with sassafras, and many other roots and gums there found, make good merchandize and lading for shipping, which otherwise will not of themselves be worth the fetching.

Provided also that there be found out a better harbour than yet there is, which must be to the northward if any there be, which was my intention to have spent this summer in the search of, and of the mine Chaunis Temoatan. The one I would have done, if the barks that I should have had of Sir Francis Drake, by his honourable courtesy, had not been driven away by storm, the other if your supply of more men and some other necessaries had come to us in any convenient sufficiency: for this river of Moratico promiseteth great things, and by the opinion of M. Hariots, the head of it by the description of the country, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or else from very near unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea.

And touching the mineral, thus doth M. Youghan affirm, that though it be but copper, seeing the savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest minerals in the world.

Wherefore a good harbour found to the northward, as before is said, and from thence four days over land, to the river of Choanoak sconces being raised, from whence again over land through the province of Choanoak one day's voyage to the first town of the Mangoaks up the river Moratico by the way, as also upon the said river for the defence of our boats like sconces being set, in this course of proceeding you shall clear yourself from all those dangers and broad shallow sounds before mentioned, and again within four days travel into the heart of the main 200 miles at the least, and so pass your discovery into that most notable country, and to the likeliest parts of the main, with far greater felicity than otherwise can be performed.

Thus, Sir, I have though simply, yet truly set down unto you, what my labour with the rest of the gentlemen, and poor men of our company (not without both pain and peril, which the Lord in his mercy many ways delivered us from) could yield unto you, which might have been performed in some more perfection, if the Lord had been pleased that only that which you had provided for us, had at the first been left with us, or that he had not in his eternal Providence now at the last set some other course in these things, than the wisdom of man could look into; which truly the carrying away by a most strange and unlooked-for storm of all our provision, with barks, master, mariners, with sundry also of mine own company, all having been so courteously supplied by the General Sir Francis Drake, the same having been most sufficient to have performed the greatest part of the premises, must ever make me to think the hand of God only (for some his good purpose to myself yet unknown) to have been in the matter.

The Second Part, touching the Conspiracy of Pemisapan, the Discovery of the same, and at the last, of our Request to depart with Sir Francis Drake for England.

Ensenore, a savage, father to Pemisapan, being the only friend to our nation that we had amongst them and about the king, died the 20th of April 1586. He alone had before opposed himself in their consultations against all matters proposed against us, which both the king and all the rest of them after Grangemoc's death, were very willing to have preferred. And he was not only by the mere Providence of God during his life, a mean to save us from hurt, as poisonings and such like, but also to do us very great good, and singularly in this.

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The king was advised and of himself disposed, as of a ready mean to have assuredly brought us to ruin in the month of March 1586, himself also with all his savages to have run away from us, and to have left his ground in the island unfowed: which if he had done, there had been no possibility in common reason (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could have been preserved from starving out of hand. For at that time we had no weares for fish, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had we one grain of corn for seed to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruit among themselves, that I and my company were part slain, and part starved by the Chaonists and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starved, but the other false.

Nevertheless until my return it took such effect, and in those against us, that they grew not only into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom we serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confess the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since he suffered us to sustain much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that general name all the inhabitants of the whole main, of what province soever. Inso-much as old Ensenore, neither any of his fellows could for his sake have no more credit for us; and it came so far that the king was resolved to have presently gone away as is afore said.

But even in the beginning of this bruit I returned, which when he saw contrary to his expectation, and the advertisement that he had received, that not only my life, and my company were all safe, but also by report of his own three savages which had been with me besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say Tetepano, his sister's husband Eracano, and Cossine, that the Chaonists and Mangoaks (whose name and multitude besides their valour is terrible to all the rest of the provinces) durst not for the most part of them abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his son that he best loved to Roanoak with me, it did not a little assuage all devises against us: on the other side, it made Ensenore's opinion to be received again with greater respects. For he had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that we were the servants of God, and that we were not subject to be destroyed by them; but contrary-wise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should find their own, and not be able to work ours, and that we being dead men were able to do them more hurt, than now we could do being alive, an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have in the night, being 100 miles from any of us, in the air been shot at, and stricken by some men of ours, that by sickness had died among them, and many of them hold opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world again, and that we do not remain dead but for a certain time, and then we return again.

All these speeches then again grew in full credit with them, the king, and all, touching us, when he saw the small troop returned again, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible unto them: but that which made up the matter at that time was an accident; yea rather (as all the rest was) the good Providence of the Almighty for the saving of us; which was this.

Within certain days after my return from the said journey, Menatonon sent a messenger to visit his son the prisoner with me, and sent me certain pearl for a present, or rather

rather, as Pemisapan told me, for the ransom of his son, and therefore I refused them : but the greatest cause of his sending them was to signify unto me, that he had commanded Okisko king of Weapomiok, to yield himself servant and homager to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh ; to perform which commandment received from Menatonon, the said Okisko jointly with this Menatonon's messenger, sent twenty-four of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signify that they were ready to perform the same, and so had sent those his men to let me know, that from that time forward he and his successors were to acknowledge Her Majesty their only sovereign, and next unto her, as is aforesaid.

All which being done and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his savages in council then with him, it did for the time thoroughly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward us ; inasmuch as forthwith Ensenore won this resolution of him, that out of hand he should go about, and withal to cause his men to set up weares forthwith for us ; both which at that present he went in hand withal, and did so labour the expedition of it, that in the end of April he had sowed a good quantity of ground ; so much as had been sufficient to have fed our whole company (God blessing the ground), and that by the belly, for a whole year ; besides that he gave us a certain plot of ground for ourselves to sow. All which put us in marvellous comfort, if we could pass from April until the beginning of July (which was to have been the beginning of their harvest) that then a new supply out of England, or else our own store would well enough maintain us : all our fear was of the two months betwixt, in which mean space if the savages should not help us with Cassai and Chyna, and that our weares should fail us (as often they did) we might very well starve, notwithstanding the growing corn, like the starving horse in the stable, with the growing grass, as the proverb is ; which we very hardly had escaped, but only by the hand of God, as it pleased him to try us. For within few days after, as before is said, Ensenore our friend died, who was no sooner dead, but certain of our great enemies about Pemisapan, as Osacan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wanchese most principally, were in hand again to put their old practices in use against us, which were readily embraced, and all their former devices against us renewed, and new brought in question.

But that of starving us by their forbearing to sow, was broken by Ensenore in his life, by having made the king all at one instant to sow his ground, not only in the island, but also at Dasamonquepeio in the main, within two leagues over against us. Nevertheless there wanted no sort of mischievous practices among them ; and of all they resolved principally of this following :

First, that Okisko king of Weapomeiok with the Mandoages should be moved, and with great quantity of copper entertained to the number of seven or eight hundred bows, to enterprise the matter thus to be ordered. They of Weapomeiok should be invited to a certain kind of month's mind which they do use to solemnize in their savage manner for any great personage dead, and should have been for Ensenore. At this instant also should the Mandoaks, who were a great people with the Chesepians and their friends, to the number of seven hundred of them, be armed at a day appointed to the main of Dasamonquepeio, and there lying close, at the sign of fires, which should interchangeably be made on both sides, when Pemisapan with his troop above named should have executed me, and some of our Weroances (as they called all our principal officers) the main forces of the rest should have come over into the island, where they meant to have dispatched the rest of the company, whom they did imagine to find both disinayed and

dispersed abroad in the island, seeking of crabs and fish to live withall. The manner of their enterprize was this.

Terraquine and Andacon two principal men about Pemisapan, and very lusty fellows, with twenty more appointed to them had the charge of my person, to see and order taken for the same, which they meant should in this sort have been executed. In the dead time of the night they would have beset my house, and put fire in the reeds the same was covered with, meaning (as it was likely) that myself would have come running out of a sudden, amazed in my shirt, without arms, upon the instant whereof they would have knocked out my brains.

The same order was given to certain of his fellows, for M. Heriots: so for all the rest of our better sort, all our houses at one instant being set on fire as afore is said, and that as well for them of the fort, as for us of the town. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and so be the more easily dealt withall, (for indeed ten of us with our arms prepared, were a terror to a hundred of the best sort of them), they agreed and did immediately put it in practice, that they should not for any copper sell us any victuals whatsoever: besides that in the night they should send to have our weares robbed, and also to cause them to be broken, and once being broken never to be repaired again by them.

By this means the king stood assured, that I must be enforced for lack of sustenance there, to disband my company into sundry places to live upon shell fish, for so the savages themselves do, going to Hatorask, Croatoan, and other places, fishing and hunting, while their grounds be in sowing, and their corn growing: which failed not his expectation. For the famine grew so extreme among us, our weares failing us of fish, that I was enforced to send Captain Stafford with twenty with him to Croatoan, my Lord Admiral's Island to serve two turns in one, that is to say, to feed himself and his company, and also to keep watch if any shipping came upon the coast to warn us of the same.

I sent M. Pridiox with the pinnace to Hatorask, and ten with him, with the provost marshall to live there and also to wait for shipping: also I sent every week sixteen or twenty of the rest of the company to the main over against us, to live of Cassada and oysters.

In the mean while Pemisapan went of purpose to Desamonquepeio for three causes: the one to see his grounds there broken up, and sowed for a second crop, the other to withdraw himself from my daily sending to him for supply of victual for my company, for he was afraid to deny me any thing, neither durst he in my presence but by colour and with excuses which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the end as I had reason, to give him the jump once for all: but in the mean whiles, as I had ever done before, I and mine bear all wrongs and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to have relied myself with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in truth, as they are more valiant people and in greater number than the rest, so are they more faithful in their promises, and since my late being there had given many tokens of earnest desire they had to join in perfect league with us, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weapomeiok for making him believe such tales of us.

The third cause of his going to Desamonquepeio, was to dispatch his messengers to Weapomeiok, and to the Mangoaks, as aforesaid: all which he did with great impress of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoil.

The answer within few days after came from Weapomeiok, which was divided into two parts; first for the king Okisko, who denied to be of the party for himself, or any

of his special followers, and therefore did immediately retire himself with his force into the main : the other was concerning the rest of the said province, who accepted of it : and in like sort the Mangoaks received the impress.

The day of their assembly aforesaid at Roanoak was appointed the 10th of June : all which the premises were discovered by Skiko, the king Menatonon's son, my prisoner, who having once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bilboes, threatening to cut off his head, whom I remitted at Pemisapan's request : whereupon he being persuaded that he was our enemy to the death, he did not only feed him with himself but also made him acquainted with all his practices. On the other side, the young man finding himself as well used at my hand, as I had means to shew, and that all my company made much of him, he flatly discovered all unto me, which also afterwards was revealed unto me by one of Pemisapan's own men, that night before he was slain.

These mischiefs being all instantly upon me and my company to be put in execution, it stood me in hand to study how to prevent them all, also to save all others, which were that time as aforesaid, so far from me ; whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspicion out of his head, that I meant presently to go to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arrival of our fleet (although I in truth had neither heard, nor hoped for so good adventure) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some four days provision to serve for my voyage.

He sent me word that he would himself come over to Roanoak, but from day to day he deferred, only to bring the Weapomeioks with him and the Mangoaks, whose time appointed was within eight days after.

It was the last of May 1586, when all his own savages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandment sent abroad unto them, and I resolved not to stay longer upon his coming over, since he meant to come with so good company, but thought good to go and visit him with such as I had, which I resolved to do the next day : but that night I meant by the way to give them in the island a canuifado, and at the instant to seize upon all the canoes about the island, to keep him from advertisements.

But the town took the alarm before I meant it to them : the occasion was this. I had sent the master of the light horseman, with a few with him, to gather up all the canoes in the setting of the sun, and to take as many as were going from us to Desamonquepeio, but to suffer any that came from thence, to land. He met with a canoe going from the shore and overthrew the canoe and cut off two savages heads : this was not done so secretly, but he was discovered from the shore ; whereupon the cry arose ; for in truth they, privy to their own villainous purposes against us, held as good espyal upon us, both day and night, as we did upon them.

The alarm given they took themselves to their bows, and we to our arms : some three or four of them at the first were slain with our shot ; the rest fled into the woods. We next morning with the light horseman and one canoe, taking twenty-five with the colonel of the Chesepians, and the serjeant major, I went to Desamonquepeio ; and being landed, sent Pemisapan word by one of his own savages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and meant to take him in the way to complain unto him of Osocon, who the night past was conveying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an hand-lock. Whereupon the king did abide my coming to him, and finding myself amidst seven or eight of his principal Weroances and followers (not regarding any of the common sort), I gave the watch-word agreed upon (which was, CHRIST OUR VICTORY),

VICTORY), and immediately those his chief men and himself had, by the mercy of God for our deliverance, that, which they had purposed for us.

The king himself being shot through by the colonel with a pistol, lying on the ground for dead, and I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteo's friends, as others were busy that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up and ran away as though he had not been touched, insomuch as he over-ran all the company; being by the way shot-thwart the buttocks by my Irish boy with my petronell. In the end an Irishman serving me, one Nugent, and the deputy provost, undertook him, and following him in the woods over-took him: and I in some doubt lest we had lost both the king and my man by our own negligence to have been intercepted by the savages, met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

This fell out on the 1st of June 1586, and the 8th of the same came advertisement to me from Captain Stafford, lying at my Lord Admiral's Island, that he had discovered a great fleet of twenty-three sails, but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet discern. He advised me to stand upon as good guard as I could.

The 9th of the said month he himself came unto me, having that night before, and that same day travelled by land twenty miles; and I must truly report of him from the first to the last, he was the gentleman that never spared labour or peril either by land or water, fair weather or foul, to perform any service committed unto him.

He brought me a letter from the General Sir Francis Drake, with a most bountiful and honourable offer for the supply of our necessities to the performance of the action we were then entered into; and that not only of victuals, munition and clothing, but also of barks, pinnaces, and boats: they also by him to be victualled, manned, and furnished to my contentation.

The 10th day he arrived in the road of our bad harbour; and coming there to an anchor, the 11th day I came to him, whom I found in deeds most honourably to perform that which in writing and message he had most courteously offered, he having aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his fleet, and got their liking and consent thereto.

With such thanks to him and his captains for his care both of us and of our nation, not as the matter deserved, but as I could both for my company and myself, I (being afore-hand prepared what I would desire) craved at his hands that it would please him to take with him into England, a number of weak and unfit men for my good action which I would deliver to him; and in place of them to supply me of his company with oar-men, artificers, and others.

That he would leave us so much shipping and victual, as about August the next following would carry me and all my company into England, when we had discovered somewhat, that for lack of needful provision in time left with us as yet remained undone.

That it would please him withall to leave some sufficient masters not only to carry us into England, when time should be, but also to search the coast for some better harbour, if there were any, and especially to help us to some small boats, and oar-men.

Also for a supply of calivers and weapons, match and lead, tools, apparel and such like.

He having received these my requests, according to his usual commendable manner of government (as it was told me) calling his captains to counsel: the resolution was that I should send such of my officers of my company as I used in such matters, with their notes, to go aboard with him; which were the master of the victuals, the keeper of

the store, and the vice-treasurer : to whom he appointed forthwith for me the *Francis*, being a very proper bark of seventy ton, and took present order for bringing of victuals aboard her, for one hundred men for four months, with all my other demands whatsoever to the uttermost.

And further he appointed for me two pinnaces, and four small boats : and that which was to perform all his former liberality to us, was that he had gotten the full assents of two of as sufficient experimented masters as were any in his fleet, by judgment of them that knew them, with very sufficient gings to tarry with me, and to employ themselves most earnestly in the action, as I should appoint them, until the term which I promised of our return to England again. The names of one of those masters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffeth Kerne.

While these things were in hand, the provision aforesaid being brought, and in bringing aboard, my said masters being also gone aboard, my said barks having accepted of their charge, and mine own officers, with others in like sort of my company with them (all which was dispatched by the said general the 12th of the said month), the 13th there arose such an unwonted storm, and continued four days, that had like to have driven all on shore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them, and the general very providently foreseen the worst himself, then about my dispatch putting himself aboard : but in the end having driven sundry of the fleet to put to sea, the *Francis* also with all my provisions, my two masters, and my company aboard, she was seen to be free from the same, and to put clear, to sea.

This storm having continued from the 13th to the 16th of the month, and thus my bark put away as aforesaid, the general coming ashore, made a new proffer unto me ; which was a ship of 170 ton, called the *Bark Bonner*, with a sufficient master and guide to tarry with me the time appointed, and victual sufficient to carry me and my company into England, with all provisions as before : but he told me that he would not for any thing undertake to have her brought into our harbour, and therefore he was to leave her in the road, and to leave the care of the rest unto myself, and advised me to consider with my company of our case, and to deliver presently unto him in writing, what I would require him to do for us : which being within his power, he did assure me as well for his captains as for himself, should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such captains and gentlemen of my company as then were at hand who were all as privy as myself to the general's offer, their whole request was to me, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakness of our company, the small number of the same, the carrying away of our first appointed bark, with those two especial masters, with our principal provisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take us from thence ; considering also that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, inasmuch as there was no possibility for her with any safety to be brought into the harbour, seeing further that our hope for supply with Sir Richard Greenville, so undoubtedly promised us before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this year, considering the doings in England for Flanders, and also for America, that therefore I would resolve myself with my company to go into England with that fleet ; and accordingly to make request to the general in all our names, that he would be pleased to give us present passage with him. Which request of ours, by myself delivered unto him, he most readily assented unto : and so he sending immediately his pinnaces into our land, for the fetching away of a few that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boisterous, and the pinnaces so often on the ground, that the most of all

we had, with all our cards, books and writings, were by the sailors cast overboard, the greater number of the fleet being much aggrieved with their long and dangerous soode in the miserable road.

From whence the general in the name of the Almighty, weighing his anchors (having bestowed us amongst his fleet), for the relief of whom he had in that storm, sustained more peril of wreck than in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards with praises unto God for all, set sail the 19th June 1586, and arrived in Portsmouth the 27th July of the same year.

The Third Voyage made by a Ship sent in the Year 1586, to the Relief of the Colony planted in Virginia, at the sole Charges of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In the year of our Lord 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh at his own charge prepared a ship of 100 ton, freighted with all manner of things in most plentiful manner, for the supply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia; but before they set sail from England it was after Easter, so that our colony half despaired of the coming of any supply; wherefore every man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life-time in that country. And for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their relief in so plentiful a manner, as might have sufficed them two years without any further labour. Thus trusting to their own harvest, they passed the summer till the 10th June; at which time their corn which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping; but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake in his prosperous return from the laking of San Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined in his way homeward to visit his countrymen the English colony, then remaining in Virginia. So passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with the parts where our English colony inhabited, and having espied some of that company, there he anchored and went a land, where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them. They answered him that they lived all: but hitherto in some scarcity, and as yet could hear of no supply out of England; therefore they requested him that he would leave with them some two or three ships, that if some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themselves. Which he agreed to. Whilst some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the accidents of their travels each to other, some on land, some on board, a great storm arose, and drove the most of their fleet from their anchors to sea, in which ships at that instant were the chieft of the English colony; the rest on land perceiving this, hastened to those three sails which were appointed to be left there, and for fear they should be left behind, they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army; and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship above mentioned sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his direction, arrived at Hatorask: who after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provision into England.

About 14 or 15 days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Greenville, general of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage,

voyage, arrived there: who not finding the aforelaid ship, according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated, and left by him Anno 1585, himself travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to see if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year before, under the charge of Master Lane, his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country: but after some time spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held: after good deliberation, he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country: whereupon he landed 15 men in the isle of Roanoak, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years, and so departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Isles of the Azores, on some of which islands he landed, and spoiled the towns of all such things as were worth carriage, where also he took divers Spaniards. With this and many other exploits done by him in this voyage, as well outward as homeward, he returned into England.

A brief and true Report of the new found Land of Virginia, of the Commodities there found, and to be raised, as well merchantable as others: written by Thomas Heriot, Servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a Member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering a full Twelvemonth.

Ralph Lane one of her Majesty's esquires, and governor of the colony in Virginia, above mentioned, for the time there resident, to the gentle reader wisheth all happiness in the Lord.

Albeit (gentle reader) the credit of the reports in this treatise contained can little be furthered by the testimony of one as myself, through affection judged partial, though without desert: nevertheless, for so much as I have been requested by some my particular friends, who conceive more rightly of me, to deliver freely my knowledge of the same; not only for the satisfying of them, but also for the true information of any other whatsoever, that comes not with a prejudicate mind to the reading thereof; thus much upon my credit I am to affirm, that things universally are so truly set down in this treatise, by the author thereof, an actor in the colony, and a man no less for his honesty than learning commendable, as that I dare boldly avouch, it may very well pass with the credit of truth, even amongst the most true relations of this age. Which as for mine own part I am ready any way to acknowledge, so also (of the certainty thereof assured by mine own experience) with this my public assertion I do affirm the same. Farewell in the Lord.

To the adventurers, favourers, and well-willers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

Since the first undertaking by Sir Walter Raleigh to deal in the action of discovering of that country which is now called and known by the name of Virginia, many voyages having been thither made at sundry times to his great charge; as first, in the year 1584, and afterwards in the years 1585, 1586, and now of late this last year 1587: there have been divers and variable reports, with some slanderous and shameful speeches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence: especially of that discovery which was made by the colony transported by Sir Richard Greenville in 1585, being of all others the most principal, and as yet of most effect, the time of their

their abode in the country being a whole year, when as in the other voyages before they stayed but six weeks, and the others after were only for supply and transportation, nothing more being discovered than had been before. Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action, to the honour and benefit of our nation, besides the particular profit and credit which would redound to themselves the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequel of events, to the shame of those that have avouched the contrary, shall be manifest, if you the adventurers, favourers and well-willers do but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or having been doubtful, renew your good liking and furtherance to deal therein according to the worthiness thereof already found, and as you shall understand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which worthiness, though cause of the diversity of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firm, nor the minds of some that are well disposed be settled in any certainty.

I have therefore thought it good, being one that have been in the discovery, and in dealing with, the natural inhabitants especially employed; and having therefore seen and known more than the ordinary, to impart so much unto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how injuriously the enterprise is slandered, and that in public manner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtful of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chief enterpriser with favour of Her Majesty, notwithstanding such reports, hath not only since continued the action, by sending into the country again, and replanting this last year a new colony, but is also ready, according as the times and means will afford, to follow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learn that the country is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein, if it proceed, may return you profit and gain, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And lest that the substance of my relation should be doubtful unto you, as of others by reason of their diversity, I will first open the cause in a few words, wherefore they are so different, referring myself to your favourable constructions, and to be adjudged of, as by good consideration you shall find cause.

Of our company that returned, some for their misdemeanor and ill dealing in the country, have been there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, have maliciously not only spoken ill of their governors, but for their sakes slandered the country itself. The like also have those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their return among their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in company where they might not be gainesaid, would seem to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great travellers as themselves. They stood so much, as it may seem, upon their credit and reputation, that having been a twelvemonth in the country, it would have been a great disgrace unto them, as they thought, if they could not have said much, whether it were true or false. Of which some have spoken of more than ever they saw, or otherwise knew to be there. Other some have not been ashamed to make absolute denial of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully known, and other some make difficulties of those things they have no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many that were never out of the island where we were seated, or not far, or at the leastwise in few places else, during the time of our abode in the country; or of that many, that after gold and silver

silver was not so soon found, as it was by them looked for, had little or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies: or of that many which had little understanding, less discretion, and more tongue than was needful or requisite.

Some also were of a nice bringing up, only in cities or towns, or such as never (as I may say) had seen the world before. Because there were not to be found any English cities, nor such fair houses, nor at their own wish, any of their old accustomed dainty food, nor any soft beds of down or feathers, the country was to them miserable, and their reports thereof according.

Because my purpose was but in brief to open the cause of the variety of such speeches, the particularities of them, and of many envious, inalicious, and slanderous reports and devises else, by our own countrymen besides, as trifles that are not worthy of wise men to be thought upon, I mean not to trouble you withall, but will pass to the commodities, the substance of that which I have to make relation of unto you.

The treatise whereof, for your more ready view and easier understanding, I will divide into three special parts. In the first I will make declaration of such commodities there already found, or to be raised, which will not only serve the ordinary turns of you which are and shall be the planters and inhabitants; but such an overplus sufficiently to be yielded, or by men of skill to be provided, as by way of traffick and exchange with our own nation of England will enrich yourselves the providers; those that shall deal with you, the enterprisers in general, and greatly profit our own countrymen, to supply them with most things which heretofore they have been fain to provide either of strangers or of our enemies, which commodities, for distinction sake, I call merchantable.

In the second I will set down all the commodities which we know, the country by our experience doth yield of itself, for victual and sustenance of man's life, such as are usually fed upon by the inhabitants of the country, as also by us during the time we were there.

In the last part I will make mention generally of such other commodities besides, as I am able to remember, and as I shall think behoveful for those that shall inhabit and plant there, to know of, which specially concern building, as also some other necessary uses; with a brief description of the nature and manners of the people of the country.

The First Part. of Merchantable Commodities.

Silk of grafs, or grafs-silk. There is a kind of grafs in the country, upon the blades whereof there groweth very good silk in form of a thin glittering skin, to be stripped off: it groweth two feet and a half high or better; the blades are about two feet in length, and half an inch broad. The like groweth in Persia, which is in the self same climate as Virginia, of which very many of the silk works that come from thence into Europe are made.

Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Persia, it cannot in reason be otherwise, but that there will rise in short time great profit to the dealers therein, seeing there is so great use and vent thereof as well in our country as elsewhere. And by the means of sowing and planting it in good ground, it will be far better, greater, and more plentiful than it is. Although notwithstanding there is great store thereof growing in many places in the country naturally and wild, which also by proof here in England, in making a piece of silk gogram, we found to be excellent good.

Worm silk. In many of our journies we found silk worms fair and great, as big as our ordinary walnuts. Although it hath not been our hap to have found such plenty

as elsewhere to be in the country we have heard of, yet seeing that the country doth naturally breed and nourish them, there is no doubt but if art be added in planting of mulberry trees, and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nourishing, and some of them carefully gathered and husbanded in that sort, as by men of skill is known to be necessary; there will rise as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doth now to the Persians, Turks, Italians, and Spaniards.

Flax and Hemp. The truth is that of hemp and flax there is no great store in any one place together, by reason it is not planted, but as the soil doth yield it of itself, and howsoever the leaf and stem or stalk do differ from ours, the stuff by judgment of men of skill is altogether as good as ours; and if not as farther proof should find or otherwise, we have that experience of the soil, as that there cannot be shewed any reason to the contrary, but that it will grow there excellent well, and by planting will be yielded plentifully: seeing there is so much ground, whereof some may be applied to such purposes. What benefit hereof may grow in cordage and linnens, who cannot easily understand.

Allum. There is a vein of earth along the sea coast, for the space of 40 or 50 miles, whereof by the judgment of some that have made trial here in England, is made good allum, of that kind which is called rock allum. The richness of such a commodity is so well known, that I need not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doth also yield white coprales, *nitrum*, and *alumen plumcum*, but nothing so plentifully as the common allum, which be also of price, and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the natural inhabitants, very like *terra sigillata*, and having been refined, it hath been found by some of our physicians and chirurgions to be of the same kind of virtue, and more effectual. The inhabitants use it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in divers places great plenty, and in some places of a blue sort.

Pitch, tar, rozen and turpentine. There are those kinds of trees which yield them abundantly and great store. In the very same island where we were seated, being 15 miles of length, and five or six miles in breadth, there are few trees else but of the same kind, the whole island being full.

Sassafras. Called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare virtues in physic for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to be far better and of more uses than the wood which is called *guaiacum*, or *lignum vitæ*. For the description, the manner of using, and the manifold virtues thereof, I refer you to the book of Monardes, translated and entitled in English, *The joyful News from the West Indies*.

Cedar. A very sweet wood, and fine timber, whereof if nests of chests be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweet and fine bedsteads, tables, desks, lutes, virginals, and many things else, (of which there hath been proof made already), to make up freight with other principal commodities, will yield profit.

Wine. There are two kinds of grapes that the soil doth yield naturally; the one is small and sour, of the ordinary bigness as ours in England; the other far greater and of itself luscious sweet. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principal commodity of wines by them may be raised.

Oil. There are two sorts of walnuts, both holding oil: but the one far more plentiful than the other. When there are mills and other devices for the purpose, a commodity of them may be raised, because there are infinite store. There are also three several kinds of berries in the form of oak-acorns, which also by the experience and use of the inhabitants, we find to yield very good and sweet oil. Furthermore, the bears of the country are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many; their fatness, because it is so liquid, may well be termed oil, and hath many special uses.

Furs. All along the sea-coast there are great store of otters, which being taken by weares and other engines made for the purpose, will yield good profit. We hope also of marten furs, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country there are store, although there were but two skins that came to our hands. Luzernes also we have understanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deer skins dressed after the manner of chamois, or undressed, are to be had of the natural inhabitants, thousands yearly by way of traffick for trifles, and no more waste or spoil of deer than is and hath been ordinarily in time before.

Civet-Cats. In our travels there was found one to have been killed by a savage or inhabitant, and in another place the smell where one or more had lately been before, whereby we gather, besides than by the relation of the people, that there are some in the country; good profit will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the country specially, one about fourscore and the other fixscore miles from the fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral-man was found to hold iron richly. It is found in many places of the country else: I know nothing to the contrary, but that it may be allowed for a good merchantable commodity, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and dearth thereof in England, and the necessity of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fifty miles into the main, in two towns we found with the inhabitants divers small plates of copper, that had been made as we understood by the inhabitants that dwell further into the country, where as they say are mountains and rivers that yield also white grains of metal, which is to be deemed silver. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our first arrival in the country, I saw, with some others with me, two small pieces of silver grossly beaten, about the weight of a testron, hanging in the ears of a Wiroans, or chief lord that dwelt about fourscore miles from us: of whom through inquiry, by the number of days and the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the same place or near, where I after understood the copper was made, and the white grains of metal found. The aforesaid copper we also found by trial to hold silver.

Pearl. Sometimes in feeding on muscles we found some pearl: but it was our hap to meet with ragges, or of a pied colour: not having yet discovered those places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of skill in such matters, had gathered together from among the savage people about five thousand: of which number he chose so many as made a fair chain, which for their likeness and uniformity in roundness, orientness, and piedness of many excellent colours, with equality in greatness, were very fair and rare: and had therefore been presented to Her Majesty, had we not by casualty, and through extremity of a storm lost them, with many things else in coming away from the country.

Sweet gums, of divers kinds. And many other apothecary drugs, of which we will make special mention, when we shall receive it from such men of skill in that kind, that in taking reasonable pains, shall discover them more particularly than we have done, and than now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had provided and gathered, and are now lost, with other things, by casualty before mentioned.

Dyes of divers kinds. There is Shoemake, well known in England for black; the seed of an herb called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the bark of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge; which dyes are of divers sorts of red: their goodness for our English cloths remain yet to be proved. The inhabitants use them only for the dyeing of hair, and colouring of their faces and mantles made of deer skins, and also for the dyeing of rushes, to make artificial works withall in their mats and
baskets:

baskets : having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for. If they will not prove merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there shall find apt uses for them, as also for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad. A thing of so great vent and uses among the English dyers, which cannot be yielded sufficiently in our own country for spare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof need not to be doubted, when as in the islands of the Azores it groweth plentifully, which are in the same climate. So likewise of madder.

We carried thither sugar canes to plant, which being not so well preserved as was requisite, and besides the time of the year being past for their setting when we arrived, we could not make that proof of them as we desired. Notwithstanding seeing that they grow in the same climate, in the south part of Spain and in Barbary, our hope in reason may yet continue. So likewise for oranges and lemons. There may be planted also quinces. Whereby may grow in reasonable time if the action be diligently prosecuted, no small commodities in sugars, suckers, and marmalades.

Many other commodities by planting may there also be raised, which I leave to your discreet and gentle considerations : and many also may be there, which yet we have not discovered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raised, and in short time to be provided and prepared, I might have specified. So likewise of those commodities already set down, I might have said more ; as of the particular places where they are found, and best to be planted and prepared : by what means, and in what reasonable space of time they might be raised to profit, and in what proportion ; but because others than wellwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I have wittingly omitted them ; knowing that to them that are well disposed, I have uttered, according to my promise and purpose, for this part sufficient.

The Second Part ; of such commodities as Virginia is known to yield for victuals and sustenance of man's life, usually fed upon by the natural inhabitants : as also by us, during the time of our abode ; and first such as are sowed and husbanded.

Pagatour. A kind of grain so called by the inhabitants ; the same in the West Indies is called Maize. Englishmen call it Guinea-wheat, or Turkey-wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like hath been brought. The grain is about the size of our ordinary English peas, and not much different in form and shape ; but of divers colours, some white, some red, some yellow, and some blue. All of them yield a very white and sweet flour : being used according to his kind, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the country some malt, whereof was brewed as good ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the help of hops, thereof may be made as good beer. It is a grain of marvellous great increase : of a thousand, fifteen hundred, and some two thousand fold. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleven or twelve weeks at the most, sometimes in ten, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalk about six or seven foot. The other sort is ripe in fourteen, and is about ten feet high ; of the stalks some bear four heads, some three, some one, and some two, every head containing 5, 6, or 700 grains, within a few, more or less. Of these grains, beside bread, the inhabitants make victual, either by parching them, or seething them whole until they be broken, or boiling of the flour with water into a pap.

Okindgier, called by us beans, because in greatness and partly in shape they are like to the beans in England, saying that they are flatter, of more diverse colours, and some pied.

The leaf also of the stem is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peas.

Wickonzour, called by us peas, in respect of the beans for distinction sake, because they are much less although in form they little differ: but in goodness of taste much like, and are far better than our English pease. Both the beans and peas are ripe in ten weeks after they are set. They make them victual, either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole until they be soft, and begin to break, as is used in England, either by themselves or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the wheat with them: sometime also being whole sodden, they bruise or pound them in a mortar, and thereof make loaves or lumps of doughish bread, which they use to eat for variety.

Macokuer, according to their several forms, called by us pompions, melons, and gourds, because they are of the like forms as those kinds in England. In Virginia such of several forms are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts, one is ripe in the space of a month, and the other in two months.

There is an herb which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it unto, take it to be a kind of Drage: it groweth about four or five foot high; of the seed thereof they make a thick broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalk by burning it into ashes they make a kind of salt earth, wherewith many use sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We ourselves used the leaves also for pot herbs.

There is also another great herb, in form of a marigold, about six foot in height, the head with the flower is a span in breadth. Some take it to be *planta folis*: of the seeds hereof they make both a kind of bread and broth.

All the aforesaid commodities for victual are set or sowed; sometimes in grounds apart and severally by themselves, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the manner thereof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will not unto you the fertility of the soil, I think good briefly to describe.

The ground they never fatten with much dung, or any other thing, neither plough nor dig it as we in England, but only prepare it in sort as folloiweth. A few days before they sow or set, the men with wooden instruments made almost in form of mattocks or hoes with long handles; the women with short peckers or parers, because they use them sitting, of a foot long, and about five inches in breadth, do only break the upper part of the ground to raise up the weeds, grass, and old stubs of corn stalks with their roots. The which after a day or two days drying in the sun, being scraped up into many small heaps, to save them labour for carrying of them, they burn into ashes. And whereas some may think that they use the ashes for to better the ground, I say that then they would either disperse the ashes abroad, which we observed they do not, except the heaps be too great, or else would take special care to set their corn where the ashes lie, which also we find they are careless of. And this is all the husbanding of their ground that they use.

Then their setting or sowing is after this manner: first, for their corn, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put four grains, with care that they touch not one another (about an inch asunder); and cover them with the mould again, and so throughout the whole plot, making such holes, and using them after such manner, but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, every rank differing from the other half a fathom or a yard, and the holes also in every rank as much. By this means there is a yard square ground between every hole; where

according to discretion here and there, they set as many beans and pease: in divers places also among the seeds of macocquer, melden and *planta solis*.

The ground being thus set according to the rate by us experimented, an English acre containing forty perches in length, and four in breadth, doth there yield in crof or of come of corn, beans and pease, at the least 200 London bushels, besides the macocquer, melden and *planta solis*: when as in England 40 bushels of our wheat yielded out of such an acre is thought to be much.

I thought also good to note this unto you, that you which shall inhabit and plant there, may know how specially that country corn is there to be preferred before ours: besides the manifold ways in applying it to victual, the increase is so much, that small labour and pains is needful in respect of that which must be used for ours. For this I can assure you, that according to the rate we have made proof of, one man may prepare and husband so much ground (having once borne corn before) with less than 24 hours labour, as shall yield him victual in a large proportion for a twelvemonth, if he have nothing else but that which the same ground will yield, and of that kind only which I have before spoken of: the said ground being also but of 25 yards square. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raised out of one and the self-same ground two harvest or of-comes: for they sow or set, and may at any time when they think good, from the midst of March until the end of June: so that they also set when they have eaten of their first crop. In some places of the country notwithstanding they have two harvests, as we have heard, out of one and the same ground.

For English corn nevertheless, whether to use or not to use it, you that inhabit may do as you shall have further cause to think best. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for barley, oats, and pease, we have seen proof of, not being purposely sown, but fallen casually in the worst sort of ground, and yet to be as fair as any we have ever seen here in England. But of wheat, because it was musty, and had taken salt-water, we could make no trial, and of rye we had none. Thus much have I digressed, and I hope not unnecessarily: now will I return again to my course, and intreat of that which yet remaineth, appertaining to this chapter.

There is an herb, which is sowed apart by itself, and is called by the inhabitants uppowoc: in the West Indies it hath divers names, according to the several places and countries where it groweth and is used; the Spaniards generally call it TABACCO. The leaves thereof being dried, and brought into powder, they use to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it through pipes made of clay, into their stomach and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous phlegm and other gross humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body: by which means the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them; whereby their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithal we in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This uppowoc is of so precious estimation among them, that they think their gods are marvellously delighted therewith: whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires, and cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storm upon the waters, to pacify their gods, they cast some up into the air and into the water: so a weare for fish being newly set up, they cast some therein and into the air: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the air likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, sometimes dancing, clapping of hands, holding up of hands, and staring up into the heavens, uttering therewithal, and chattering strange words and noises.

We ourselves, during the time we were there, used to suck it after their manner; as also since our return, and have found many rare and wonderful experiments of the virtues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by itself: the use of it by so many of late, men and women of great calling, as else, and some learned physicians also, is sufficient witness.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life, that I know and can remember, they use to husband: all else that follow, are found growing naturally or wild.

OF ROOTS.

Openauk are a kind of roots of round form, some of the bigness of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist and marsh grounds, growing many together one by another in ropes, as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are very good meat. Monardes calleth these roots beads, or *Peter nostri of Santa Helena*.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in dry grounds: some are of the bigness of a man's head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground; for by reason of their dryness they will neither roast nor fethle. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots: notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety, the inhabitants use to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my judgment they do as well as the household bread made of rye here in England.

Kaishucpenauk, a white kind of roots, about the bigness of hen's eggs, and near of that form: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and manner of growing not so much cared for by us. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, used to boil and eat many.

Tsinaw, a kind of root much like unto that which in England is called the China root, brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kind. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring forth a brier stalk, but the leaf in shape far unlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth nearest unto, will reach or climb to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopped into small pieces, and stamped, is strained with water a juice that maketh bread, and also being boiled, a very good spoon-meat in manner of a jelly, and is much better in taste, if it be tempered with oil. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China-root: for it was discovered since, and is in use as is aforesaid: but that which was brought hither is not yet known, neither by us nor by the inhabitants, to serve for any use or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw some of our company took to be that kind of root which the Spaniards in the West Indies call cassavy, whereupon also many called it by that name; it groweth in very muddy pools, and moist grounds. It is dressed according to the country manner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoon-meat, and is used very much by the inhabitants. The juice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithal, either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the sun, or by the fire, and then being pounded into flour, will make good bread; or else while they are green they are to be pared, cut in pieces, and stamped: loaves of the same to be laid near or over the fire until it be sour; and then being well pounded again, bread or spoon-meat very good in taste, and wholesome, may be made thereof.

Habascon

Habascón is a root of hot taste, almost of the form and bigness of a parsnip: of itself it is no victual, but only a help, being boiled together with other meats.

There are also leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the country: of which when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the natural inhabitants never.

OF FRUITS.

Chestnuts. There are in divers places great store: some they use to eat raw; some they stamp and boil to make spoon-meat, and with some being sodden, they make such a manner of dough bread as they use of their beans before mentioned.

Walnuts. There are two kinds of walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places, where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kind is of the same taste and form, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are larger and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell; but the kernel great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinary manner, they break them with stones, and pound them in mortars with water, to make a milk which they use to put into some sorts of their spoon-meat: also among the sodden wheat, pease, beans, and pumpions, which maketh them have a far more pleasant taste.

Medlars, a kind of very good fruit: so called by us chiefly for these respects: first in that they are not good until they be rotten, then in that day they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the same bigness: otherwise in taste and colour they are far different; for they are as acid as cherries and very sweet; but whereas the cherry is sharp sweet, they are delicious sweet.

Mutaquesunauk, a kind of pleasant fruit, almost of the shape and bigness of English pears, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whose leaves are very thick, and full of prickles as sharp as needles. Some that have been in the Indies, where they have seen that kind of red dye of great price, which is called cochinil, to grow, do describe its plant right like unto this mutaquesunauk: but whether it be the true cochinil, or a bastard or wild kind, it cannot yet be certified, seeing that also, as I heard, cochinil is not of the fruit, but found on the leaves of the plant: which leaves for such matter we have not so specially observed.

Grapes there are of two sorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Strawberries there are as good and as great as those which we have in our English gardens.

Mulberries, apple-crabs, hurts or hurtleberries, such as we have in England.

Sacquenummener, a kind of berries almost like unto capers, but somewhat greater, which grow together in clusters upon a plant or herb that is found in shallow waters, being boiled eight or nine hours, according to their kind, are very good meat and wholesome, of which when they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantick or extremely sick.

There is a kind of reed, which beareth a seed almost like unto our rye or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our travels in some places we found wild pease, like unto ours in England, but that they were less, which are also good meat.

OF A KIND OF FRUIT OR BERRY, IN FORM OF ACORNS.

There is a kind of berry or acorn, of which there are five sorts that grow on several kinds of trees; the one is called sagatamener, the second osamener, the third pummu-choner. These kind of acorns they use to dry upon hurdles made of reeds, with fire underneath, almost after the manner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be used, they first water them until they be soft, and then being sod, they make a good victual, either to eat so simply, or else being also pounded to make loaves or lumps of bread. These be also the three kinds, of which I said before the inhabitants used to make sweet oil.

Another sort is called sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taste like unto chestnuts. They sometimes also make bread of this sort.

The fifth sort is called mangummenauk, and is the acorn of their kind of oak, the which being dried after the manner of the first sorts, and afterward watered, they boil them, and their servants or sometimes the chiefs themselves, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fish or flesh.

OF BEASTS.

Deer. In some places there are great store: near unto the sea-coast, they are of the ordinary bigness of ours in England, and some less: but further up into the country, where there is better food, they are greater; they differ from ours only in this, their tails are longer, and the snags of their horns look backward.

Conies. Those that we have seen, and all that we can hear of are of a grey colour like unto hares: in some places there are such plenty that all the people of some towns make them mantles of the fur or flue of the skins of those which they usually take.

Saquenuckat and maquowoc, two kinds of small beasts greater than conies, which are very good meat. We never took any of them ourselves, but sometime eat of such as the inhabitants had taken and brought unto us.

Squirrels which are of a grey colour we have taken and eaten.

Bears, which are of black colour. The bears of this country are good meat. The inhabitants in time of winter do use to take and eat many; so also sometimes did we. They are taken commonly in this sort. In some islands or places where they are, being hunted for, as soon as they have spyal of a man, they presently run away, and then being chased, they climb and get up the next tree they can, from whence with arrows they are shot down stark dead, or with those wounds that they may after easily be killed. We sometime shot them down with our calivers.

I have the names of 28 several sorts of beasts, which I have heard of to be here and there dispersed in the country, especially in the main; of which there are only 12 kinds that we have yet discovered, and of those that be good meat, we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometimes kill the lion, and eat him; and we sometime as they came to our hands of the woolues or wolfish dogs, which I have not set down for good meat, lest that some would understand my judgment therein to be more simple than needeth, although I could alledge the difference in taste of those kinds from ours, which by some of our company have been experimented in both.

OF FOWL.

Turkey-cocks and turkey-hens, stock-doves, partridges, cranes, herons, and in winter great store of swans and geese. Of all sorts of fowl I have the names in the country language of four-score and six, of which number, besides those that be named, we have taken, eaten, and have the pictures as they were there drawn, with the names of the inhabitants, of several strange sort of water-fowl eight, and seventeen kinds more of land-fowl; although we have seen, and eaten of many more, which for want of leisure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored upon further discovery with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants and herbs, they shall be also published.

There are also parrots, falcons, and marlin hawks, which although with us they be not used for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

OF FISH.

For four months of the year, February, March, April and May, there are plenty of sturgeons; and also in the same months of herrings; some of the ordinary bigness of ours in England, but the most part far greater, of 18, 20 inches, and some two feet in length and better; both these kinds of fish in those months are most plentiful, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also trouts, porpoises, rayes, old-wives, mullet, plaice, and very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we have taken and eaten, whose names I know not, but in the country language: we have the pictures of 12 sorts more, as they were drawn in the country with their names.

The inhabitants use to take them two manner of ways: the one is by a kind of wear made of reeds, which in that country are very strong: the other way which is more strange, is with poles made sharp at one end, by shooting them into the fish, after the manner as Irishmen cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or else as they are wading in the shallows for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kinds which follow.

Sea-crabs, such as we have in England.

Oysters, some very great, and some small, some round and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt-water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt-water are far better than the other, as in our country.

Also muscles, scallops, perriwinkles, and crevices.

Seekanauk, a kind of crusty shell-fish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, having a crusty tail, many legs like a crab, and her eyes in her back. They are found in shallows of waters, and sometime on the shore.

There are many tortoises both of land and sea kind, their backs and bellies are shelled very thick; their head, feet, and tail, which are in appearance, seem ugly, as though they were members of a serpent, or venomous beasts; but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their eggs. Some have been found of a yard in breadth and better.

And thus have I made relation of all sorts of victual that we fed upon, for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselves; as far forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially worthy to be remembered.

The Third and last Part ; of such other things as are behevoful for those which shall plant and inhabit to know of, with a description of the Nature and Manners of the People of the Country.

OF COMMODITIES FOR BUILDING AND OTHER NECESSARY USES.

Those other things which I am now to make rehearſal of, are ſuch as concern building, and other mechanical neceſſary uſes, as divers ſorts of trees for houſe and ſhip timber, and other uſes elſe: alſo lime, ſtone, and brick, leſt that being not mentioned, ſome might have been doubted of, or by ſome that are malicious the contrary reported.

Oaks there are as fair, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtore, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees as I have ſaid before very many, ſome have been ſeen of excellent fair timber of four and five fathoms, and above four ſcore feet ſtraight without bough.

Fir trees fit for maſts for ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kind of trees ſo called that are ſweet wood, of which the inhabitants that were near unto us, do commonly make their boats or canoes of the form of troughs, only with the help of fire, hatchets of ſtone and ſhells: we have known ſome ſo great, being made in that ſort of one tree, that they have carried well 20 men at once, beſides much baggage; the timber being great, tall, ſtraight, ſoft, light, and yet tough enough I think (beſides other uſes) to be fit alſo for maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweet wood, good for cieling, cheſts, boxes, bed-ſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things elſe, as I have alſo ſaid before. Some of our company which have wandered in ſome places where I have not been, have made certain affirmation of cypreſs, which for ſuch and other excellent uſes, is alſo a wood of price and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants uſe to make their bows.

Holly, a neceſſary thing for the making of bird-lime.

Willows, good for the making of weares to take fiſh after the Engliſh manner, although the inhabitants uſe only reeds, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong are not flexible, do ſerve for that turn very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and aſh, good for caſk hoops, and if need require, plow work, as alſo for many things elſe.

Elm, ſaffafras trees.

Aſcopo, a kind of tree very like unto laurel, the bark is hot in taſte, and ſpicy; it is very like to that tree which Monardes deſcribeth to be *cassia lignea* of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in the Virginian language, of which I am not now able, neither is ſo convenient for the preſent to trouble you with particular relation; ſeeing that for timber and other neceſſary uſes I have named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good uſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now for ſtone, brick, and lime, thus it is. Near unto the ſea-coaſt where we dwelt, there are no kind of ſtones to be found (except a few ſmall pebbles about four miles off) but ſuch as have been brought from further out of the main. In ſome of our voyages we have ſeen divers hard raggy ſtones, great pebbles, and a kind of grey ſtone like unto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleave wood. Upon enquiry we

we heard that a little further up into the country were of all sorts very many, although of quarries they are ignorant, neither have they use of any store whereupon they should have occasion to seek any. For if every household have one or two to crack nuts, grind shells, whet copper, and sometimes other stones for hatchets, they have enough; neither use they any digging, but only for graves about three foot deep: and therefore no marvel that they know neither quarries, nor lime stones, which both may be in places nearer than they wot of.

In the mean time until there be discovery of sufficient store or some place or other convenient, the want of you, which are and shall be planters therein, may be as well supplied by brick; for the making whereof in divers places of the country there is clay, both excellent good, and plenty, and also by lime made of oyster shells, and of others, burnt, after manner as they use in the isles of Thanet and Shepy, and also in divers other places of England: which kind of lime is well known to be as good as any other: and of oyster shells there is plenty enough: for besides divers other particular places where are abundance, there is one shallow found along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, and two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing else, being but half a foot or a foot under water for most part.

Thus much can I say further more of stones, that about 120 miles from our fort, near the water in the side of a hill, was found by a gentleman of our company, a great vein of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember unto you.

OF THE NATURE AND MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE.

It resteth I speak a word or two of the natural inhabitants, their nature and manners; leaving large discourse thereof until time more convenient hereafter: now only so far forth, as that you may know, how that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to fear and love us, that shall inhabit with them.

They are a people cloathed with loose mantles made of deer skins, and aprons of the same round about their middles; all else naked, of such a difference of statures only as we in England, having no edge tool or weapons of iron or steel to offend us withall; neither know they how to make any; those weapons that they have are only bows, made of wich-hazel, and arrows of reeds, flat edged truncheons, also of wood about a yard long, neither have they any thing to defend themselves but targets made of barks, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their towns are but small, and near the sea coast but few, some containing but 10 or 12 houses, some 20; the greatest that we have seen hath been but of 30 houses: if they be walled, it is only done with barks of trees made fast to the stakes, or else with poles only, fixed upright and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast in the tops in round form, after the manner as it is used in many arbors in our gardens of England, in most towns covered with barks and in some with artificial mats made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses down to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12 and 16 yards long, and in other some we have seen of 24.

In some places of the country, one only town belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chief lord, in some other two or three; in some six, eight, and more: the greatest Wiroans that yet we had dealing with, had but 18 towns in his government, and able to make not above 7 or 800 fighting men at the most. The language of every

government is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their manner of wars amongst themselves, is either by sudden surprising one another most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moonlight, or else by ambushes, or some subtle devices. Set battles are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may have some hope of defence, after the delivery of every arrow, in leaping behind some or other.

If there fall out any wars between us and them what there fight is likely to be, we having advantages against them so many manner of ways, as by discipline, or strange weapons and devices else, especially ordnance great and small; it may easily be imagined; by the experience we have had in some places, the turning up of their heels against us in running away, was their best defence.

In respect of us, they are a people poor, and for want of skill and judgment in the knowledge and use of our things, do esteem our trifles before things of greater value: notwithstanding in their proper manner (considering the want of such means as we have), they seem very ingenious; for though they have no such tools, nor any such crafts, sciences and arts as we, yet in those things they do, they shew excellence of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall find our manner of knowledges and crafts to exceed theirs in perfection, and speed for doing execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us: whereby may be hoped, if means of good government be used, that they may in short time be brought to civility, and the embracing of true religion.

Some religion they have already, which although it be far from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed.

They believe that there are many gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different sorts and degrees, one only chief and great God, which hath been from all eternity. Who, as they affirm, when he purposed to make the world, made first other gods of a principal order, to be as means and instruments to be used in the creation and government to follow, and after the sun, moon and stars as petty gods, and the instruments of the other order more principal. First (they say) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diversity of creatures that are visible or invisible.

For mankind they say a woman was first made, which by the working of one of the gods, conceived and brought forth children: and in such sort they say they had their beginning. But how many years or ages have passed since, they say they can make no relation, having no letters nor other such means as we to keep records of the particulars of times past, but only tradition from father to son.

They think that all the gods are of human shape, and therefore they represent them by images in the form of men, which they call Kewasowok, one alone is called Kewas, them they place in houses appropriate, or temples, which they call Machicomuck, where they worship, pray, sing, and make many times offering unto them. In some Machicomuck we have seen but one Kewas, in some two, and in some other three. The common sort think them to be also gods.

They believe also the immortality of the soul, that after this life, as soon as the soul is departed from the body, according to the works it hath done, it is either carried to heaven the habitation of gods, there to enjoy perpetual life and happiness, or else to a great pit or hole, which they think to be in the farthest parts of their part of the world towards the sun-set, there to burn continually: the place they call Popogusso.

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For the confirmation of this opinion, they told me two stories of two men that had been lately dead and revived again: the one happened but a few years before our coming into the country, of a wicked man which having been dead and buried, the next day the earth of the grave been seen to move, was taken up again, who made declaration where his soul had been, that is to say, very near entering into Popoguffo. had not one of the Gods saved him, and gave him leave to return again, and teach his friends what they should do to avoid that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the same year we were there, but in a town that was 60 miles from us, and it was told me for strange news, that one being dead, buried, and taken up again as the first, shewed that although his body had lain dead in the grave, yet his soul was alive, and had travelled far in a long broad way, on both sides whereof grew most delicate and pleasant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruits, than ever he had seen before, or was able to express, and at length came to most brave and fair houses, near which he met his father that had been dead before, who gave him great charge to go back again, and shew his friends what good they were to do to enjoy the pleasures of that place, which when he had done he should after come again.

What subtlety soever be in the Wiroans and priests, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to their governors, and also great care what they do, to avoid torment after death, and to enjoy bliss, although notwithstanding there is punishment ordained for malefactors, as stealers, whoremongers, and other sorts of wicked doers, some punished with death, some with forfeitures, some with beating, according to the greatness of the facts.

And this is the sum of their religion, which I learned by having special familiarity with some of their priests; wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit to their traditions and stories, but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubt of their own, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many to learn more than we had means for want of perfect utterance in their language, to express.

Most things they saw with us, as mathematical instruments, sea compasses, the virtues of the load stone in drawing iron, a perspective glass whereby was shewed many strange sights, burning glasses, wild fire works, guns, books, writing and reading, spring clocks, that seemed to go of themselves, and many other things that we had, were so strange unto them, and so far exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and means both how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the works of gods than of men, or at the leastwise, they had been given and taught us of the gods; which made many of them to have such opinion of us, that if they knew not the truth of God and religion already, it was rather to be had from us, whom God so specially loved, than from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us: whereupon greater credit was given unto that we spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in every town where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set forth the true and only God, and his mighty works, that therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able then to utter and thought fit for the time. And although I told them the book materially and of itself was not of any such virtue, as I thought they did conceive, but only the doctrine therein contained, yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke over all their body with it, to shew their hungry desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whom we dealt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with us at our prayers, and many times call upon us both in his own town, and also in others whither he sometimes accompanied us, to pray and sing psalms, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that means also expected.

Twice this Wiroan was so grievously sick that he was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any help by his own priests, and thinking he was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God, sent for some of us to pray and be a means to our God that it would please him either that he might live, or after death dwell with him in bliss; so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corn began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to pass by reason that in some thing they had displeased us, many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their corn, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruit.

There could at no time happen any strange sickness, losses, hurts, or any other crosses unto them, but that they would impute to us the cause or means thereof, for offending or not pleasing us. One other rare and strange accident, leaving others, will I mention before I end, which moved the whole country that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderful admiration.

There was no town where we had any subtle device ^{ma} th ^{pr} ^{ed} ^{ag} ^{ain} st ^{us}, we leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all means possible to win them by gentleness) but than within a few days after our departure from every such town, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some towns about 20, in some 40, and in some six score, which in truth was very many in respect of their numbers. This happened in no place that we could learn, but where we had been, where they used some practice against us, and after such time.

The disease was also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the country never happened before time out of mind. A thing specially observed by us, as also by the natural inhabitants themselves: inasmuch that when some of the inhabitants who were our friends, and especially the Wiroans, Wingina, had observed such effects in four or five towns to follow their wicked practices, they were persuaded that it was the work of our God through our means, and that we by him might kill and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come near them. And thereupon when it had happened that they had understanding that any of their enemies had abused us in our journies; hearing that we had wrought no revenge with our weapons, and fearing upon some cause the matter should so rest; did come and entreat us that we would be a means to our God, that they, as others that had dealt ill with us, might in like sort die, alledging how much it would be for our credit and profit, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would do so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although we shewed that they were ungodly, affirming that our God would not subject himself to any such prayers and requests of men; that he carried all things have been, and were to be done according to his good pleasure and else to be ordained; and that we to shew ourselves his true servants ought rather to maintain the contrary, that they with them might live together with us, be made partakers of his truth, and serve him in righteousness, but notwithstanding in such sort, that we refer

refer that, as all other things, to be done according to his divine will and pleasure, and as by his wisdom he had ordained to be best.

Yet because the effect fell out so suddenly and shortly after according to their desires, they thought nevertheless it came to pass by our means, and that we in using such speeches unto them, did but dissemble the matter, and therefore came unto us to give us thanks in their manner, that although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deeds and effect we had fulfilled their desires.

This miraculous accident, in all the country wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to think us gods or men, and the rather because that all the space of their sickness, there was no man of ours was known to die, or that was specially sick: they noted also that we had no women amongst us, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion, that we were not born of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we were men of an old generation many years past, then risen again to immortality.

Some would likewise seem to prophecy, that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done. Those that were immediately to come after us they imagined to be in the air, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our entreaty and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirm this opinion, their physicians (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the people believe, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sick bodies, were the strings wherewithall the invisible balls were tied and cast. Some also thought that we shot them ourselves out of our pieces, from the place where we dwelt, and killed the people in any town that had offended us, as we listed, how far distant from us soever it were. And other some said that it was the special work of God for our sakes, as we ourselves have cause in some sort to think no less, whatsoever some do or may imagine to the contrary, specially some astrologers, knowing of the eclipse of the sun, which we saw the same year before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. And also of a comet which began to appear but a few days before the beginning of the said sickness. But to exclude them from being the special causes of so special an accident, there are further reasons than I think fit at this present to be alledged. These their opinions I have set down the more at large, that it may appear unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreet dealing and government to them embracing of the truth, and consequently to honour, obey, fear and love us.

And although some of our company towards the end of the year, shewed themselves too fierce in slaying some of the people in some towns, upon causes that on our part might easily enough have been borne withall; yet notwithstanding, because on their parts it was justly deserved, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the most part concerning us is the less to be doubted. And whatsoever else they may be, by carefulness of ourselves need nothing at all to be feared.

The best nevertheless in this, as in all actions besides, is to be endeavoured and hoped, and of the worst they may happen notice to be taken with consideration, and as much as may be eschewed.

Now I have (as I hope) made relation not of so few and small things, but that the country (of men that are indifferent and well disposed) may be sufficiently liked: if there were no more known than I have mentioned, which doubtless and in great reason
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is nothing to that which remaineth to be discovered, neither the soil nor commodities. As we have reason so to gather by the difference we found in our travels, for although all which I have spoken of, have been discovered and experimented not far from the sea coast, where was our abode, and most of our travelling; yet sometimes as we made our journies farther into the main and country, we found the soil to be fatter, the trees to be greater and to grow thinner, the ground more firm and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grafs, and as good as ever we saw any in England: in some places rocky, and far more high and hilly ground, more plenty of their fruits, more abundance of beasts, the more inhabited with people, and of greater policy and larger dominions, with greater towns and houses.

Why may we not then look up for in good hope from the inner parts of more and greater plenty, as well of other things, as of those which we have already discovered: unto the Spaniards happened the like in discovering the main of the West Indies. The main also of this country of Virginia, extending some ways so many hundreds of leagues, as otherwise than by the relation of the inhabitants we have most certain knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yield many kinds of excellent commodities, which we in our discovery have not yet seen.

What hope there is else to be gathered of the nature of the climate; being answerable to the island of Japan, the land of China, Persia, Jury, the islands of Cyprus and Candy, the south parts of Greece, Italy, and Spain, and of many other notable and famous countries, because I mean not to be tedious, I leave to your own consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the air there at all seasons, much warmer than in England, and never so vehemently hot, as sometimes is under and between the tropics, or near them, cannot be known unto you without further relation.

For the wholesomeness thereof I need to say but thus much: that for all the want of provision, as first of English victual, excepting for 20 days, we lived only by drinking water, and of the victual of the country, of which some sorts were very strange unto us, and might have been thought to have altered our temperatures in such sort, as to have brought us into some grievous and dangerous diseases: secondly, the want of English means for the taking of beasts, fish, and fowl, which by the help only of the inhabitants and their means, could not be so suddenly and easily provided for us, nor in great number and quantities, nor of that choice as otherwise might have been to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also we had of cloathes. Furthermore in all our travels, which were most specially and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open air upon the ground. And yet, I say for all this there were but four of our whole company (being 108) that died all the year, and that but at the latter end thereof, and upon none of the aforesaid causes. For all four, especially three, were feeble, weak and sickly persons before ever they came thither, and those that knew them, much marvelled that they lived so long, being in that case, or had adventured to travel.

Seeing therefore the air there is so temperate and wholesome, the soil so fertile, and yielding such commodities, as I have before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented to be performed twice a year with ease, and at any season thereof, and the dealing of Sir Walter Raleigh so liberal, in large giving and granting land there, as is already known, with many helps and furtherances else: (the least that he hath granted hath been 500 acres to a man only for the adventure of his person) I hope there remains no cause whereby the action should be disliked.

If that those which shall thither travel to inhabit and plant, be but reasonably provided for the first year, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, do

use but that diligence and care that is requisite, and as they may with ease, there is no doubt but for the time following, they may have victuals that are excellent good and plenty enough, some more English sorts of cattle also hereafter, as some have been before, and are there yet remaining may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise our kinds of fruits, roots, and herbs, may be there planted and sowed, as some have been already, and prove well; and in short time also they may raise so much of those sorts of commodities which I have spoken of, as shall both enrich themselves, as also others that shall deal with them.

And this is all the fruit of our labours, that I have thought necessary to advertise you of at this present: what else concerneth the nature and manners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the number, with the particularities of the voyages thither, already made, and of the actions of such as have been by Sir Walter Raleigh, therein and there employed, many worthy to be remembered, as of the first discoverers of the country; of our general for the time, Sir Richard Greenville, and after his departure of our governor there, Master Ralph Lane, with divers others directed and employed under their government: of the captains and masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the governor and assistants of those already transported, as of many persons, accidents and things else, I have ready in a discourse by itself in manner of a chronicle, according to the course of times, which when time shall be thought convenient, shall be also published.

Thus referring my relation to your favourable constructions, expecting good success of the action, from him which is to be acknowledged the author and governor, not only of this, but of all things else, I take my leave of you, this month of February 1587.

The Fourth Voyage made to Virginia with Three Ships, in the Year 1587, wherein was transported the second Colony.

In the year of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of 150 men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed governor, and also appointed unto him twelve assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of governor and assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia.

APRIL.

Our fleet being in number three sail, viz. the Admiral, a ship of 120 tons, a fly-boat, and a pinnace, departed the 26th of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an anchor at the Cowes in the Isle of Wight, where we stayed eight days.

MAY.

The 5th of May, at nine of the clock at night, we came to Plymouth, where we remained the space of two days.

The 8th we weighed anchor at Plymouth, and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16th Simon Ferdinando, master of our Admiral, lewdly forsook our fly-boat, leaving her distressed in the bay of Portugal.

JUNE.

The 19th we fell with Dominica, and the same evening we sailed between it and Guardaloupe. The 21st the fly-boat also fell in with Dominica.

The 22d we came to an anchor at an island, called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were set on land, staying there till the 25th of the same month. At our first landing on this island, some of our women and men, by eating a small fruit like green apples, were fearfully troubled with a sudden burning in their mouths, and swelling of their tongues so big, that some of them could not speak. Also a child by sucking one of those women's breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such a burning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented for the time : but after twenty-four hours it wore away of itself.

Also the first night of our being on this island, we took five great tortoises, some of them of such bigness, that sixteen of our strongest men were tired with carrying but one of them, from the sea-side to our cabins. In this island we found no watering-place, but a standing pond; the water whereof was so evil, that many of our company fell sick with drinking thereof; and as many as did but wash their faces with the water, in the morning before the sun had drawn away the corruption, their faces did so burn and swell, that their eyes were shut up, and could not see in five or six days or longer.

The second day of our abode there, we sent forth some of our men to search the island for fresh water, three one way and two another way. The governor also with six others, went up to the top of a high hill to view the island, but could perceive no sign of any men or beasts, nor any goodness, but parrots, and trees of *guaiacum*. Returning back to our cabins another way, we found in the descent of a hill, certain potsherds of savage making, made of the earth of that island : whereupon it was judged, that this island was inhabited with savages, though Ferdinando had told us for certain the contrary. The same day at night, the rest of our company very late returned to the governor. The one company affirmed, that they had seen in a valley eleven savages, and divers houses half a mile distant from the steep, or top of the hill where they stayed. The other company had found, running out of a high rock, a very fair spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the company : for before that time, we drank the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night, Captain Stafford with the pinnace departed from our fleet, riding at Santa Cruz, to an island, called Beake, being near St. John's, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there find great plenty of sheep. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboard, and the next morning after, being the 25th June, we weighed anchor, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The 27th we came to anchor at Cottea, where we found the pinnace riding at our coming.

The 28th we weighed anchor at Cottea, and presently came to anchor at St. John's in Muskitos Bay, where we spent three days unprofitably in taking in fresh water, spending in the mean time more here than the quantity of the water came unto.

JULY.

The first day we weighed anchor at Muskitos Bay, where we left behind two Irishmen, of our company, Darby Glaven, and Deanis Carroll, being along the coast of St. John's till evening, at which time we fell with Roffe Bay. At this place Ferdinando had promised we should take in salt, and had caused us before, to make and provide as many sacks for that purpose, as we could. The governor also, for that he understood there was a town in the bottom of the bay, not far from the salt hills, appointed thirty shot, ten pikes, and ten targets to man the pinnace, and to go a-land for salt. Ferdinando perceiving them in a readiness sent to the governor, using great persuasions with him

him not to take in salt there, saying that he knew not well whether the same were the place or not: also that if the pinnace went into the bay, she could not without great danger come back, till the next day at night, and that if in the mean time any storm should arise, the Admiral were in danger to be cast away. Whilst he was thus persuading, he caused the lead to be cast, and having carefully brought the ship in three fathom and a half water, he suddenly began to swear, and tear God in pieces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helm, bear up hard, bear up hard; so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt by his means.

The next day sailing along the west end of St. John, the governor determined to go a-land in St. German's Bay, to gather young plants of oranges, pines, mameas, and plantanos, to set at Virginia, which we knew might easily be had, for that they grow near the shore, and the places where they grew well known to the governor, and some of the planters; but our Simon denied it, saying, he would come to an anchor at Hispaniola, and there land the governor, and some of the assistants, with the pinnace, to see if he could speak with his friend Alanfon, of whom he hoped to be furnished both of cattle, and all such things as we could have taken at St. John: but he meant nothing less, as it plainly did appear to us afterwards.

The next day being the 3d of July we saw Hispaniola, and bore with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnace should be prepared to go for the place where Ferdinando's friend Alanfon was; but that day passed, and we saw no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4th July sailing along the coast of Hispaniola, until the next day at noon, and no preparation yet seen for the staying there, we having knowledge that we were past the place where Alanfon dwelt, and were come with Isabella; hereupon Ferdinando was asked by the governor, whether he meant to speak with Alanfon, for taking in of cattle, and other things, according to his promise, or not; but he answered that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Raleigh told him, the French ambassador certified him, that the King of Spain had sent off Alanfon into Spain: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place at this voyage.

The next day we lost sight of Hispaniola, and hauled off for Virginia, about four of the clock in the afternoon.

The 6th of July we came to the island Caycos, wherein Ferdinando said, were two salt ponds, assuring us if they were dry, we might get salt to shift with, until the next supply, but it proved as true as finding of sheep at Beake. In this island, whilst Ferdinando solaced himself ashore, with one of the company in part of the island, others spent the latter part of that day in other parts of the island; some to seek the salt ponds, some fowling, some hunting swans, whereof we caught many. The next day early in the morning we weighed anchor, leaving Caycos, with good hope, that the first land that we saw next should be Virginia.

About the 16th of July we fell with the main of Virginia, which Simon Ferdinando took to be the island Croatoan, where we came to anchor, and rode there two or three days, but finding himself deceived, he weighed and bore along the coast, where in the night, had not Captain Stafford been more careful in looking out than our Simon Ferdinando, we had been all cast away upon the beach, called the Cape of Fear, for we were come within two cables length upon it; such was the carelessness and ignorance of our master.

The 22d of July we arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnace anchored. The governor went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoak forthwith, hoping there to find those fifteen Englishmen, which

which Sir Richard Greenville had left there the year before, with whom he meant to have conference concerning the state of the country and savages, meaning after he had so done, to return again to the fleet, and pass along the coast, to the bay of Chespiok, where we intended to make our seat and fort, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh: but as soon as we were put with our pinnace from the ship, a gentleman by the means of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for England, called to the sailors in the pinnace, charging them not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave them in the island, except the governor, and two or three such as he approved, saying that the summer was far spent, wherefore he would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the sailors both in the pinnace and the ship, persuaded by the master, wherefore it booteth not the governor to contend with them, but passed to Roanoak, and the same night at sun-set went a-land on the island, in the place where our fifteen men were left, but we found none of them nor any sign that they had been there: saving only we found the bones of one of those fifteen, which the savages had slain long before.

The 23d of July the governor, with divers of his company walked to the north end of the island, where Master Ralph Lane had his fort, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling houses, made by his men about it the year before, where we hoped to find some signs, or certain knowledge of our fifteen men. When we came thither we found the fort razed down, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the nether rooms of them, and of the fort, were overgrown with melons of divers sorts, and deer within them feeding on those melons, so we returned with our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day, order was given that every man should be employed for the repairing of those houses, which were found standing, and also to make other new cottages, for such as should need.

The 25th our fly-boat and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatorask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company. But the master of our Admiral, Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their safe coming, for he purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, for that he had never been in Virginia, would hardly find the place, or else from being left in so dangerous a place as that was, by means of so many men of war, as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken or slain: but God disappointed his wicked pretences.

The 28th, George Howe, one of our twelve assistants, was slain by divers of the savages, which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpose to espy our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt deer, whereof many were in the island. The savages being secretly hidden among high trees, where often-times they find the deer asleep, and so kill them, espied our man, wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon, save only a small forked stick, catching crabs therewithal, and also being strayed two miles from his company, and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows, and after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main.

On the 30th July, Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the island of Croatoan with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kindred dwelling in that island, of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing they seemed as though they would fight with us, but perceiving us begin to march with our shot towards them, they turned

turned their backs and fled. Then Manteo their countryman called to them in their own language, whom, as soon as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows, and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather, or spill any of their corn, for that they had but little. We answered them that neither their corn nor any other thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of us, and that our coming was only to renew the old love, that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them as brethren and friends; which answer seemed to please them well, wherefore they requested us to walk up to their town, who there feasted us after their manner, and desired us certainly, that there might be some token or badge given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends when we met them any where out of the town or island. They told us further, that for want of some such badge, divers of them were hurt the year before, being found out of the island by Master Lane's company, whereof they shewed us one, which at that very instant lay lame, and had lain of that hurt ever since; but they said they knew our men mistook them, and hurt them instead of Wingino's men, wherefore they held us excused.

AUGUST.

The next day we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secotan, Aquascogoe, and Pomciok, willing them of Croatoan to certify the people of those towns, that if they would accept our friendship we would willingly receive them again, and that all unfriendly dealings past on both parts, should be utterly forgiven and forgotten. To this the chief men of Croatoan answered, that they would gladly do the best they could, and within seven days bring the Wiroances and chief governors of those towns with them, to our governor at Roanoak, or their answer. We also understood of the men at Croatoan that our man Master Howe was slain by the remnant of Wingino's men, dwelling then at Dasamonguepeuk, with whom Wanchese kept company; and also we understood by them of Croatoan, how that the fifteen Englishmen left at Roanoak the year before, by Sir Richard Greenville, were suddenly set upon by thirty of the men of Secota, Aquascogoe, and Dasamonguepeuk, in manner following:

They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, near the houses where our men carelessly lived, and having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, and two of those savages appeared to the eleven Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signs that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them: but whilst one of those savages traiterously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantle, struck him on the head and slew him, and presently the other twenty-eight savages slewed themselves: the other Englishman perceiving this fled to his company, whom the savages pursued with their bows and arrows so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victual and weapons were: but the savages forthwith set the same on fire; by means whereof our men were forced to take up such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to run forth among the savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where he died, and also one of the savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wild-fire arrow, whereof he died presently. The place where they fought was of great advantage to the savages, by means of the thick trees, behind which the savages through their nimbleness, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrows, that our men being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water side

where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oysters: these four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoak, and landed on a little island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterwards departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now sufficiently dispatched our business at Croatoan, the same day we departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatorask.

The 8th of August, the governor having long expected the coming of the Wiroances of Pomeiok, Aquascogoe, Secota and Dasamonquepeuk, seeing that the seven days were past, within which they promised to come in, or to send their answers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly also informed by those men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingina's men, which were left alive, who dwelt at Dasamonquepeuk, were they which had slain George Howe, and were also at the driving our eleven Englishmen from Roanoak, he thought to defer the revenge thereof no longer. Wherefore the same night about midnight, he passed over the water, accompanied with Captain Stafford and twenty-four men, whereof Manteo was one, whom we took with us to be our guide to the place where those savages dwelt, where he behaved himself towards us as a most faithful Englishman.

The next day being the 9th August, in the morning so early that it was yet dark, we landed near the dwelling-place of our enemies, and very secretly conveyed ourselves through the woods to that side where we had their houses between us and the water: and having espied their fire, and some setting about it, we presently set on them: the miserable souls herewith amazed, fled into a place of thick reeds, growing fast by; where our men perceiving them, shot one of them through the body with a bullet, and therewith he entered the reeds, among which we hoped to acquit their evil doing towards us, but we were deceived, for those savages were our friends, and were come from Croatoan to gather the corn and fruit of that place, because they understood our enemies were fled immediately after they had slain George Howe, and for haste, had left all their corn, tobacco, and pompions standing in such sort, that all had been devoured of the birds and deer, if it had not been gathered in time; but they had like to have paid dearly for it, for it was so dark, that they being naked, and their men and women apparelled all so like others; we knew not but that they were all men, and that if one of them that was a Wiroances wife, had not had a child at her back, she had been slain instead of a man, and as hap was, another savage knew Master Stafford, and ran to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was saved. Finding ourselves thus disappointed of our purpose, we gathered all the corn, pease, pompions, and tobacco that we found ripe, leaving the rest unspoiled, and took Menatoan's wife, with the young child, and the other savages with us over the water to Roanoak. Although the mistaking of these savages, somewhat grieved Manteo, yet he imputed their harm to their own folly, saying to them, that if their Wiroances had kept their promise in coming to the governor at the day appointed, they had not known that mischance.

The 13th August, our savage Manteo, by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh, was christened in Roanoak, and called lord thereof and of Dasamonquepeuk, in reward of his faithful service.

The 18th, Elenor, daughter to the governor, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the same was christened there the Sunday following, and because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia.

By

By this time our ships had unladen the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and fresh water, and to new caulk and trim them for England: the planters also prepared their letters and tokens to send back into England.

Our two ships the Lion, and the fly-boat, almost ready to depart, the 21st of August there arose such a tempest at N.E. that our Admiral, then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables and put to sea, where he lay beating off and on six days before he could come to us again, so that we feared he had been calt away, and the rather for at that time that the storm took them, the most and best of their failors were left a-land.

At this time some controversies arose between the governor and assistants, about choosing two out of the twelve assistants, who should go back as factors for the company into England: for every one of them refused, save only one, which all other thought not sufficient; but at length by much persuading of the governor, Christopher Cooper agreed to go for England: but the next day through the persuasion of divers of his familiar friends, he changed his mind; so that now the matter stood as at the first.

The next day, 22d August, the whole company both of the assistants and planters came to the governor, and with one voice requested him to return himself into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies, and other necessaries for them; but he refused it; and alledged many sufficient causes why he would not; the one was, that he could not so suddenly return back again without his great discredit, leaving the action, and so many whom he partly had procured by his persuasions, to leave their native country, and undertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him and the action at his return into England, would not spare to slander falsely both him and the action, by saying, he went to Virginia, but politically, but to no other end but to lead so many into a country, in which he never meant to stay himself, and there to leave them behind him. Also he alledged, that seeing they intended to remove 50 miles further up into the main presently, he being then absent, his stuff and goods might be both spoiled, and most of them pilfered away in the carriage: so that at his return he should be either forced to provide himself of all such things again, or else at his coming again to Virginia find himself utterly unfurnished, whereof already he had found some proof, being but once from them but three days. Wherefore he concluded that he would not go himself.

The next day, not only the assistants but divers others, as well women as men, began to renew their requests to the governor again, to take upon him to return into England for the supply, and dispatch of all such things as were there to be done, promising to make him their bond, under all their hands and seals, for the safe preserving of all his goods for him at his return to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled or lost, they would see it restored to him or his assigns, whensoever the same should be missed and demanded. Which bond with a testimony under their hands and seals they forthwith made and delivered into his hands. The copy of the testimony I thought good to set down.

“ May it please you, her Majesty’s subjects of England, we your friends and countrymen, the planters in Virginia, do by these presents let you and every of you to understand, that for the present and speedy supply of certain our known and apparent lacks and needs, most requisite and necessary for the good and happy planting of us, or any other in this land of Virginia, we all of one mind and consent, have most earnestly entreated, and incessantly requested John White, governor of the planters in Virginia, to pass into England for the better and more assured help, and setting forward
of

of the foresaid supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labour and take pains in behalf for us all, and he not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacy, yielded to leave his government, and all his goods among us, and himself in all our behalves to pass into England, of whose knowledge and fidelity in handling this matter, as all others, we do assure ourselves by these presents, and will you to give all credit thereunto. The 25th of August 1587."

The governor being at the last through their extreme entreaty, constrained to return into England, having then but half a day's respite to prepare himself for the same, departed from Roanoak the 27th of August in the morning, and the same day about midnight, came aboard the fly-boat, who already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar, the Admiral riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither again. The same day both the ships weighed anchor, and set sail for England: at this weighing their anchors, twelve of the men which were in the fly-boat, were thrown from the capstan, which by means of a bar that brake, came so fast about upon them, that the other two bars thereof, struck and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them never recovered it: nevertheless they essayed presently again to weigh their anchor, but being so weakened by the first sling, they were not able to weigh it, but were thrown down and hurt the second time. Wherefore having in all but fifteen men aboard, and most of them by this unfortunate beginning so bruised and hurt, they were forced to cut their cable, and loose their anchor. Nevertheless they kept company with the Admiral, until the 17th of September, at which time we fell with Corvo, and saw Flores.

SEPTEMBER.

The 18th, perceiving of all our fifteen men in the fly-boat there remained but five, which by means of the former mischance were able to stand to their labour: and that the Admiral meant not to make any halte for England, but to linger about the island of Tercera for purchase: the fly-boat departed for England with letters, where we hoped by the help of God to arrive shortly: but by that time we had continued our course homeward about twenty days, having had sometimes scarce and variable winds; our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose a storm at N. E., which for six days ceased not to blow so exceeding, that we were driven further in those six than we could recover in thirteen days: in which time others of our sailors began to fall very sick, and two of them died: the weather also continued so close, that our master sometimes in four days together could see neither sun nor star, and all the beverage we could make, with stinking water, dregs of beer, and lees of wine which remained, was but three gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but famine to perish at sea.

OCTOBER.

The 16th of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the same land all that day: about sun-set we put into a harbour, where we found a hulk of Dublin, and a pinnace of Hampton riding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any hope to go on shore, until the pinnace sent off their boat to us, with six or eight men, of whom we understood we were in Smerwick in the west parts of Ireland: they also relieved us presently with fresh water, wine, and other fresh meat.

The

The 18th, the governor and the master rode to Dingen-a-Cufhe, five miles distant, to take order for the new victually of our fly-boat for England, and for relief of our sick and hurt men, but within four days after, the boatwain, the steward, and the boatwain's mate, died aboard the fly-boat; and the 28th the master's mate, and two of our chief sailors were brought sick to Dingen.

NOVEMBER.

The 1st, the governor shipped himself in a ship called the Monkey, which at that time was ready to put to sea from Dingen for England, leaving the fly-boat and all his company in Ireland. The same day we set sail, and on the 3d day, we fell with the north side of the Land's End, and were shut up the Severn, but the next day we doubled the same for Mount's Bay.

The 5th, the governor landed in England at Martafew, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.

The 8th, we arrived at Hampton, where we understood that our consort the Admiral was come to Portsmouth, and had been there three weeks before: and also that Ferdinando the master, with all his company were not only come home without any purchase, but also in such weakness by sickness, and death of their chiefeft men, that they were scarce able to bring their ship into harbour, but were forced to let fall anchor without, which they could not weigh again, but might all have perished there, if a small bark by great hap had not come to them to help them. The names of the chief men that died are these: Roger Large, John Mathew, Thomas Smith; and some other sailors, whose names I knew not at the writing hereof. An. Dom. 1587.

The Names of all the Men, Women, and Children, which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabit there, 1587. Anno Regni Regina Elizabetha, 29.

John White.
Roger Baily.
Ananias Dare.
Christopher Cooper.
Thomas Stevens.
John Sampson.
Dionis Harvey.
Roger Pratt.
George Howe.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Johnson.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
John Jones.
William Willes.
John Brook.
Cutbert White.
John Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
John Cotfmr.
Humfrey Newton.

Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Mark Bennet.
John Gibbs.
John Stilman.
Robert Wilkinfon.
John Tydway.
Ambrose Vickers.
Edmond English.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berry.
Richard Berry.
John Spendlove.
John Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
John Burden.
James Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Brown.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.

Richard Kemme.
 Thomas Harris.
 Richard Taverner.
 John Earnest.
 Henry Johnson.
 John Start.
 Richard Darige.
 William Lucas.
 Arnold Orchard.
 John Wright.
 William Dutton.
 Maurice Allen.
 William Waters.
 Richard Arthur.
 John Chapman.
 William Clement.
 Robert Little.
 Hugh Tayler.
 Richard Wilde.
 Lewis Wotton.
 Michael Bishop.
 Henry Brown.
 Henry Rufoote.
 Richard Tomkins.
 Henry Dorrell.
 Charles Florry.
 Henry Milton.
 Henry Payne.
 Thomas Harris.
 William Nichols.
 Thomas Phevens.
 John Borden.
 Thomas Scott.
 Peter Little.
 John Wyles.
 Brian Wyles.
 George Martin.
 Hugh Pattenfon.
 Martin Sutton.
 John Farre.
 John Bridger.
 Griffen Jones.
 Richard Shabedge.
 James Lafy.
 John Cheven.

Thomas Hewett.
 William Berde.

Women.

Elenor Dare.
 Margery Harvy.
 Agnes Wood.
 Winifred Powell.
 Joyce Archard.
 Jane Jones.
 Elizabeth Glane.
 Jane Pierce.
 Audry Topan.
 Alice Chapman.
 Emma Merrimoth.
 Colman.
 Margaret Lawrence.
 Joan Warren.
 Jane Mannering.
 Rose Payne.
 Elizabeth Vickers.

Boys and Children.

John Sampson.
 Robert Ellis.
 Ambrose Vickers.
 Thomas Archard.
 Thomas Humfrey.
 Thomas Smart.
 George Howe.
 John Pratt.
 William Withers.

Children born in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
 Harvy.

Savages.

Manteo.	} They were in England, and returned home into Virginia with them.
Towaye.	

To the worshipful and my very friend Master Richard Hakluyt;
much happiness in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying your earnest request, as the performance of my promise, made unto you at my last being with you in England; I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate ear) the true discourse of my last voyage into the West Indies, and parts of America called Virginia, taken in and about the end of February, in the year of our redemption 1590; and what events happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainly perceive by the sequel of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to go for the West Indies, at the special charges of M. John Wattes of London, merchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readines to make their departure, a general stay was commanded of all ships throughout England. Which so soon as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times before been chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and reliefs of the planters in Virginia; so likewise that by his endeavour it would please him at that instant to procure licence for those three ships, to proceed on with their determined voyage; that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him.

Whereupon he by his good means obtained licence of the Queen's Majesty, and order to be taken, that the owner of the three ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assigns in 3,000 pounds, that these three ships in consideration of their releasement, should take in, and transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Nevertheless that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid: but rather in contempt of the aforesaid order I was by the owners and commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing else transported in any of the said ships, saving only myself and my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great suit and earnest entreaty, as well to the chief commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which cross and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcity of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readines to go to the sea, would have been departed before I could have made my return.

Thus both governors, masters and sailors, regarded very finally the good of their countrymen in Virginia, determined nothing less than to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seek after purchase and spoils, spending so much time therein, that summer was spent before we arrived at Virginia: and when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, and weather so foul, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seen any of our planters, with loss of one of our ship's boats, and seven of our chiefest men: and also with loss of three of our anchors and cables, and most of our casks with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which evils and unfortunate events (as well to their own loss, as to the hindrance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set down by Sir Walter Raleigh had been observed, or if my daily and continual petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place.

Thus may you plainly perceive the success of my fifth and last voyage to Virginia, which was no less unfortunately ended, than forwardly begun, and as luckless to many, as sinister to myself: but I would to God it had been as prosperous to all, as noisome

to the planters, as useful to me as uncomfortable to them. Yet feeling it my first command my self, I remain contented. And wanting my wishes, I leave off prosecuting what when and I would to God my wealth were answerable to me. Thus commending the relief of my uncomfortable company, the planters in Virginia to the merciful help of the Almighty; whom I most humbly beseech to help and comfort them; according to his most holy will, and their good desire, I take my leave from my house at Newtown in Kylmore the 4th of February, 1593.

The Fifth Voyage of M. John White into the West Indies and Parts of America called Virginia, in the Year 1590.

The 20th of March the three ships, the Hopewell, the John Evangelist, and the Little John, put to sea from Plymouth with two small shallops.

The 25th, at midnight both our shallops were sunk, being towed at the ship's sterns by the boatwain's negligence.

On the 30th we saw a head of us that part of the coast of Barbary, lying east of Cape Cantyn in the Bay of Asaphi.

The next day we came to the Isle of Mogador, where rode, at our passing by, a pinnace of London called the Moonshine.

APRIL.

On the first of April we anchored in Santa Cruz road, where we found two great ships of London lading in sugar, of whom we had two ship boats to supply the loss of our shallops.

On the 2d we set sail from the road of Santa Cruz for the Canaries.

On Saturday the 4th we saw Alegranza, the east isle of the Canaries.

On Sunday the 5th of April we gave chase to a double flyboat, the which we also the same day fought with, and took her, with loss of three of their men slain and one hurt.

On Monday the 6th we saw Grand Canary, and the next day we landed and took in fresh water on the south side thereof.

On the 9th we departed from Grand Canary, and framed our course for Dominica.

The last of April we saw Dominica, and the same night we came to an anchor on the south side thereof.

MAY.

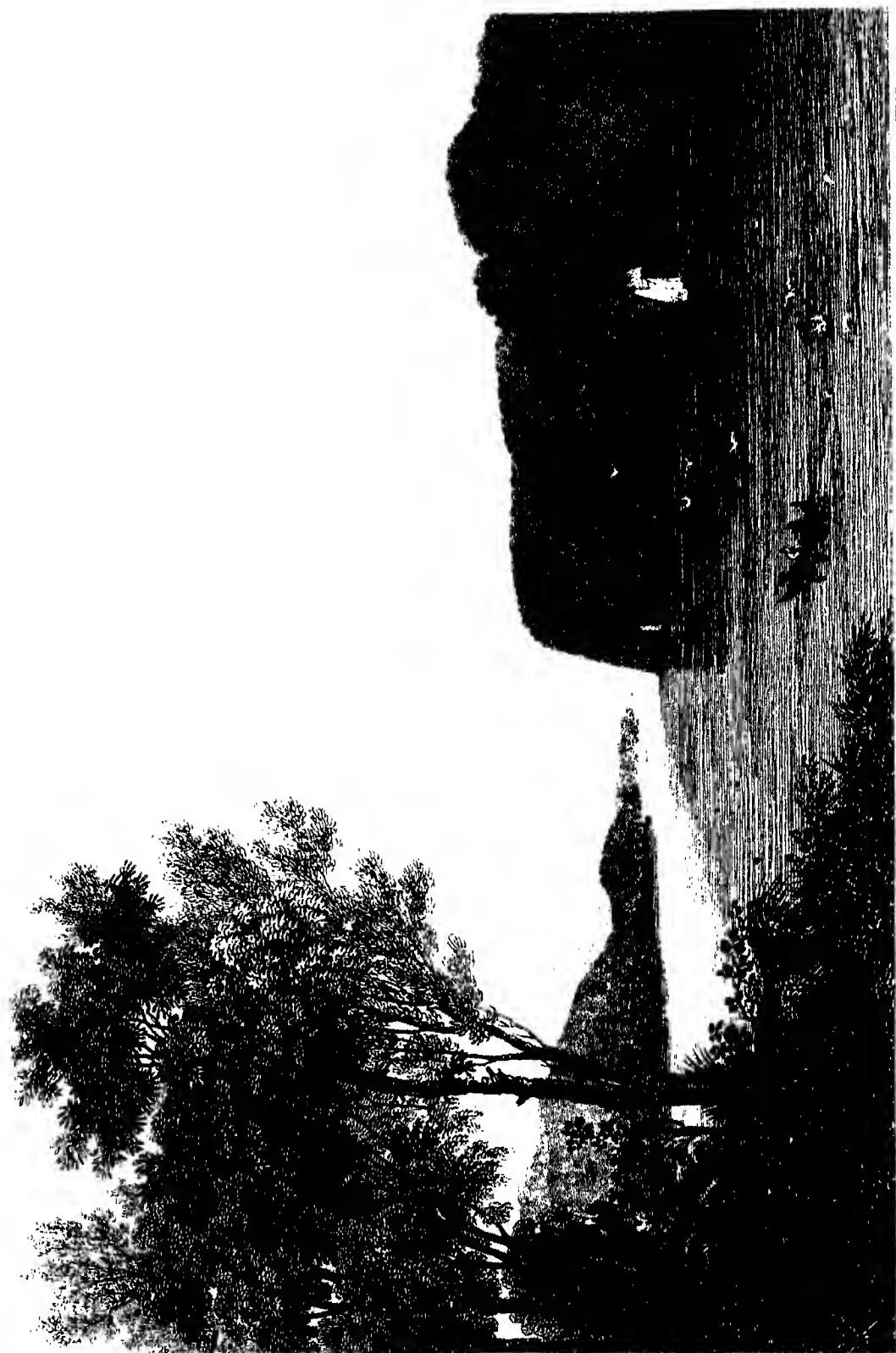
The 1st of May in the morning many of the savages came on board our ships in their canoes, and did traffic with us: we also the same day landed and entered their town, from whence we returned the same day aboard without any resistance of the savages; or any offence done to them.

The 2d of May our Admiral and our pinnace departed from Dominica, leaving the John our vice-admiral playing off and on about Dominica, hoping to take some Spaniard outwards bound to the Indies: the same night we had sight of three small islands, called Los Santos, leaving Guardaloupe and them on our starboard.

The 3d, we had sight of St. Christopher's island, bearing N. E. by E. off us.

Dominica lies north and south, the two ends coming nearly to points; this must therefore be an isle the sides of the land lying due east and west.

On



On the 4th we sailed by the Virgins, which are many broken islands lying at the east-end of S. John's island: and the same day towards evening we landed upon one of them called Blanca, where we killed an incredible number of fowls: here we stayed but for three hours, and from thence went into the shore N. W. and having brought this island S. of us, we put towards night through an opening, or swatch, called the passage, lying between the Virgins and the east-end of S. John: here the pinnace left us, and sailed on the south-side of S. John.

The 5th and 6th the Admiral sailed along the north-side of S. John, so near the shore that the Spaniards discerned us to be men of war: and therefore made fires along the coast as we sailed by, for so their custom is, when they see any men of war on their coasts.

The 7th we landed on the N. W. end of S. John, where we watered in a good river called Yaguana, and the same night following we took a frigate of ten ton coming from Gwathaleno laden with hides and ginger. In this place Pedro a mulatto, who knew all our state, ran away from us to the Spaniards.

On the 9th we departed from Yaguana

On the 13th we landed on an island called Mona; whereon were 10 or 12 houses inhabited of the Spaniards; these we burned, and took from them a pinnace, which they had drawn aground and sunk, and carried all her sails, masts and rudders into the woods, because we should not take it away. We also chased the Spaniards over all the island: but they hid them in caves, hollow rocks, and bushes, so that we could not find them.

On the 14th we departed from Mona, and the next day after we came to an island, called Saona, above five leagues distant from Mona, lying on the south-side of Hispaniola, near the east-end: between these two islands we lay off and on four or five days, hoping to take some of the Domingo fleet, doubling this island, as a nearer way to Spain than by Cape Tyburon, or by Cape S. Anthony.

On Thursday being the 19th, our vice-admiral, from whom we departed at Dominica, came to us at Saona, with whom we left a Spanish frigate, and appointed him to lie off and on either five days between Saona and Mona, to the end above said: then we departed from thence at Saona for Cape Tyburon. Here I was informed that our men of the vice-admiral, at their departure from Dominica, brought away two young savages, which were the chief casique's sons of that country and part of Dominica: but they shortly after ran away from them at Santa Cruz island, where the vice-admiral landed to take in water.

On the 21st the admiral came to the Cape Tyburon, where we found the John Evangelist, a Spanish frigate, lying before us: here we took in two Spaniards almost starved on the shore, who made a fire to our ships as we sailed by. These places for an 100 miles round about are all but a desolate and most miserable, without any habitation of men, but full of wild bulls and boars, and great numbers of fowls.

The 22d the admiral came to an anchor in the bay of Cape Tyburon. Here we were met by a Spanish frigate, captain of the pinnace, who was set upon with one of our frigates, belonging to Santo Domingo, which was manned with 400 men, and fought for three or four hours, and was over the fight and forsook the bay, and went to the southward.

The 23d the admiral came to the Cape Tyburon, where the frigate which we took on the 21st lay, and was the same place where we should attend, for the meeting of the Domingo fleet.

On Whitsunday even at Cape Tyburon one of our boys ran away from us, and at 10 days end returned to our ship almost starved for want of food. In sundry places about this part of Cape Tyburon, we found the bones and carcases of divers men who had perished (as we thought) by famine in those woods, being either straggled from their company, or landed there by some men of war.

JUNE.

On the 14th of June we took a small Spanish frigate, which fell amongst us so suddenly, as he doubled the point of the bay of Cape Tyburon, where we rode, that he could not escape us. This frigate came from Santo Domingo, and had but three men in her, the one was an expert pilot, the other a mountaineer, and the third a vintener, who escaped all out of prison at Santo Domingo, purposing to fly to Yaguana, which is a town in the west parts of Hispaniola where many fugitive Spaniards are gathered together.

The 17th Captain Lane was sent to Yaguana with his pinnace and a frigate, to take a ship which was there taking in freight, as we understood by the old pilot, whom we had taken three days before.

The 24th the frigate returned from Captain Lane at Yaguana, and brought us word to Cape Tyburon, that Captain Lane had taken the ship, with many passengers and negroes in the same; which proved not so rich a prize as we hoped for, for that a French man of war had taken and spoiled her before we came: nevertheless her loading was thought worth 1,000 or 1,300 pounds; being hides, ginger, cannatistula, copper-pans, and calavi.

JULY.

The 2d July Eadward Spicer, whom we left in England, came to us at Cape Tyburon, accompanied with a small pinnace, whereof one M. Harps was captain, and the same day we had sight of a fleet of fourteen sail, all of Santo Domingo, to whom we presently gave chase, but they upon the first sight of us fled, and separating themselves scattered here and there. Wherefore we were forced to divide ourselves, and so made after them until twelve of the clock at night. But then by reason of the darkness we lost sight of each other, yet in the end the Admiral and the Moon-light happened to be together the same night at the fetching up of the Vice-admiral of the Spanish fleet, against whom the next morning we fought and took him, with loss of one of our men with two hurt, and of theirs four slain and six hurt. But what was become of our Vice admiral, our pinnace and prize, and two frigates, in all this time, we were ignorant.

The 3d of July we spent about ryling, rummaging and fitting the prize to be sailed with us.

The 6th of July we saw Jamaica, the which we left on our larboard, keeping Cuba in sight on our starboard.

On the 8th we saw the island of Pinos, which lyeth on the south side of Cubae nigh unto the west end or cape, called S. Anthony. And at the same day we gave chase to a frigate, but at night we lost sight of her, partly by the slow sailing of our Admiral, and lack of the Moon-light our pinnace, whom Captain Cook had sent to the cape the day before.

On

On the 11th we came to Cape S. Anthony, where we found our consort the Moonlight and her pinnace abiding for our coming, of whom we understood that the day before there passed by them twenty-two sail, some of them of the burthen of 300, some of 400 tons, loaden with King's treasure from the main, bound for Havana: from the 11th July until the 22d we were much becalmed; and the wind being very scarce, and the weather exceeding hot, we were much pestered with the Spaniards we had taken: therefore we were driven to land all the Spaniards saving three, but the place where we landed them was of their own choice on the south side of Cuba near unto the Organes and Rio de Puercos.

The 23d we had sight of the Cape of Florida, and the broken islands thereof called the Martyrs.

The 25th being S. James' day, in the morning we fell with the Matanzas, a head-land eight leagues towards the east of Havana, where we purposed to take fresh water in, and make our abode two or three days.

On the 26th plying to and fro, between the Matanzas and the Havana, we were espied of three small pinnaces of S. John de Ullua, bound for Havana, which were exceeding richly loaden. These three pinnaces came very boldly up to us, and so continued until they came within musket-shot of us. And we supposed them to be Captain Harp's pinnace, and two small frigates taken by Captain Harp: wherefore we shewed our flag. But they presently upon the sight of it turned about, and made all the sail they could from us towards the shore, and kept themselves in so shallow water, that we were not able to follow them, and therefore gave them over with expence of shot and powder to no purpose. But if we had not so rashly set out our flag we might have taken them all three, for they would not have known us before they had been in our hands. This chase had brought us so far to leeward as Havana; wherefore not finding any of our consorts at the Matanzas, we put over again to the Cape of Florida, and from thence through the channel of Bahama.

On the 28th the Cape of Florida bare west of us.

The 30th we lost sight of the coast of Florida, and stood to sea for to gain the help of the currents which runneth much swifter afar off than in sight of the coast; for from the cape to Virginia all along the shore are none but eddy currents setting to the S. and S.W.

The 31st our three ships were clearly disbocked, the great prize, the Admiral, and the Moonshine, but our prize being thus disbocked departed from us without taking leave of our Admiral or consort, and sailed directly for England.

AUGUST.

On the 1st of August the wind scanted, and from thence forward we had very foul weather with much rain, thundering, and great spouts which fell round about us nigh unto our ships.

The 3d we stood again in for the shore, and at mid-day we took the height of the same. The height of that place we found to be 34 degrees of latitude. Towards night we were within three leagues of the low sandy islands west of Wokoken, but the weather continued so exceeding foul, that we could not come to an anchor nigh the coast; wherefore we stood off again to sea, until Monday the 9th of August.

On that day the storm ceased, and we had very great likelihood of fair weather; wherefore we stood in again for the shore, and came to an anchor in eleven fathom in 35 degrees of latitude, within a mile of the shore, where we went on land on the narrow sandy.

sandy island, being one of the islands west of Wokokon. In this island we took in some fresh water, and caught great store of fish in the shallow water. Between the main (as I supposed) and that island, it was but a mile over and three or four feet deep in most places.

On the 12th in the morning we departed from thence, and towards night we came to an anchor at the N. E. end of the island of Croatoan, by reason of a breach which we perceived to lie out two or three leagues into the sea: here we rode all that night.

The 13th in the morning before we weighed our anchors, our boats were sent to sound over this breach; our ships riding at the side thereof at five fathom: and a ship's length from us we found but four and a quarter, and then deeping and shallow-ing for the space of two miles, so that sometimes we found five fathoms and by and by seven, and within two cables with the lead nine and then eight, next cast five and then six, and then four and then nine again, and deeper; but three fathoms was the least, two leagues off from the shore. This breach is 35 degrees and a half, and lyeth at the very N. E. point of Croatoan, whereas goeth a fret out of the main sea into the inner waters, which part the islands and the main land.

The 15th August towards evening we came to an anchor at Hatorask, in 36 deg. 20 min. in five fathom water, three leagues from the shore. At our first coming to anchor on this shore we saw a great smoke rise in the isle Roanoak near the place where I left our colony in the year 1587; which smoke put us in good hope that some of the colony were there expecting my return out of England.

The 16th and next morning our two boats went ashore, and Captain Cook and Captain Spicer, and their company with me, with intent to pass to the place Roanoak where our countrymen were left. At our putting from the ship we commanded our master gunner to make ready two minions and a faulcon well loaden, and to shoot them off, with reasonable space between every shot, to the end that their reports might be heard to the place where we hoped to find some of our people. This was accordingly performed, and our two boats put off unto the shore; in the Admiral's boat we sounded all the way, and found from our ship until we came within a mile of the shore, nine, eight, and seven fathoms: but before we were half way between our ships and the shore, we saw another great smoke to the S. W. of Kindrikers Mountes: we therefore thought good to go to that second smoke first: but it was much farther from the harbour where we landed, than we supposed it to be, so that we were very fore tired before we came to the smoke. But that which grieved us more, was, that when we came to the smoke, we found no man, nor sign that any had been there lately, nor yet any fresh water in all this way to drink. Being thus wearied with this journey we returned to the harbour where we left our boats, who in our absence had brought their casks ashore for fresh water; so we deferred our going to Roanoak until the next morning, and caused some of those sailors to dig in those sandy hills for fresh water, whereof we found very sufficient. That night we returned aboard with our boats and our whole company in safety.

The next morning, the 17th August, our boats and company were prepared again to go to Roanoak: but Captain Spicer had then sent his boat ashore for fresh water, by means whereof it was ten of the clock of the forenoon before we put from our ships, which were then come to an anchor within two miles of the shore. The Admiral's boat was half way towards the shore, when Captain Spicer put off from his ship. The Admiral's boat first passed the breach, but not without some danger of sinking, for we had a sea break into our boat which filled us half full of water, but by the will of God,

and careful steerage of Captain Cook we came safe ashore, saving only that our furniture, victuals, match and powder were much wet and spoiled. For at this time the wind blew at N. E. and direct into the harbour so great a gale, that the sea brake extremely on the bar, and the tide went very forcibly at the entrance.

By that time our Admiral's boat was hauled ashore, and most of our things taken out to dry, Captain Spicer came to the entrance of the breach with his mast standing up, and was half way over, but by the rash and indiscreet steerage of Ralph Skinner, his master's mate, a very dangerous sea brake into their boat, and overset them quite; the men kept the boat, some in it, and some hanging on it, but the next sea set the boat on ground, where it beat so that some of them were forced to let go their hold, hoping to wade ashore, but the sea still beat them down, so that they could neither stand nor swim, and the boat twice or thrice was turned the keel upward, whereupon Captain Spicer and Skinner hung until they sunk, and were seen no more: but four that could swim a little kept themselves in deeper water, and were saved by Captain Cook's means, who so soon as he saw their oversetting, stripped himself, and four other that could swim very well, and with all haste possible rowed unto them, and saved four. They were eleven in all, and seven of the chiefest were drowned, whose names were, Edward Spicer, Ralph Skinner, Edward Kelly, Thomas Bevis, Hance the surgeon, Edward Kelborn, Robert Coleman. This mischance did so much discomfort the sailors, that they were all of one mind not to go any farther to seek the planters. But in the end by the commandment and persuation of me and Captain Cook, they prepared the boats, and seeing the captain and me so resolute, they seemed much more willing. Our boats and all things fitted again we put off from Hatorask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats, but before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied towards the north end of the island the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed; when we came right over-against it, we let fall our grapnell near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterwards many familiar English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly but we had no answer, we therefore landed at day-break, and coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place: from hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over-against Sasamonguepeuk, and from thence we returned by the water-side, round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586. In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the savages' feet of two or three sorts trodden the night, and as we entered up the sandy bank upon a tree, in the very brow thereof were curiously carved the fair Roman letters C R O: which letters presently we knew to signify the place, where I should find the planters seated, according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me, at my last departure from them; which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve on the trees, or posts of the doors, the name of the place where they should be seated: for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoak fifty miles into the main. Therefore at my departure from them, anno 1587, I willed them, that if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, that then they should carve over the letters or name, a cross \times in this form, but we found no such sign of distress. And having well considered of this, we passed towards the place where they were left in sundry houses, but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with curtains and flankers very fort-like, and one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground in fair capital letters was graven CROATOAN with-

out any cross or sign of distress: this done we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers, iron facker shot, and such like heavy things thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grafs and weeds.

From thence we went along by the water-side, towards the point of the creek to see if we could find any of the boats or pinnace, but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falkons and small ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors meeting us, told us that they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since digged up again and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cook and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past by Captain Amadas; where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own, and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps, rotten and spoiled with rain, and my armour almost eaten through with rust: this could be no other but the deed of the savages our enemies at Dasamonguepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan: and as soon as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried: but although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe-being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends.

When we had seen in this place so much as we could, we returned to our boats, and departed from the shore towards our ships with as much speed as we could, for the weather began to over-cast, and very likely that a foul and stormy night would ensue. Therefore the same evening with much danger and labour, we got ourselves aboard, by which time the wind and seas were so greatly risen, that we doubted our cables and anchors would scarcely hold until morning: wherefore the captain caused the boats to be manned with five lusty men, who could swim all well, and sent them to the little island on the right hand of the harbour, to bring aboard six of our men, who had filled our cask with fresh water: the boat the same night returned aboard with our men, but all our cask ready filled they left behind, impossible to be had aboard without danger of casting away both men and boats; for this night proved very stormy and foul.

The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were; for that then the wind was good for that place, and also to leave that cask with fresh water on shore in the island until our return. So then they brought the cable to the capstan, but when the anchor was almost apeak, the cable broke, by means whereof we lost another anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore, that we were forced to let fall a third anchor, which came so fast home that the ship was almost aground by Kenrick's Mounts, so that we were forced to let slip the cable end for end. And if it had not chanced that we had fallen into a channel of deeper water, closer by the shore than we accounted of, we could never have gone clear of the point that lyeth to the southward of Kenrick's Mounts. Being thus clear of some dangers, and gotten into deeper waters, but not without some loss; for we had but one cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler; our victuals scarce, and our cask and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should

go for St. John or some other island to the southward for fresh water. But it was further proposed that if we could any way supply our wants of victuals and other necessities, either at Hispaniola, St. John, or Trinidad, that then we should continue in the Indies all the winter following, with hope to make two rich voyages of one, and at our return to visit our countrymen in Virginia.

The captain and the whole company in the Admiral (with my earnest petitions) thereunto agreed, so that it rested only to know what the master of the Moon-light our consort would do herein: but when we demanded them if they would accompany us in that new determination, they alledged that their weak and leaky ship was not able to continue it: wherefore the same night we parted, leaving the Moon-light to go directly for England, and the Admiral set his course for Trinidad, which course we kept two days.

On the 28th the wind changed, and it was set on foul weather every day, but this storm brought the wind W. and N. W. and blew so forcibly that we were able to bear no sail but our fore-course half mast high, wherewith we ran upon the wind perforce the due course for England, for that we were driven to change our first determination for Trinidad, and stood for the islands of the Azores, where we purposed to take in fresh water, and there hoped to meet with some English men of war about those islands, at whose hands we might obtain some supply of our wants. And thus continuing our course for the Azores, sometimes with calms, and sometimes with very scarce winds, on the 15th of September the wind came S. S. E. and blew so exceedingly that we were forced to lie atry all that day. At this time by account we judged ourselves to be about twenty leagues to the west of Cuervo and Flores, but about night the storm ceased, and fair weather ensued.

On the 17th we saw Cuervo and Flores, but we could not come to anchor that night by reason the wind shifted. The next morning, the 18th, standing in again for Cuervo, we descried a sail a-head us, to whom we gave chase, but when we came near unto him we knew him to be a Spaniard, and hoped to make sure purchase of him; but we understood at our speaking with him, that he was a prize, and of the Domingo fleet, already taken by the John our consort, in the Indies. We learned also of the prize, that our vice-admiral and pinnace had fought with the rest of the Domingo fleet, and had forced them with their Admiral to flee unto Jamaica under the fort for succour, and some of them ran themselves aground, whereof one of them they brought away, and took out of some others so much as the time would permit. And further we understood of them, that in their return from Jamaica about the Organes near Cape St. Anthony, our Vice-admiral met with two ships of the main land from Mexico, bound for Havanna, with whom he fought. In which fight our Vice-admiral's lieutenant was slain, and the captain's right arm stricken off, with four others of his men slain, and sixteen hurt. But in the end he entered and took one of the Spanish ships, which was so shot by us under water, that before they could take out her treasure, she sunk, so that we lost thirteen pipes of silver that sunk with her, besides much other rich merchandize. And in the mean time the other Spanish ship, being pierced with nine shot under water, got away; whom our vice-admiral intended to pursue: but some of their men in the top made certain rocks, which they saw above water near the shore, to be galleys of Havana and Cartagena, coming from Havana to rescue the two ships. Wherefore they gave over the chase, and went for England. After this intelligence was given us by this our prize, he departed from us and went for England.

On the 19th of September we came to anchor near a small village on the north side of Flores, where we found riding five English men of war, of whom we understood
that

that our Vice-admiral and prize were gone thence for England. One of these five was the Moon-light our consort, who upon the first sight of our coming into Flores, set sail and went for England, not taking any leave of us.

On the 20th the Mary Rose, admiral of the Queen's fleet, wherein was General Sir John Hawkins, stood in with Flores, and divers others of the Queen's ships, namely, the Hope, the Nonpareillia, the Rainbow, the Swiftsure, the Foresight, with many other good merchants ships of war, and many other good ships and pinnaces, all attending to meet with the King of Spain's fleet, coming Terra Firma of the West Indies.

The 22d we went aboard the Rainbow, and towards night we spake with the Swiftsure, and give him three pieces. The captain desired our company, wherefore we willingly attended on them: who at this time with ten other ships stood for Fayal. But the General with the rest of the fleet were separated from us, making two fleets, for the surer meeting of the Spanish fleet.

On the 23d we saw Gratiofa, where the Admiral and the rest of the Queen's fleet were come together. The Admiral put forth a flag of council, in which was determined that the whole fleet should go for the main, and spread themselves on the coast of Spain and Portugal, so far as conveniently they might, for the surer meeting with the Spanish fleet, in those parts.

The 26th we came to Fayal, where the Admiral with some other of the fleet anchored, othersome plyed up and down between that and Pico until midnight: at which time the Anthony shot off a piece, and weighed, shewing his light; after whom the whole fleet stood to the east, the wind at N. E. by E.

The 27th towards evening we took our leave of the Admiral and whole fleet, who stood to the east. But our ship accompanied with a fly-boat stood in again with S. George, where we proposed to take in more fresh water, and some other fresh victuals.

On the 30th, seeing the wind hang so northerly that we could not attain the island of S. George, we gave over our purpose to water there, and the next day framed our due course for England.

OCTOBER.

The 2d of October in the morning we saw S. Michael's Island on our starboard quarter.

The 23d, at ten of the clock of the forenoon, we saw Ushant in Britaigne.

The 24th we came in safety, God be thanked, to an anchor at Plymouth.

THE FIRST RELATION OF JAQUES CARTHIER OF S. MALO,
OF THE
NEW LAND, CALLED NEW FRANCE,

NEWLY DISCOVERED IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1534 *.

AFTER that Sir Charles of Movy, Knight, Lord of Meylleraye, and Vice-admiral of France, had caused the captains, masters, and mariners to be sworn to behave themselves truly and faithfully in the service of the most Christian King of France, under the charge of the said Carthier, upon the 20th day of April 1534, we departed from the port of S. Malo, with two ships of three score ton a-piece burthen, and sixty-one well appointed men in each one; and with such prosperous weather we sailed onward, that upon the 10th day of May, we came to Newfoundland, where we entered into the cape of Buona Vista, which is in latitude 48 degrees and a half, and in longitude , but because of the great store of the ice, that was along the said land, we were constrained to enter into an haven called S. Katherine's Haven, distant from the other port about five leagues towards S. S. E.; there did we stay ten days looking for fair weather; and in the meanwhile we mended and dressed our boats.

Upon the 21st of May the wind being in the W. we hoisted sail and sailed toward N. by E. from the cape of Buona Vista, until we came to the Island of Birds, which was environed about with a bank of ice, but broken and cracked: notwithstanding the said bank, our two boats went thither to take in some birds, whereof there is such plenty, that unless a man did see them, he would think it an incredible thing: for albeit the island (which containeth about a league in circuit) be so full of them, that they seem to have been brought thither, and saved for the nonce, yet are there an hundred fold as many hovering about it as within, some of which are as big as jays, black and white with beaks like unto crows: they lie always upon the sea; they cannot fly very high because their wings are so little, and no bigger than half one's hand, yet do they fly as swiftly as any birds of the air level to the water; they are also exceeding fat, we named them Aporath. In less than half an hour, we filled two boats full of them, as if they had been with stones: so that besides them which we did eat fresh, every ship did powder and salt five or six barrells full of them.

Besides these, there is another kind of birds which hover in the air, and over the sea, lesser than the others; and these do all gather themselves together in the island, and put themselves under the wings of other birds that are greater: these we named Godertz. There are also of another sort, but bigger, and white, which bite even as dogs, those we named Margaulx. And albeit the said island be fourteen leagues from the main land, notwithstanding bears come swimming to eat of the said birds; and our men found one there as great as any cow, and as white as any swan, who in their presence leaped into the sea; and upon Whitfun Monday (following our voyage to-

ward the land) we met her by the way, swimming towards land as swiftly as we could sail. So soon as we saw her we pursued her in our boats, and by main strength took her, whose flesh was as good to be eaten as the flesh of a cattle of two years old. The Wednesday following, being the 27th of the month, we came to the entrance of the bay of the Castles, but because the weather was ill, and the great store of ice we found, we were constrained to enter into an harbour about the said entrance, called Carpunt, where because we could not come out of it, we stayed till the 9th of June, what time we departed, hoping with the help of God to sail further than the said Carpunt, which is in latitude 51 degrees.

The land from Cape Razo to Cape Degrad, which is the point of the entrance of the bay that trendeth from head to head towards N. N. E. and S. S. W. All this part of land is parted into islands, one so near the other, that there are but small rivers between them, through the which you may pass with little boats, therefore there are certain good harbours, among which are those of Carpunt and Degrad. In one of these islands that is the highest of them all, being on the top of it, you may plainly see the two low islands that are near to Cape Razo, from whence to the port of Carpunt they count it 25 leagues, and there are two entrances thereat, the one on the east, the other on the south of the island. But you must take heed of the side and point of the east, because that every where there is nothing else but shelves, and the water is very shallow. You must go about the island toward the west the length of half a cable or thereabout, and then to go toward the south to the said Carpunt. Also you are to take heed of three shelves that are in the channel under water; and toward the island on the east side in the channel, the water is of three and four fathom deep, and clear ground. The other trendeth towards E. N. E., and on the west you may go on shore.

Going from the point Degrad, and entering into the said bay toward the W. by N. there is some doubt of two islands that are on the right side, one of the which is distant from the said point three leagues, and the other seven, either more or less than the first, being a low and plain land, and it seemeth to be part of the main land. I named it S. Katherine's Island, in which towards the N. E. there is very dry soil; but about a quarter of a league from it, very ill ground; so that you must go a little about. The said island and the port of Castles trend towards N. N. E. and S. S. W., and are about 15 leagues asunder. From the said port of Castles to the port of Gutte, which is in the north-eastern part of the said bay, that trendeth toward E. N. E. and W. S. W. there are twelve leagues and a half, and about two leagues from the port of Balances, that is to say a third part athwart the said bay; the depth being sounded it is about thirty-eight fathoms, and from the said port of Balances to the white sands toward W. S. W. there is fifteen leagues, but you must take heed of a shelf that lyeth about three leagues outward from the said white sands on the S. W. side above water like a boat.

White Sand is a road in the which there is no place guarded from the south nor south-east. But towards S. S. W. from the said road there are two islands, one of the which is called Brest Island, and the other the Island of Birds, in which there is great store of godertz and crows with red beaks and red feet; they make their nests in holes under the ground even as conies. A point of land being passed about a league from White Sand, there is a port and passage found, called the Ilettes, a better place than White Sand, and there is great fishing: from the said port of the Ilettes unto another called Brest, the circuit is about ten leagues. This port is in lat. 51 deg. 55 min. and in longitude. From the Ilettes to that place there are many other islands, and the said port of Brest is also amongst those islands. Moreover the islands

do compass more than three leagues from the said Brest, being low, and over them are the other lands above-mentioned seen.

Upon the 10th June, we with our ships entered into the port of Brest, to furnish ourselves with water and wood, and to make us ready to pass the said bay. Upon S. Barnabas day, service being heard, we with our boats went beyond the said bay, toward the west, to see what harbours were there: we passed through the midst of the islets, which were so many in number it was not possible they might be told, for they continued about ten leagues beyond the said port. We to rest ourselves staid in one of them a night, and there we found great store of duck eggs, and other birds that there do make their nest; we named them all the Islettes.

The next day we passed the said islands, and beyond them all we found a good haven, which we named S. Anthony's Haven, and one or two leagues beyond, we found a little river toward the S. W. coast that is between two other islands, and is a good harbour: and there we set up a cross, and named it S. Servan's Port: and on the S. W. side of the said port and river, about one league, there is a small island as round as an oven, environed about with many other little islands, that give notice to the said ports. Further about two leagues there is another greater river, in which we took good store of salmon; that, we named S. James' River. Being in the said river we saw a ship of Rochel, that the night before had passed the port of Brest, where they thought to have gone a fishing, but the mariners knew not where they were. We with our boats approached near unto it, and did direct it to another port, one league more toward the west than the said river of S. James, which I take to be one of the best in all the world, and therefore we named it James Carthier's Sound. If the soil were as good as the harbours are, it were a great commodity, but is not to be called the New Land, but rather stones and wild craggs, and a place fit for wild beasts; for in all the north island, I did not see a cart-load of good earth, yet went I on shore in many places; and in the island of White Sand there is nothing else but moss and small stones, scattered here and there, withered and dry. To be short, I believe that this was the land that God allotted to Cain. There are men of an indifferent good stature and bigness, but wild and unruly: they wear their hair tied on the top like a wreath of hay, and put a wooden pit within it, or any other such thing instead of a nail, and with them they bind certain birds' feathers. They are cloathed with beast's skins, as well the men as women, but the women go somewhat straighter and closer in their garments than the men do, with their waists girded: they paint themselves with certain roan colours: their boats are made of the bark of birch trees, with the which they fish and take great store of seals and as far as we could understand since our coming thither, that is not their habitation, but they come from the main land out of hotter countries, to catch the seals and other necessaries for their living.

Upon the 13th of that month we came to our ships again with our boats on purpose to sail forwards because the weather was fair, and on Sunday caused service to be said: then on Monday being the 15th of the month we departed from Brest, and sailed towards the south to take a view of the lands that there we had seen, that seemed unto us to be two islands, but when we were amidst the bay, we knew it to be firm land, where was a great double cape, one above the other, and therefore we named it the Double Cape. In the entrance of the bay we sounded, and found it to be 100 fathom round about us. From Brest to the Double Cape, there is about twenty leagues, and about five or six leagues beyond we sounded again, and found forty fathom water. The said land lieth N. E. and S. W. The next day being the 16th of the month, we sailed along the said coast towards the S. W. by S. about thirty-five leagues from the

Double

Double Cape, where we found very steep and wild hills, among the which were seen certain small cabins, which we in the country call granges, and therefore we named them the Hills of the Granges. The other lands and mountains are all craggy, cleft, and cut, and betwixt them and the sea, there are other islands, but low. The day before through the dark mists and fogs of the weather, we could not have sight of any land, but in the evening we spied an entrance into the land, by a river among the said Hill of Granges, and a cape lying toward the S. W. about three leagues from us. The said Cape is on the top of it blunt pointed and also toward the sea, it endeth in a point, wherefore we named it the Pointed Cape; on the north side of which there is a plain island. But because we would have notice of the said entrance, to see if there were any good havens, we struck sail for that night. The next day, the 17th, we had stormy weather from N. E. wherefore we took our way toward the S. W. until Thursday morning, and we went about thirty-seven leagues, till we came athwart a bay, full of round islands like dove-houses, and therefore we named them the Dove Houses. And from the bay of St. Julian from the which is a cape that lyeth S. by W. which we called Cape Royal, there are seven leagues, and towards the W. S. W. side of the said cape there is another that beneath is all craggy, and above round. On the north side of which, about half a league, there lyeth a low land: that cape we named the Cape of Milk. Between these two capes there are certain low lands, above which there are also certain others that shew that there be some rivers. About two leagues from Cape Royal we sounded and found twenty fathom water; and there is the greatest fishing for cods that possibly may be: for staying for our company, in less than an hour we took about one hundred of them.

The next day being the 18th of the month, the wind with such rage turned against us, that we were constrained to go back towards Cape Royal, thinking there to find some harbour, and with our boats went to discover between the Cape Royal and the Cape of Milk, and found that above the low islands is a great and very deep gulfe, within which are certain islands. The said gulfe on the south side is shut up. The aforesaid low grounds are on one of the sides of the entrance, and Cape Royal is on the other. The said low grounds do stretch themselves more than half a league within the sea: it is a plain country but an ill soil, and in the midst of the entrance thereof there is an island. The said gulfe in latitude is 48 degrees and a half, and in longitude. That night we found no harbour, and therefore we launched out into the sea, leaving the cape toward the west.

From the said day until the 24th of the month, being S. John's day, we had both stormy weather, and wind against us, with such darkness and mists, that until S. John's day we could have no sight of any land, and then had we sight of a cape of land, that from Cape Royal lieth S. W. about 35 leagues, but that day was so foggy and misty, that we could not come near land, and because it was S. John's day, we named it Cape S. John.

The next day being the 25th of the month, the weather was also stormy, dark, and windy, but yet we sailed part of the way towards W. N. W. and in the evening we put ourselves athwart until the second quarter: when as we departed then did we by our compass know that we were N. W. by W. about seven leagues and a half from the Cape of S. John, and as we were about to hoist sail, the wind turned into the N. W. wherefore we went S. E. about fifteen leagues, and came to three islands, two of which are steep and as upright as any wall, so that it was not possible to climb them: and between them there is a little rock. These islands were as full of birds, as any field or meadow is of grass, which there do make their nests, and in the greatest of them, there

there was a great and infinite number of those we call Margaulx, that are white and bigger than any geese, which were severed in one part. In the other were only Godetz and great Apponatz, like to those of that island that we above have mentioned. We went down to the lowest part of the least island, where we killed above a thousand of those Godetz and Apponatz. We put into our boats so many of them as we pleased, for in less than one hour we might have filled thirty such boats of them: we named them the islands of Margaulx. About five leagues from the said islands on the west, there is another island that is about two leagues in length, and so much in breadth: there did we stay all night to take in water and wood. That island is environed round about with sand, and hath a very good road about it three or four fathom deep. Those islands have the best soil that ever we saw, for that one of their fields is more worth than all the New-land. We found it all full of goodly trees, meadows, fields full of wild corn, and peason bloomed, as thick, as rank, and as fair, as any can be seen in Britaing; so that they seemed to have been ploughed and sowed. There was also great store of gooseberries, strawberries, damask roses, parsley, with other very sweet and pleasant herbs. About the said island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which have two great teeth in their mouths like unto elephant's teeth, and live also in the sea. We saw one of them sleeping upon the bank by the water, we thinking to take, went to it with our boats, but so soon as he heard us, he cast himself into the sea. We also saw bears and wolves: we named it Brion's Island. About it towards S. E. and N. W. there are great lakes. As far as I could gather and comprehend, I think that there be some passage between Newfoundland and Brion's Island: if so it were, it would be a great shortening, as well of the time as of the way, if any perfection could be found in it. About four leagues from that island towards W. S. W. is the firm land, which seemeth to be as an island encompassed about with little islands of sands. There is a goodly cape which we named Cape Dolphin, for there is the beginning of good grounds. On the 27th of June we compassed the said lands about, that lies W. S. W.: and afar off they seem to be little hills of sand, for they are but low lands, we could neither go to them, nor land on them, because the wind was against us. That day we went fifteen leagues.

The next day we went along the said land about ten leagues, till we came to a cape of red land, that is all craggy, within the which there is a break looking toward the north. It is a very low country. There is also between the sea and a certain pool, a plain field; and from the cape of land and the pool unto another cape there are about fourteen leagues. The land is fashioned as it were half a circle, all compassed about with sand like a ditch, over which as far as one's eye can stretch, there is nothing but marsh grounds and standing pools. And before you come to the first cape, very near the main land there are two little islands. About five leagues from the second cape towards the S. W. there is another island very high and pointed, which we named Alezai. The first cape named St. Peter's Cape, because upon that day we came thither.

From Brion's Island to this place there is good anchorage of sand, and having sounded towards S. W. even to the shore above five leagues, we found twenty-five fathom water, and within one league twelve fathom, and very near the shore six fathoms, rather more than less, and also good anchorage. But because we would be the better acquainted with this stony and rocky ground, we struck our sails low and athwart. The next day being the 29th the wind blew S. by E. We sailed westward until Tuesday morning the 30th at sun-rising, without any sight or knowledge of any land except in the evening towards sun-set, that we discovered a land which seemed to be two islands, that

were beyond us W.S.W. about nine, or ten, leagues. All the next day, till next morning at sun-rising we sailed westward about 40 leagues, and by the way we perceived that the land we had seen like islands, was firm land, lying S. S. E. and N. N. W. to a very good cape of land called Cape Orleans. All the said land is low and plain, and the fairest that may possibly be seen, full of goodly meadows and trees. True it is, that we could find no harbour there, because it is all full of shelves and sands. We with our boats went on shore in many places, and amongst the rest we entered into a goodly river, but very shallow, which we named the River of Boats, because there we saw boats full of wild men that were crossing the river. We had no other notice of the said wild men; for the wind came from the sea, and so beat us against the shore, that we were constrained to retire ourselves with our boats towards our ships. Till the next day morning at sun-rising being the 1st of July, we sailed N. E. in which time there rose great mists and storms, and therefore we struck our sails till two o'clock in the afternoon, that the weather became clear, and there we had sight of Cape Orleans and of another about seven leagues from us, lying N. by E. and that we called Wild Men's Cape. On the north side of this Cape about half a league, there is a very dangerous shelf and bank of stones. Whilst we were at this cape we saw a man running after our boats that were going along the coast, who made signs unto us that we should return towards the said cape again. We seeing such signs began to turn toward him, but he seeing us come began to flee: so soon as we were come on shore, we set a knife before him and a woollen girdle on a little staff, and then came to our ships again. That day we trended the said land about nine or ten leagues, hoping to find some good harbour, but it was not possible: for as I have said already it is a very low land, and invironed round about with great shelves. Nevertheless we went that day on shore in four places, to see the goodly and sweet smelling trees that were there. We found them to be cedars, yew trees, pines, and white elms, ashes, willows, with many other sorts of trees to us unknown, but without any fruit; the grounds where no wood is, are very fair, and full of peason, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, and wild corn even like unto rye, which seemed to have been sown and ploughed. This country is of better temperature than any other that can be seen, and very hot. There are many thrushes, stockdoves, and other birds. To be short, there wanteth nothing but good harbours.

The next day being the 2d July, we discovered and had sight of land on the northern side towards us, that did join unto the land aforesaid, all compassed about, and we know that it had about in depth and as much athwart: we named it St. Lunario's Bay, and with our boats we went to the cape towards the north, and found the shore so shallow, that at the space of a league from the land there was but a fathom water. On the N. E. side of the said cape, about seven or eight leagues, there is another cape of land, in the midst thereof is a bay fashioned triangle wise, very deep, and so far off as we could ken from it, the same lieth N. E. The said bay is compassed about with sands and shelves about 10 leagues from the land, and there is but two fathom water. From the said cape to the bank of the other, there is about 15 leagues. We being across the said capes, discovered another land and cape, and as far as we could ken it lay N. by E. All that night the weather was very ill, and great winds, so that we were constrained to bear a small sail till next morning, when the wind came from the west, and we sailed northward to have a sight of the land that we had left on the N. E. side above the low lands, above which high and low lands there is a gulf, in some places 55 fathom deep, and 15 leagues in breadth. By reason of the depth and breadth of the gulf, and change of the lands, we were in great hopes.

hoped that we should find a passage, like unto the passage of the Castles. The said gulf lieth E. N. E. and W. S. W. The ground that lieth on the south side of the said gulf, is as good and easy to be manured, and full of as goodly fields and meadows, as any that ever we have seen, as plain and smooth as any die : and that which lieth on the north is a country altogether hilly, full of woods and very high and great trees of sundry sorts : among the rest there are goodly cedars, and fir trees, as possibly can be seen, able to make masts for ships of 300 ton : neither did we see any place that was not full of the said trees, except two only that were full of goodly meadows, with two very fair lakes. The midst of the said bay is 47 degrees and a half in latitude.

The cape of the said south land was called the Cape of Hope, through the hope that there we had to find some passage. The 4th July we went along the coast of the said land on the northerly side to find some harbour, where we entered into a creek altogether open towards the south, where there is no succour against the wind : we thought good to name it S. Martin's Creek. There we stayed from the 4th of July until the 12th. While we were there, on Monday, being the 6th of the month, service being done, we with one of our boats went to discover a cape and point of land that on the western side was about seven or eight leagues from us, to see which way it did bend, and being within half a league of it, we saw two companies of boats of wild men going from one land to the other ; their boats were in number about 40 or 50, one part of which came to the said point, and a great number of the men went on shore making a great noise, beckoning unto us that we should come on land, shewing certain skins upon pieces of wood, but because we had but one only boat we would not go to them, but went to the other side lying in the sea : they seeing us flee prepared two of their boats to follow us, with which came also five more of them that were coming from the sea side, all which approached near unto our boat, dancing and making many signs of joy and mirth, as it were desiring our friendship, saying in their tongue Napeu tondamen assurtah, with many other words that we understood not. But because, as we have said, that we had but one boat, we would not stand to their courtesy, but made signs unto them that they should turn back, which they would not do, but with great fury came towards us, and suddenly with their boats compassed us about. And because they would not away from us by any signs that we could make, we shot off two pieces among them, which did so terrify them, that they put themselves to flight towards the said point, making a great noise : and having staid awhile, they began anew, even as at first to come to us again, and being come near to our boat, we struck at them with two lances, which thing was so great a terror unto them, that with great haste they began to flee, and would no more follow us.

The next day part of the said wild men with nine of their boats, came to the point and entrance to the creek, where we with our ships were at road. We being advertised of their coming, went to the point where they were with our boats : but so soon as they saw us, they began to flee, making signs that they came to traffick with us, shewing us such skins as they cloathe themselves withall, which are of small value. We likewise made signs unto them that we wished them no evil : and in sign thereof two of our men ventured to go on land to them, and carry them knives with other iron wares, and a red hat to give unto their captain. Which when they saw they also came on land, and brought some of their skins, and so began to deal with us ; seeming to be very glad to have our iron wares and other things, still dancing with many other ceremonies, as with their hands to cast sea water on their heads. They gave us whatsoever they had, not keeping any thing, so that they were constrained to go back again naked, and made us signs that the next day they would come again, and bring more skins with them.

Upon the 8th of the month, because the wind was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boats in a readiness to go to discover the said bay, and that day we went 25 leagues within it. The next day the wind and weather being fair, we sailed until noon, in which time we had notice of a great part of the said bay, and how that over the low lands there were other lands with high mountains: but seeing that there was no passage at all, we began to turn back again taking our way along the coast: and sailing we saw certain wild men that stood upon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smokes: we went thither and found that there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the lake, and setting our boats at one of the banks of the channel, the wild men with one of their boats came unto us, and brought us pieces of seals ready sodden, putting them upon pieces of wood: then retiring themselves they would make signs unto us, that they did give them us. We sent two men unto them, with hatchets, knives, beads, and such other like ware, whereat they were very glad; and by and by, in clusters they came to the shore, where we were, in boats, bringing with them skins and other such things as they had, to have of our wares. They were more than 300 men, women, and children, some of the women which came not over, we might see stand up to their knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the river where we were, came very friendly to us rubbing our arms with their own hands, then would they lift them up toward heaven, shewing many signs of gladness: and in such wise were we assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to traffic for whatsoever they had, till they had nothing but their naked bodies: so they gave us all, whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our religion. They go from place to place, they live only with fishing. They have an ordinary time to fish for their provision. The country is hotter than the country of Spain, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth and level. There is no place be it never so little, but it hath some trees, (yea albeit it be sandy), or else is full of wild corn, that hath an ear like unto rye: the corn is like oats, and small peason as thick as if they had been sowed and ploughed, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, white and red roses, with many other flowers of sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly meadows full of grass, and lakes wherein great plenty of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue Cochi, and a knife Bacon. We named it the Bay of Heat.

Being certified that there was no passage through the said bay, we hoisted sail and went from S. Martin's Creek on Sunday the 12th July, to go and discover further beyond the said bay, and went along the sea coast eastwards about 18 leagues, till we came to the Cape of Prato, where we found the tide very great, but shallow ground, and the sea storm so, that we were constrained to draw towards shore, between the said cape and an island lying eastward about a league from the said cape, where we cast anchor for the night. The next morning we hoisted sail to trend the said coast about, which lyeth N.N.E. but there rose such a stormy and raging wind against us, that we were restrained to come to the place again, from whence we were come. There did we stay all that day till the next that we hoisted up sail, and came to the midst of a river five or six leagues from the Cape of Prato northward, and being overathwart the said river, there arose again a contrary wind, with great fogs and storms, so that we were constrained upon the 14th to enter into the said river, and there did we stay till the 16th, looking for fair weather to come out of it; on which day the wind became so raging that one of our ships lost an anchor, and we were constrained to go up higher into the river, seven or eight leagues, into a good harbour and ground, that we with our boats found out, and through the evil weather, tempest, and darkness that was,

we staid in the said harbour till the 25th of the month, not being able to put out: in the mean time we saw a great multitude of wild men that were fishing for mackerels, whereof there is great store. Their boats were about 40, and the persons what with men, women, and children 200: which after they had hanted our company a while, they came very familiarly with their boats to the sides of our ships; we gave them knives, combs, beads of glasse, and other trifles of small value, for which they made many signs of gladness, lifting their hands up to heaven, dancing and singing in their boats. These men may very well and truly be called wild, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I think all they had together besides their boats and nets, was not worth five sours. They go altogether naked, saving their privities, which are covered with a little skin, and certain old skins which they cast upon them. Neither in nature nor in language, do they in any whit agree with them we saw first: their heads be altogether shaven, except one bush of hair, which they suffer to grow on the top of their crown, as long as a horse's tail, and then with certain leather strings bind it in a knot upon their heads. They have no other dwelling but their boats, which they turn upside down, and under them they lay themselves all along upon the bare ground. They eat their flesh almost raw, save only that they heat it a little upon some embers of coals: so do they their fish. Upon Magdalen's day, we with our boats went to the bank of the river, and freely went on shore among them, whereat they made many signs, and all their men in two or three companies began to sing and dance, seeming to be very glad of our coming. They had caused all the young women to flee into the wood, two or three excepted, that staid with them, to each of which we gave a comb, and a little bell made of tin, for which they were very glad, thanking our captain, rubbing his arms and breasts with their hands. When the men saw us give something to those that had staid, it caused all the rest to come out of the wood, to the end they should have as much as the others. These women were about 20, who altogether in a knot fell upon our captain, touching and rubbing him with their hands, according to their manner of cherishing and making much of one, who gave to each of them a little tin bell: then suddenly they began to dance and sing many songs. There we found great store of mackerels, that they had taken, upon the shore, with certain nets that they make to fish, of a kind of hemp that groweth in that place where ordinarily they abide; for they never come to the sea but only in fishing time. As far as I understand, there groweth likewise a kind of millet as big as peason, like unto that which groweth in Brasil, which they eat instead of bread. They had great store of it, they call it in their tongue Kapaige. They have also prunes (that is to say damsons) which they dry for winter as we do; they call them Honesta. They have also figs, nuts, apples, and other fruits and beans. If we shewed them any thing that they have not, nor know not what it is, shaking their heads, they will say Nohda, which is as much as to say, they have it not, nor they know it not. Of those things they have they would with signs shew us how to dress them, and how they grow. They eat nothing that has any taste of salt. They are very great thieves, for they will filch and steal whatsoever they can lay hold of, and all is fish that cometh to net.

Upon the 24th of the month we caused a fair high cross to be made of the height of 30 feet, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the said haven, in the midst whereof we hanged up a shield with three fleur de lys in it, and in the top was carved in the wood with antique letters this posie, Vive le Roi de France. Then before them all we set it upon the said point. They with great heed beheld both the making and setting of it up. So soon as it was up, we altogether kneeled down before them, with our hands towards heaven, praising God thanks. And we made signs unto them, shewing them the heavens and that

that all our salvation depended only on him which in them dwelleth: whereat they shewed a great admiration, looking first at one another, and then upon the cross. And after we were returned to our ships, their captain clad with an old bear's skin, with three of his sons, and brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boats, but they came not so near us as they were wont to do: there he made a long oration to us, shewing us the cross we had set up, and making a cross with two fingers, then did he shew us all the country about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that we should not set up any cross without his leave. His talk being ended we shewed to him an axe, faining that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listened, for by little and little he came near to our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boat, took hold on theirs, and suddenly leaped into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships whereat they were greatly astonished. But our captain did straightways assure them, that they should have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all, and entertained them very freely, making them eat and drink. Then did we shew them with signs, that the cross was but only set up to be as a light and leader which ways to enter into the port, and that we should shortly come again, and bring good store of iron wares and other things, but that we would take two of his children with us, and afterwards bring them to the said port again, and so we cloathed two of them in shirts, and coloured coats, with red caps, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented: then gave they their old cloaths to their fellows that went back again, and we gave to each one of those three that went back, a hatchet and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone and had told the news unto their fellows, in the afternoon there came to our ships six boats of them, with five or six men in every one, to take their farewells of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand, making signs that they would not remove the cross we had set up.

The next day, being the 25th of the month, we had fair weather and went from the said port: and being out of the river we sailed N. N. E. for after the entrance into the said river, the land is environed about, and maketh a bay in manner of half a circle, where being in our ships, we might see all the coast sailing behind, which we came to seek; the land lying S. E. and N. W. the course of which was distant from the river about 20 leagues.

On the 27th of the month, about sun set we went along the said land, as we have said, lying S. E. and N. W. till the 29th that we saw another cape where the land be-
ginneeth to bend toward the east. We went along about 15 leagues, then doth the land begin to turn northward. About three leagues from the said cape we sounded and found 44 fathom water. The said lands are plain, and the fairest and most without woods that we have seen, with goodly green fields and meadows. We named the said cape, S. Alvisé Cape, because that was his day; it is in 49 degrees and a half latitude. On that morning we were on the east side of the cape; and being almost night we went northward to approach near to the said land, which trendeth north and south. From S. Alvisé Cape to another called Cape Memorancy, about 15 leagues, the land be-
ginneeth to bend N. W. About three leagues from the said cape we would needs found, but we could find no ground at 150 fathom, yet went we along the said land about ten leagues to the latitude of 50 degrees. On the first of August by sun rising we had certain other lands lying N. and N. E. that were very high and craggy, and seemed to be mountains, between which were other low lands with woods and rivers: we went about the said lands as well on the one side as the other, still bending N. W. till we were either a gulf or a passage till the 5th of the month. The distance from one land to

to the other is about 15 leagues. The middle between them both is 50 deg. 20 min. in latitude. We had much ado to go five miles further the winds were so great, and the tide against us; and at five miles end we might plainly perceive land on both sides, which there beginneth to spread itself, but because we rather fell than got away against the wind, we went toward land, purposing to go to another cape of land lying southward, which was the farthermost out into the land that we could see, about five leagues from us, but so soon as we came thither, we found it to be nought else but rocks, stones, and craggy cliffs, such as we had not found any where since we had sailed southward from S. John's Cape: and then was the tide with us, which carried us against the wind westward, so that as we were sailing along the said coast, one of our boats touched a rock, and suddenly went over, but we were constrained to leap out for to direct it according to the tide.

After we had sailed along the said coast for the space of two hours, behold the tide began to turn against us with so swift and raging a course, that it was not possible for us, with 13 oars to row or get one stone's cast further: so that we were constrained to leave our boats with some of our men to guard them, and 10 or 12 men went ashore to the said cape, where we found that the land beginneth to bend S.W. which having seen we came to our boats again, and so to our ships, which were still ready under sail hoping to go forward: but for all that they were fallen more than four leagues to leeward from the place where we had left them, where so soon as we came, we assembled together all our captains, masters, and mariners, to have their advice and opinion what was best to be done: and after that every one had said, considering that the easterly winds began to bear sway and blow, and that the flood was so great we did but fall, and that there was nothing to be gotten and that storms and tempests began to reign in Newfoundland, and that we were so far from home, not knowing the perils and dangers that were behind, for either we must agree to return home again, or else to stay there all the year. Moreover we did consider that if the northern winds did take us, it were not possible for us to depart thence. All which opinions being heard and considered, we altogether determined to address ourselves homeward. Now because upon S. Peter's day we entered into the said straight, we named it S. Peter's Straight. We sounded it in many places, in some we found 150 fathom, in some 100, and near the shore 60, and clear ground. From that day till Wednesday following we had a good and prosperous gale of wind, so that we trended the said north shore E. S. E. W. N. W. for such is the situation of it, except one cape of low lands that benderh more toward the S. E. about 25 leagues from the straight. In this place we saw certain smokes that the people of the country made upon the said cape, but because the wind blew us toward the coast we went not to them, which when they saw they came with two boats and twelve men unto us, and as freely came unto our ships, as if they had been Frenchmen, and gave us to understand that they came from the great gulfe, and that Tiennot was their captain, who then was upon that cape making signs unto us, that they were going home to their countries whence we were come with our ships, and that they were laden with fish. We named the said cape, Cape Tiennot. From the said cape all the land trendeth E. S. E. and W. N. W. All these lands lie low, very pleasant, environed with sand, where the sea is intermingled with marshes and shallows, the space of 20 leagues: then doth the land begin to trend from west to E. N. E. altogether environed with islands two or three leagues from land, in which as far as we could see are many dangerous shoals more than four or five leagues from land.

From the said Wednesday until Saturday following we had a great wind from the S. W. which caused us to run E. N. E. on which day we came to the easterly parts of Newfoundland.

Newfoundland, between the granges and the double cape : there began great stormy winds coming from the east with great rage : wherefore we coasted the cape N. N. W. to search the northern parts, which is (as we have said) all environed with islands ; and being near the said islands and land, the wind turned into the south, which brought us within the said gulfe, so that the next day, being the 9th of August, we by the grace of God entered within the White Sands. And this is so much as we have discovered. After that upon the 15th of August, we altogether departed from the port of White Sands, and with a happy and a prosperous weather, we came into the middle of the sea, that is between Newfoundland and Britany. In which place we were tossed and turmoiled three days long with great storms and windy tempests coming from the east, which with the aid and assistance of God we suffered : then had we fair weather, and upon the 5th of September, in the said year, we came to the port of S. Malo whence we departed.

A SHORT AND BRIEF NARRATION
OF THE
NAVIGATION MADE BY THE COMMANDMENT OF THE KING OF FRANCE,
TO THE
ISLANDS OF CANADA, HOCHELAGA, SAGUENAY, AND DIVERS
OTHERS, WHICH NOW ARE CALLED NEW FRANCE;
WITH THE PARTICULAR CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE INHABITANTS THEREIN.*

IN the year of our Lord 1535, upon Whitsunday, being the 16th of May, by the commandment of our Captain James Cartier, and with a common accord, in the cathedral church of S. Malo, we devoutly each one confessed ourselves, and received the sacrament: and all entering into the choir of the said church, we presented ourselves before the reverend father in Christ, the Lord Bishop of S. Malo, who blessed us all, being in his bishop's robes. The Wednesday following, being the 19th of May, there arose a good gale of wind, and therefore we hoisted sail with three ships, that is to say, the Great Hermina, being in burthen, about 100 or 120 ton, wherein the aforesaid Captain James Cartier was general, and Master Thomas Frosmont chief master, accompanied with Master Claudius de Pont Briand, son to the Lord of Montceuell, and cup-bearer to the dauphin of France, Charles of Pomeraces, John Powlet, and other gentlemen. In the second ship called the Little Hermina, being of three-score ton burthen, were Captains, under the said Cartier, Mace Salobert, and Master, William Marie. In the third ship called the Hermerillon, being of 40 ton in burthen, were Captains M. William Britton and M. James Maingare. So we sailed with a good and prosperous wind, until the 20th of the said month, at which time the weather turned into storms and tempests, the which with contrary winds and darknes, endured so long, that our ships being without any rest, suffered as much as any ships that ever went on seas: so that the 25th of June, by reason of that foul and foggy weather, all our ships lost sight of one another again till we came to Newfoundland, where we appointed to meet. After we had lost one another, we in the general's ship were with contrary winds tost to and fro on the sea, until the 7th of July, upon which day we arrived at Newfoundland, and came to the island called the Island of Birds, which lyeth from the main land 14 leagues. This island is so full of birds, that all our ships might have been freighted with them, and yet from the great number that there is, it would not seem that any were taken away. We to victual ourselves filled two boats of them. This island hath the pole elevated 49 deg. 40 min. Upon the 8th of the said month we sailed further, and with a prosperous weather came to the port called the Port of White Sands, that is in the Bay called the Bay of Castels, where we had purposed to meet and stay together the 15th of the said month. In this place therefore we looked for our fellows, that is to say, the other two ships, till the 25th, on which

* Hakluyt, iii. 212.

day both came together. So soon as our fellows were come we set our ships in a readiness, taking in water, wood, and other necessities, and then on the 29th of the said month, we hoisted sail to pass on further, and sailing along the northern coast, that runneth N.E. and S.W. till we were after sun-set or thereabouts, then we crossed along two islands, which we called farther forth than the others, which we called S. William's Islands, being distant about 20 leagues or more from the port of Brest. All the coast from the Castels to that place lyeth east and west, N.E. and S.W. having between them many little islands altogether barren and full of stones, without either earth or trees, and without any valley. The next day being the 30th of July, we sailed on westward, and our other islands, which as yet we had not found, 12 leagues and a half: from which there is a great bay towards the north, all full of islands and great creeks, and some of good harbours seem to be: them we named S. Martha's Islands, from whence 12 leagues and a half into the sea, there is a dangerous shallow, wherein are five islands, which lie from S. Martha's Islands about seven leagues, as you pass into the said bay, which is east and on the west side, to which we came the said day, about an hour after noon, and from that hour until morning we sailed about 15 leagues athwart the said islands, which we named S. German's Island, south-eastward, from whence three leagues there is a very dangerous shallow. Likewise between S. German's Island and S. Martha's, about two leagues from the said islands, there lyeth a bay, upon which bank the water is but four fathom deep, and therefore feeling the danger of the shallows, we struck sail and went no further that night. The next day being the 1st of August, we went all along the coast that runneth east and west, and some of the coast easterly, which is environed about with islands and dry sands, and in this bay is a dangerous shallow.

The land from S. German's Cape to the said islands is about 17 leagues and a half, at the end of which there is a little plot of ground full of huge and high trees, albeit the rest of the coast is composed about with sands, without any sign or show of harbour, till we came to Cape Thiennot, which trendeth N.W. about seven leagues from the forest of trees, which Cape Thiennot we noted in our former voyage, and therefore we sailed westward that night W. and W.N.W. till it was day, and then the wind turned and we were therefore we went to seek a haven, wherein we might harbour our ships, and we soon hap found one for our purpose about seven leagues and a half beyond Cape Thiennot, and that we named S. Nicholas Haven; it lyeth amidst four islands that stretch out into the sea: we the nearest we for a token set up a wooden cross. But note by the way, that the wind that we brought N.E. and then bending toward it, leave it on the right hand, and the wind shall be S.W. and within the haven four. Also you shall see a little bay, which is about half a league.

All the coast from Cape Thiennot to the said haven is dangerous, albeit there are many good havens seem to be, but they are all full of islands and rocks, and without any good anchorage. We staid and rested ourselves in the said haven till the 7th of August, in which day we hoisted sail and came toward the south side toward Cape Thiennot, distant from the said haven about 12 leagues N.N.W. and S.S.W., but the next day there rose a stormy and contrary wind, which became so strong, that we could find no haven there toward the south, thence we went coasting along toward the north, beyond the aforesaid haven about ten leagues, where we found a good anchorage, full of islands, passages, and entrances towards what wind we would please to land: for the knowledge of this gulf there is a great island that stretcheth out into the sea, stretching somewhat further forth than the others, and about 12 leagues from the land there is a hill, fashioned as it were a heap of corn. We named the said gulf S. Lawrence's Bay.

The



*View of the Pease Island, a remarkable Rock,
in the Gulf of St. Lawrence*

The 12th of the said month we went from the said S. Laurence's Bay, or gulfe, sailing westward, and discovered a cape of land toward the south, that runneth west and by south, distant from the said S. Laurence's Bay about 25 leagues.

And of the two wild men we took in our former voyage, it was told us, that this was part of the southern coast, and that there was an island, on the southerly part of which, is the way to go from Honguedo (where the year before we had taken them), to Canada, and that two days journey from the said cape and island, began the kingdom of Saguenay, on the north shore extending towards Canada; and about three leagues athwart the said cape, there is 100 fathom water. Moreover, I believe there were never so many whales seen as we saw that day about the said cape.

The next day, the 15th, having passed the streight, we had notice of certain lands that we left towards the south, which lands are full of very great and high hills, and this cape we named the Island of the Assumption; and one cape of the said high countries, lyeth F. N. E. and W. S. W. the distance between which is about 25 leagues. The countries lying north may plainly be perceived to be higher than the southerly, more than 30 leagues in length.

We trended the said lands about towards the south: from the said day until Tuesday noon following, the wind came west, and therefore we bended towards the north, purposing to go and see the land that we before had spied.

Being arrived there we found the said lands, as it were, joined together and low towards the sea. And the northerly mountains that are upon the said low lands stretch east and west, and a quarter of the south. Our wild men told us, that there was the beginning of Saguenay, and that it was land inhabited, and that thence cometh the red copper, of them named Caignetdaze.

There is between the southerly lands and the northerly, about 30 leagues distance, and more than 200 fathom depth. The said men did moreover certify unto us, that there was the way and beginning of the great river of Hochelaga, and ready way to Canada, which river the farther it went, the narrower it came, even unto Canada, and that then there was fresh water, which went so far upwards, that they had never heard of any man who had gone to the head of it, and that there is no other passage but with small boats. Our captain hearing their talk, and how they did affirm no other passage to be there, would not at that time proceed any farther, till he had seen and noted the other lands and coast towards the north, which he had omitted to see from S. Laurence's Gulfe, because he would know if between the lands towards the north any passage might be discovered.

Upon the 28th of August, our captain caused his ships to wind back and bend toward the other shore; so that we trended the said northerly coast, which runneth N. E. and S. W. being fashioned like unto half a bow, and is very high land, but yet not so high as that on the south parts. The next day we came to seven very high islands, which we named the Round Islands. These islands are distant from the south shore about 40 leagues, and stretch out into the sea about three or four leagues. Against these there are goodly low grounds to be seen full of goodly trees, which we on the 30th, with our boats compassed about.

Overthwart these lands there are divers sandy shelves, more than two leagues into the sea, very dangerous, which at low water remain almost dry. At the furthest bounds of these low islands, that contain about ten leagues, there is a river of fresh water that with such swiftness runneth into the sea, that for the space of one league within it, the water is as fresh as any fountain water. We with our boats entered into the said river, at the entrance of which we found about one fathom and a half of water. There are in

this river many fishes shaped like horses, which, as our wild men told us, all the day long lie in the water, and the night on land: of which we saw therein a great number.

The next day, being the 21st of the month, by break of day we hoisted sail, and sailed so long along the said coast, that we had sight of the rest of the said northern coast, which as yet we had not seen, and of the Island of the Assumption which we went to discover, departing from the said land: which thing so done as we had done, and that we were certified no other passage to be there, we came to our ships again, which we had left at the said islands, where is a good harbour, the water being about nine or ten fathom.

In the same place by reason of contrary winds and foggy mists, we were constrained to stay, not being able either to come out of it, or hoist sail, till the 24th of the month. On which day we departed and came to a haven on the southerly coast, about 80 leagues from the said islands.

This haven is over-against three flat islands that lie amidst the river, because on the midway between those islands and the said haven toward the north there is a very great river, that runneth between the high and low lands, and more than three leagues into the sea it hath many shelves, and there is not altogether two fathom water; so that the place is very dangerous: and near unto the said shelves there is either 15 or 20 fathom from shore to shore. All the northerly coast runneth N.E. by N. and S.W. by S. The said haven wherein we staid on the south side, is as it were, but a sluice of the waters that rise by the flood, and but of small account: we named them S. John's Islets, because we found them and entered into them, the day of the beheading of that saint. And before you come to the said haven, there is an island lying eastward, about five leagues distant from the same, between which and the land there is no passage only for small boats. The haven of S. John's Islets dryeth up all the waters that rise by flowing, although they flow two fathom at the least.

The best place to harbour ships therein, is on the south part of a little island that is over-against the said haven, whereby the bank or shore of the island riseth.

Upon the first of September we departed out of the said haven, purposing to go towards Canada, and about 15 leagues from it towards the W. and W.S.W. amidst the river there are three islands, over-against the which there is a river that runneth swift, and is of a great depth, and is that which leadeth and runneth into the country and kingdom of Saguenay, as by the two wild men of Canada it was told us. This river passeth and runneth along very high and steep hills of bare stone, where very little earth is, and notwithstanding there is great quantity of sundry sorts of trees, that grow in the said bare stones, even as upon good and fertile ground, in such sort that we have seen some so great, as well would suffice to make a mast for a ship 30 ton burthen, and as green as possibly can be, growing in a stoney rock without any earth at all.

At the entrance of the said river we met with four boats full of wild men, which, as far as we could perceive, very fearfully came toward us, so that some of them went back again, and the other came as near us as easily they might hear and understand one of our wild men, who told them his name, and then took acquaintance of them, upon whose word they came to us.

The next day, the 2d September, we came out of the said river to go to Canada, and by reason of the sea's flowing, the tide was very swift and dangerous, for that on the south part of it there lie two islands, about which more than three leagues compass, lie many rocks and great stones, and but two fathom water: and the flowing amidst those islands is very unconstant and doubtful, so that if it had not been for our boats, we had

had been in great danger to lose our pinnace: and coasting along the said dry sands, here is more than 30 fathom water.

About five leagues beyond the river of Saguenay S. W. there is another island on the north side, wherein are certain high lands, and thereabouts we thought to have cast anchor, on purpose to stay the next tide, but we could sound no ground in 120 fathom, within a flight shoot from shore; so that we were constrained to wind back to the said island, where we sounded again and found 35 fathom.

The next morning we hoisted sail and went thence, sailing further on, where we had notice of a certain kind of fish never before of any man seen or known; they are about the bigness of a porpoise, yet nothing like them, of body very well proportioned, heaved like greyhounds, altogether as white as snow without any spot; within which river there is great quantity of them: they do live altogether between the sea and the fresh water. These people of the country call them Adhothuys; they told us that they be very savory and good to be eaten. Moreover they affirm none to be found elsewhere but in the mouth of that river.

The 6th of the month, the weather being calm and fair, we went about fifteen leagues more upward into the river, and there lighted on an island that looketh northward, and it maketh a little haven or creek wherein are many and innumerable great tortoises, continually lying about that island. There are likewise great quantities of the said Adhothuys, taken by the inhabitants of the country, and there is as great a current in that place as is at Bordeaux in France, at every tide. This island is in length about three leagues, and in breadth two, and is a goodly and fertile plot of ground, replenished with many goodly and great trees of many sorts; among the rest there are many filbert trees, which we found hanging full of them, somewhat bigger and better in favour than ours, but somewhat harder; and therefore we called it the Island of Filberts.

The 7th of the month, being our Lady's even, after service we went from that island, to go up higher into the river, and came to fourteen islands, seven or eight leagues from the Island of Filberts, where the country of Canada beginneth, one of which islands is ten leagues in length, and five in breadth, greatly inhabited by such men as only live by fishing of such sort of fishes as the river affordeth, according to the season of them.

After we had cast anchor between the said great island and the northerly coast, we went on land and took our two wild men with us, meeting with many of those country people, who would not at all approach unto us, but rather fled from us, until our two men began to speak unto them, telling them that they were Taignoagny and Domagaia, who so soon as they had taken acquaintance of them, began greatly to rejoice, dancing and shewing many sorts of ceremonies: and many of the chiefeft of them came to our boats, and brought many eels and other sorts of fishes, with two or three burdens of great millet, wherewith they made their bread, and many great musk melons. The same day came also many other boats, full of those countrymen and women, to see and take acquaintance of our two men, all which were as courteously received and entertained of our captain, as possibly could be: and to have them the better acquainted with him, and make them his friends, he gave them many small gifts, but of small value; nevertheless they were greatly contented with them.

The next day following, the Lord of Canada (whose proper name was Dounacona, but by the name of lord, they called him Agouhanna) with twelve boats, came to our ship, accompanied with many other people, who causing ten of his boats to go back with the other two, approached unto us with sixteen men. Then began the Agouhanna over-against the smallest of our ships, according to their manner and fashion to frame a

long oration, moving all his body and members after a strange fashion, which thing is a ceremony and sign of gladness and security among them; and then coming to the general's ship where Taignoagny and Domagaia were, he spake with them and they with him, where they began to tell and shew unto him what they had seen in France, and what good entertainment they had had: hearing which things the said lord seemed to be very glad thereof, and prayed our captain to reach him his arm, that he might kiss it, which thing he did: their lord taking it, laid it about his neck, for so they used to do when they will make much of one. Then our captain entered into Agouhanna's boat, and causing bread and wine to be brought to make the said lord and his company to eat and drink, which thing they did, and were greatly thereby content and satisfied. Our captain for that time gave them nothing, because he looked for a fitter opportunity.

These things being done, each one took leave of others, and the said lord went with his boats again to the place of his abode. Our captain then caused our boats to be set in order, that with the next tide he might go up higher into the river, to find some safe harbour for our ships: and we passed up the river against the stream about ten leagues, coasting the said island, at the end whereof we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, where by reason of the flood there is about three fathom water. This place seemed very fit and commodious to harbour our ships in, and so we did very safely; we named it the Holy Cross (Santa Croix) for on that day we came thither. Near unto it there is a village, whereof Dounacona is lord, and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona, as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seen, and therewithal very fruitful, full of goodly trees even as in France, such as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut-trees, maple-trees, cydrons, vines, and white thorns, that bring forth fruit as big as any damsons, and many other sorts of trees, under which groweth as fair tall hemp as any in France, without any seed, or any man's work or labour at all.

Having considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our captain withdrew himself on purpose to return to our ships; but behold as we were coming out of the river, we met coming against us, one of the lords of the said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others as men, women, and children, who after the fashion of their country, in sign of mirth and joy, began to make a long oration, the women still singing and dancing up to the knees in water. Our captain knowing their good will and kindness towards us, caused the boat wherein they were to come unto him, and gave them certain trifles, as knives and beads of glass, whereat they were marvellous glad, for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceived of our coming, we might hear them sing, and see them dance for all they were so far.

After we were come with our boats unto our ship again, our captain caused our barks to be made ready to go on land in the said island, to note the trees that in shew seemed so fair, and to consider the nature and quality of it: which thing we did and found it full of goodly trees like to ours. Also we saw many goodly vines, a thing not of us seen before in those countries, and therefore we named it Bacchus Island. It is in length about twelve leagues, in sight very pleasant, but full of woods, no part of it manured, unless it be in certain places, where a few cottages be, for fisher's dwellings, as before we have said. The next day we departed with our ships to bring them to the place of the Holy Cross; and the 14th of that month we came thither, and the lord Dounacona, Taignoagny and Domagaia, with twenty-five boats full of those people came to meet us, coming from the place whence we were come,

and going towards Stadacona, where their abiding is, and all came to our ships, shewing sundry and divers gestures of gladness and mirth, except those two that we had brought, to wit, Taignoagny and Domagaia, who seemed to have altered and changed their mind and purpose, for by no means would they come unto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to do it, whereupon we began to mistrust somewhat. Our captain asked them if according to promise they would go with him to Hochelaga; they answered yea, for so they had purposed, and then each one withdrew himself. The next day, the 15th, our captain went on shore, to cause certain poles and pikes to be driven into the water and set up, that the better and safer we might harbour our ships there: and many of those country people came to meet us there, among whome was Dounacona and our two men, with the rest of their company, who kept themselves aside, under a point or nook of land that is upon the shore of a certain river, and no one of them came unto us, as the other did that were not on their side. Our captain understanding that they were there, commanded part of our men to follow him, and he went to the said point where he found the said Dounacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and divers others, and after salutations given on each side, Taignoagny settled himself foremost to speak to our captain, saying that the lord Dounacona did greatly grieve and sorrow that our captain and his men did wear warlike weapons, and they not. Our captain answered, that albeit it did grieve them, yet would he not leave them off, and that (as he knew) it was the manner of France. But for all these words our captain and Dounacona left not off to speak one to another, and friendly to entertain one another. Then did we perceive that whatsoever Taignoagny spake, was only long of himself and of his fellow, for that before they departed thence, our captain and Dounacona entered into a marvellous stedfast league of friendship, whereupon all his people at once with a loud voice, cast out three great cries (a horrible thing to hear), and each one having taken leave of the other for that day, we went aboard again.

The day following we brought our two great ships within the river and harbour, where the waters being at the highest are three fathom deep, and at the lowest but half a fathom. We left our pinnace without the road to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soon as we had safely placed our ships, behold we saw Dounacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with more than 500 persons, men, women, and children, and the said lord, with ten or twelve of the chiefest of the country came aboard of our ships, who were all courteously received, and friendly entertained of our captain and of all of us: and divers gifts of small value were given them. Then did Taignoagny tell our captain that his lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any means permit that any of them should go with him, because the river was of no importance. Our captain answered him that for all his saying, he would not leave off his going thither, if by any means it were possible, for that he was commanded by his king, to go as far as possibly he could; that if he (Taignoagny) would go with him as he had promised, he should be very well entertained, besides that he should have such a gift given him, as he should well content himself: for he should do nothing else but go with him to Hochelaga and come again. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any means go; and thereupon they suddenly returned to their houses.

The next day, being the 17th of September, Dounacona and his company returned even as at the first, and brought with him many eels, with sundry sorts of other fishes, whereof they take great store in the said river, as more largely hereafter shall be shewed. And as soon as they were come to our ships, according to their wonted use, they

they began to sing and dance. This done, Dounacona caused all his people to be set on the one side, then making a round circle upon the sand, he caused our captain, with all his people to enter thereinto; then he began to make a long oration, holding in one of his hands a maiden child of ten or twelve years old, which he presented unto our captain: then suddenly began all his people to make three great shrieks or howls, in sign of joy and league of friendship; presently upon that he did present unto him, two other young male children one after another, but younger than the other at the giving of which, even as before, they gave out shrieks and howls very loud, with other ceremonies; for which presents our captain gave the said lord great and hearty thanks.

Then Taignoagny told our captain that one of the children was his own brother, and that the maiden child was daughter unto the said lord's own sister, and the presents were only given him to the end he should not go to Hochelaga at all: to whom our captain answered, that if they were only given him to that intent, it so he would, he should take them again, for that by no means he would leave his going off, for as much as he was so commanded of his king. But concerning this Domagaia told our captain that their lord had given him those children as a sign and token of goodwill and security, and that he was contented to go with him to Hochelaga, upon which talk great words arose between Taignoagny and Domagaia, by which we plainly perceived that Taignoagny was but a crafty knave, and that he intended but mischief and treason, as well by this deed, as others that we by him had seen. After that our captain caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two swords and two copper basons, the one wrought the other plain to be brought unto him, and them he gave to Dounacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yielding most hearty thanks unto our captain for them, and presently upon that he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our captain to cause a piece of artillery to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things, and also because they had never heard nor seen any before: to whom our captain answered, that he was content, and by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelve cannons charged with bullets, into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noise they were greatly astonished and amazed, for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themselves to flight, howling, crying, and shrieking, so that it seemed hell had broken loose. But before we went thence, Taignoagny caused other men to tell us, that those men which we had left in our pinnace in the road, had slain two men of their company, with a piece of ordnance that they had shot off, whereupon the rest had put themselves all to flight, as though they should all have been slain: which afterwards we found untrue, because our men had not shot off any piece at all that day.

The next day, being the 18th of September, these men still endeavoured themselves to seek all possible means to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and devised a pretty guile as hereafter shall be shewed. They went and dressed three men like devils, being wrapped in dogs skins, white and black, their faces befmeared as black as any coals, with horns on their heads more than a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boats, but came not near our ships as they were wont to do, for they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two hours, looking for the tide, to the end the boat where the devils were, might approach and come near us, which, when time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood, coming to us, but yet not so that as they were wont to do. There began Taignoagny to salute our captain, who told him, if he would have the boat to come for him; he answered, not for that time, but

but after a while he would come unto our ships ; then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit devils were, with such long horns on their heads, and the middlemost came making a long oration and passed along our ships without turning or looking towards us, but with the boat went toward the land. Then did Dounacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and devils, who, so soon as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boat, even as if they had been dead : then were they taken up and carried into the wood, not one staying behind with us, where being, they began to make a long discourse, so loud that we might hear them in our ships, which lasted about half an hour, and being ended we began to espie Taignoagny, and Domagaia coming towards us, holding their hands upwards joined together, carrying their hats under their upper garments, shewing a great admiration, and Taignoagny looking up to heaven, cried three times, *Jesus, Jesus, Jesus*, and Domagaia doing as his fellow had done before, cried, *Jesus, Maria, James Carthier*. Our captain hearing him and seeing their gestures and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew, they answered that there were very ill tidings befallen, saying in French, *Nenni est il bon*, that is to say, *it was not good* : our captain asked them again what it was ; then answered they, that their god Cudruaigny had sent him in Hochelaga, and that he had sent those three men to shew unto them, that there was so much ice and snow in that country, that whosoever went thither should die : which words when we heard, we laughed and mocked them, saying, that their god Cudruaigny was but a fool and a noddie, for he knew not what he did or said ; then bade we them shew his messengers from us, that Christ would defend them from all cold, if they would believe in him. Then did they ask of our captain if he had spoken with Jesus : he answered, no, but that his priests had, and that he had told them, that they should have fair weather : which words when they had heard they thanked our captain, and departed towards the wood to tell those news unto their fellows, who suddenly came all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words our captain had spoken, and to move that thereby they had, and felt great joy, so soon as they were before our ships they altogether gave out three great shrieks, and thereupon began to sing and dance, as they were wont to do. But for a resolution of the matter Taignoagny and Domagaia told our captain, that their lord Dounacona would by no means permit that any of them should go with him to Hochelaga, unless he would leave him some hostage to stay with him : our captain answered to them, that if they would not go with him with a good will, they should stay, but that for all them he would not leave off his journey thither.

The next day being the 19th of September we hoisted sail, and with our pinnace and two boats departed to go up the river with the flood ; where on both shores of it we began to see as goodly a country as possibly can ever with eye be seen : all replenished with very goodly trees, and vines laden as full of grapes as could be all along the river, which rather seemed to be planted by man's hand than otherwise. True it is, that because they are not dressed and wrought as they should be, their bunches of grapes are not so great nor sweet as ours. Also we saw all along the river many houses inhabited by fishers, which take all kinds of fishes, and they came with as great familiarity and kindness unto us, as if we had been their countrymen, and brought us great store of fish, with other such things as they had, which we exchanged with them for other wares, who lifting up their hands towards heaven, gave many signs of joy.

We stayed at a place called Hochelai, about 25 leagues from Canada, where the river waxeth very narrow, and runneth very swift, wherefore it is very dangerous, not

only for that, but also for certain great stones that are therein: many boats and barks came unto us, in one of which came one of the chief lords of the country, making a long discourse, who being come near us did by evident signs and gestures shew us, that the higher the river went, the more dangerous it was, and bade us take heed of ourselves. The said lord presented and gave unto our captain, two of his own children, of which our captain took one, being a wench of seven or eight years old; the man child he gave him again, because it was too young, for it was but two or three years old. Our captain as friendly and courteously as he could, did entertain and receive the said lord and his company, giving them certain small trifles, and so they departed toward the shore again. Afterward the said lord and his wife came unto Canada to visit his daughter, bringing unto our captain certain small presents.

From the 19th until the 28th of September, we sailed up along the said river, never losing one hour of time; all which time we saw as goodly and pleasant a country as possible can be wished for; full (as we have said before) of all sorts of goodly trees, that is to say, oaks, elms, walnut trees, cedars, firs, ashes, box, willows, and great store of vines, all as full of grapes as could be, so that if any of our fellows went on shore, they came home laden with them: there are likewise many cranes, swans, geese, ducks, pheasants, partridges, thrushes, blackbirds, turtles, finches, redbreasts, nightingales, sparrows of divers kinds, with many other sorts of birds even as in France, and great plenty and store.

Upon the 28th of September, we came to a great wide lake in the middle of the river five or six leagues broad and twelve long; all that day we went against the tide, having but two fathom water, still keeping the said scantling: being come to one of the heads of the lake, we could espy no passage or going out, nay, rather it seemed to have been closed and shut up round about, and there was but a fathom and a half of water, little more or less. And therefore we were constrained to cast anchor, and to stay with our pinnace, and went with our two boats to seek some going out, and in one place we found four or five branches, which out of the river come into the lake, and they came from Hochelaga. But in the said branches, because of the great fierceness and swiftness wherewith they break out, and the course of the water, they make certain bars and shoals, and at that time there was but a fathom water.

Those shoals being passed, we found four or five fathom, and as far as we could perceive by the flood, it was that time of the year that the waters are lowest, for at other times they flow higher by three fathom. All these four or five branches do compass about five or six islands very pleasant, which make the head of the lake: about fifteen leagues beyond they do all come into one.

That day we landed in one of the said islands, and met with five men, that were hunting of wild beasts, who as freely and familiarly came to our boats without any fear, as if we had ever been brought up together. Our boats being somewhat near the shore, one of them took our captain in his arms, and carried him on shore, and lightly and as easily as if he had been a child of five years old; so strong and sturdy was this fellow. We found that they had a great heap of wild rats that live in the water, as big as a coney, and very good to eat, which they gave unto our captain, who for a recompence gave them knives and glass beads. We asked them in signs if that was the way to Hochelaga, they answered yea, and that we had yet three days failing thither.

The next day our captain, seeing that for that time it was not possible for our pinnace to go on any farther, he caused our boats to be made ready, and as much munition and

and victuals to be put in them, as they could well bear : he departed with them, accompanied with many gentlemen, that is to say, Cladius of Ponte Briand, Cupbearer to the Lord Dauphin of France, Charles of Pomeraye, John Govion, John Powlet, with twenty-eight mariners, and Mace Tallobert, and William Briton, who had the charge under the captain of the other two ships, to go up as far as they could into that river : we sailed with good and prosperous weather until the 2d October, on which day we came to the town of Hochelaga, distant from the place where we had left our pinnace 45 leagues. In which place of Hochelaga, and all the way we went, we met with many of those countrymen, who brought us fish and such other victuals as they had, still dancing and greatly rejoicing at our coming. Our captain to lure them in, and to keep them our friends, to recompence them gave them knives, beads, and such small trifles, wherewith they were greatly satisfied.

So soon as we were come near Hochelaga, there came to meet us above 1000 persons, men, women, and children ; who afterward did as friendly and merrily entertain and receive us, as any father would do his child, which he had not of long time seen, the men dancing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another : after that they brought us great store of fish, and of their bread made of millet, casting them into our boats so thick, that you would have thought it to fall from heaven : which when our captain saw, he with many of his company went on shore : so soon as ever we were a-land, they came clustering about us, making very much of us, bringing their young children in their arms, only to have our captain and his company to touch them, making signs and shews of great mirth and gladness, that lasted more than half an hour. Our captain seeing their loving kindness and entertainment of us, caused all the women orderly to be set in array, and gave them beads made of tin, and other such small trifles, and to some of the men he gave knives : then he returned to the boats to supper, and so passed that night, all which while all those people stood on the shore as near our boats as they might, making great fires, and dancing very merrily, still crying Aguaize, which in their tongue signifies mirth and safety.

Our captain the next day very early in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himself, caused all his company to be set in order, to go to see the town and habitation of those people, and a certain mountain that is somewhat near the city : with whom went also five gentlemen and 20 mariners, leaving the rest to keep and look to our boats : we took with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along as we went we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be, the fairest and best country that possibly can be seen, full of as goodly great oaks as are in any wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with fair acorns.

After we had gone about four or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest lords of the city, accompanied with many more, who so soon as he saw us, beckoned and made signs upon us, that we must rest us in that place where they had made a great fire, and so we did. After that we had rested ourselves there a while, the said lord began to make along discourse, even as we have said above, they are accustomed to do in sign of mirth and friendship, shewing our captain and all his company a joyful countenance and good will, who gave him two hatchets, a pair of knives, and a cross which he made him to kiss, and then put it about his neck, for which he gave our captain hearty thanks. This done we went along, and about a mile and a half further, we began to find goodly and large fields, full of such corn as the country yieldeth : it is even as the millet of Brasil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peason, wherewith they live even as we do, with ours.

In the midst of those fields, is the city of Hochelaga, placed near, and as it were joined to a great mountain, that is tilled round about, very fertile on the top of which you may see very far, we named it Mount Royal. The city of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed like a sharp spire, but laid across above : the middlemost of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The rampires are framed and fashioned with pieces of timber, laid along on the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after their fashion : this enclosure is in height about two rods : it hath but one gate or entry thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes and bars : over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to run along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it.

There are in the town about 50 houses, about 50 paces long, and 12 or 15 broad, built all of wood, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within the said houses there are many rooms, lodgings, and chambers. In the midst of every one, there is a great court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common together ; then do the husbands, wives, and children, each one retire themselves to their chambers. They have also on the tops of their houses certain garrets, wherein they keep their corn to make their bread withal : they call it Carraconny, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They have certain pieces of wood made hollow, like those whereon we beat our hemp, and with certain beatus of wood, they beat their corn to powder ; then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreaths, then they lay them on a broad and hot stone, and then cover it with hot stones, and so they bake their bread instead of ovens. They make also sundry sorts of pottage with the said corn and also of pease and of beans, whereof they have great store, as also with other fruits, as musk mellons, and very great cucumbers. They have also in their houses certain vessels, as big as any butt or ton, wherein they preserve and keep their fish, causing the same in summer to be dried in the sun, and live therewith in winter, whereof they make great provision, as we by experience have seen. All their viands and meals are without any favour or salt at all. They sleep upon barks of trees laid all along upon the ground, being overspread with the skins of certain wild beasts, wherewith they also clothe and cover themselves. The thing most precious that they have in all the world they call Esurgny : it is as white as any snow : they take it in the said river of Cornibotz in the manner following. When any one hath deserved death, or that they take any of their enemies in wars, first they kill him, then with certain knives, they give great slashes upon their buttocks, flanks, thighs, and shoulders ; then they cast the said body, so mangled, down to the bottom of the river, in a place where the said Esurgny is, and there leave it ten, or twelve hours, then take it up again, and in the cuts find the said Esurgny or Carnibotz. Of them they made beads, and wear them about their necks, even as we do chains of gold and silver, accounting it the preciouslest thing in the world. They have this virtue and property in them, they will stop or staunch bleeding at the nose, for we have proved it.

The people are given to no other exercise, but only to husbandry and fishing for their sustenance : they have no care of any other wealth or commodity in this world, for they have no knowledge of it, and that is because they never travel and go out of their country, as those of Canada, and Saguenay do ; albeit the Canadians with eight or nine villages more along that river be subject unto them.

So soon as we were come near the town, a great number of the inhabitants thereof, came to present themselves before us after their fashion, making very much of us :
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we were by our guides brought into the midst of the town. They have in the middlemost part of their houses, a large square place, being from side to side a good stone's cast, whither we were brought, and there with signs were commanded to stay : then suddenly all the women and maidens of the town, gathered themselves together, part of which had their arms full of young children, and as many as could, came, to rub our faces, our arms, and what part of the body soever they could touch, weeping for very joy that they saw us, shewing us the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring us with their signs, that it would please us to touch their children.

That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves back, then they every one sat down on the ground round about us, as if they would have shewn or rehearsed some comedy or other shew : then presently came the women again, every one bringing a four-square mat in manner of carpets, and spreading them abroad upon the ground in that place they caused us to sit upon them. That done, the lord or king of the country was brought upon nine or ten mens' shoulders, (whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna), sitting upon a great stag's skin, and they laid him down upon the fore-said mats, near to the captain, every one beckoning unto us that he was their lord and king. This Agouhanna was a man about fifty years old ; he was no whit better apparelled than any of the rest, only excepted, that he had a certain thing made of the skins of hedgehogs, like unto a red wreath, and that was instead of his crown. He was full of the palsy, and his members shrunk together.

After he had with certain signs saluted our captain and all his company, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he shewed his legs and arms to our captain, and with signs desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with his own hands. Then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crown he had about his head, and gave it unto our captain : that done, they brought before him divers diseased men, some blind, some cripple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the hair of their eye-lids came down and covered their cheeks, and laid them all along before our captain, to the end they might of him be touched ; for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come down from heaven to heal them.

Our captain seeing the misery and devotion of this poor people, recited the Gospel of St. John, that is to say, ' In the beginning was the word ;' touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poor people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive baptism and christendom : that done he took a service book in his hand, and with a loud voice read all the passion of Christ, word by word, that all the standers-by might hear him : all which while this poor people kept silence, and were marvellously attentive, looking up to heaven, and imitating us in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another ; and to the chiefeft of them he gave hatchets, to the others knives, and to the women beads, and such other small trifles. Then where the children were, he cast rings, counters and broaches made of tin, wherewith they seemed to be very glad. That done, our captain commanded trumpets and other musical instruments to be sounded, which when they heard they were very merry. Then we took our leave and went to our boat : the women seeing that, put themselves before to stay us, and brought us out of their meats that they had made ready for us, as fish, pottage, beans, and such other things, thinking to make us eat and dine in that place : but because the meats had no savour at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signs gave them to understand that we had no need to eat.

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When we were out of the town divers of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the top of the foresaid mountain, which we named Mount Royal: it is about a league from the town. When we were on the top of it we might discern and plainly see 30 leagues about.

On the north side of it there are many hills to be seen running west and east, and as many more on the south, amongst and between the which, the country is as fair and pleasant as possibly can be seen, being level, smooth, and very plain, fit to be husbanded, and tilled; and in the midst of those fields we saw the river further up a great way than where we had left our boats, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that any where hath been seen, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discern, going S. W. along three fair and round mountains that we saw, as we judged, about 15 leagues from us. Those which brought us thither told and shewed us, that in the said river there were three such falls of water more, as that was where we had left our boats; but because we could not understand their language, we could not know how far they were one from another. Moreover they shewed us with signs that the said three falls being past, a man might sail the space of three months more along that river; and that along the hills that are on the north side, there is a great river, which (even as the other) cometh from the west: we thought it to be the river that runneth through the country of Saguenay, and without any sign or question moved or asked of them, they took the chain of our captain's whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger haft of one of our fellow mariners, hanging on his, being of yellow copper gilt, and shewed us that such stuff came from the said river, and that there be Agouionda, that is as much as to say, an evil people, who go all armed even to their fingers ends: also they shewed us the manner and making of their armour; they are made of cords, and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together.

They gave us also to understand that those Agouionda do continually war against one another, but because we did not understand them well, we could not perceive how far it was to that country.

Our captain shewed them red copper, which in their language they call Caignetadze, and looking towards that country, with signs asked them if any came from thence; they shaked their heads answered no: but they shewed us that it came from Saguenay; and that lyeth clear contrary to the other.

After we had heard and seen these things of them, we drew to our boats, accompanied with a great multitude of those people: some of them when as they saw any of our fellows weary, would take them up on their shoulders, and carry them as on horseback. So soon as we came to our boats we hoisted sail to go towards our pinnace, doubting of some mischance. Our departure grieved and displeased them very much, for they followed us along the river as far as they could. We went so fast that on Monday, being the 4th of October, we came where our pinnace was.

On the 5th we hoisted sail, and with our pinnace and boats departed from thence towards the province of Canada, to the port of the Holy Cross, where we had left our ships. The 7th day we came against a river that cometh from the north, and entered into that river, at the entrance whereof are four little islands full of fair and goodly trees: we named that river, The River of Fouetz: but because one of those islands stretcheth itself a great way into the river, our captain at the point of it caused a goodly great cross to be set up, and commanded the boats to be made ready, that with the next tide he might go up the said river, and consider the quality of it, which we did, and that day went up as far as we could; but because we found it to be of no importance, and very shallow, we returned and sailed down the river.

The 11th of October we came to the port of the Holy Cross, where our ships were, and found that the masters and mariners we had left there, had made and reared a trench before the ships, altogether closed with great pieces of timber set upright, and very well fastened together: then had they beset the said trench about with pieces of artillery and other necessary things, to shield and defend themselves from the power of all the country.

So soon as the lord of the country heard of our coming, the next day being the 12th October he came to visit us, accompanied with Taignoagny, Domagaia and many others, faining to be very glad of our coming, making much of our captain, who as friendly as he could entertain them, albeit they had not deserved it. Dounacona their lord the next day desired our captain to come and see Canada, which he promised, for on the 13th, he with all his gentlemen and fifty of his mariners very well appointed, went to visit Dounacona and his people about a league from our ships; the place where they make their abode is called Stadacona.

When we were about a stone's cast from their houses, many of the inhabitants came to meet us, being all set in a rank, and (as their custom is) the men all on one side, and the women on the other, still dancing and singing without any ceasing: and after we had saluted and received one another, our captain gave them knives and such other slight things; then he caused all the women and children to pass along before him, giving each one a ring of tin, for which they gave him hearty thanks: this done, our captain was by Dounacona and Taignoagny brought to see their houses, which (the quality considered) were very well provided, and stored with such victuals as the country yieldeth, to pass away the winter withal.

Then they shewed us the skins of five mens' heads, spread upon boards as we do use parchment. Dounacona told us that they were skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling towards the south, who continually do war against them. Moreover they told us that it was two years past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea even into the said river, in an island that lyeth over against Saguenay, where they had in the night before, as they were going a war-faring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women and children, who being all asleep in a fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round about the fort, and as they would have come out of it to save themselves, they were all slain, only five excepted, who escaped: for which loss they yet sorrowed, shewing with signs, that one day they would be revenged. That done, we came to our ships again.

This people believed no whit in God, but in one whom they called Cudruaigni: they say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall follow, whether good or bad: moreover they say that when he is angry with them he casteth dust into their eyes: they believe that when they die they go into the stars, and thence by little and little descend down into the horizon, even as the stars do, and that then they go into certain green fields, full of fair and precious trees, flowers, and fruits.

After that they had given us these things to understand, we shewed them their error, and told that their Cudruaigni did but deceive them, for he is but a devil, and an evil spirit; affirming unto them that there is but one only God, who is in heaven, and who giveth us all necessities, being the Creator of all himself, and that only we must believe in him: moreover that it is necessary for us to be baptized, otherwise we are damned into hell. These and many other things concerning our faith and religion we shewed them, all which they did easily believe, calling their Cudruaigni, Aguaida, that is to say, nought, so that very earnestly they desired and prayed our captain, that he would cause them to be baptized, and their lord, and Taignoagny and Domagaia, and all the people

people of the town came unto us hoping to be baptized : but because we did not thoroughly know their mind, and that there was nobody could teach them our belief and religion, we excused ourselves, desiring Taignoagny and Domagaia to tell the rest of their countrymen, that he would come again another time, and bring priests and chrisme with us, for without them they could not be baptized ; which they did easily believe, for Domagaia and Taignoagny had seen many children baptized in Britany whiles they were there : which promise when they heard, they seemed to be very glad.

They live in common together, and of such commodities as their country yieldeth, they are indifferently well stored. The inhabitants of the country cloathe themselves with the skins of certain wild beasts, but very miserably. In winter they wear hosen and shoes made of wild beast's skins, and in summer they go bare-footed. They keep and observe the rights of matrimony, saving that every one weddeth two or three wives, which (their husbands being dead) do never marry again, but for the death of their husbands, wear a certain black weed all the days of their life, besmearing all their faces with coal dust and grease, mingled together as thick as the back of a knife ; and by that they are known to be widows.

They have a filthy and detestable use in marrying of their maidens, and that is this ; they put them all (after they are of lawful age to marry) in a common place, as harlots, free for every man that will have to do with them, until such time as they find a match. This I say, because I have seen by experience many houses full of those damsels, even as our schools are full of children in France to learn to read. Moreover the misrule and riot that they keep in those houses is very great, for very wantonly they sport and dally together, shewing whatsoever God hath sent them.

They are no men of great labour. They dig their grounds with certain pieces of wood, as big as half a sword, on which ground groweth their corn, which they call Offici : it is as big as our small peason : there is great quantity of it growing in Brasil. They have also great store of musk mellons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, peason and beans of every colour, yet differing from ours. There groweth also a certain kind of herb, whereof in summer they make great provision for all the year, making great account of it, and only men use of it ; and first they cause it to be dried in the sun, then wear it about their necks wrapped in a little beast's skin, made like a little bag, with a hollow piece of stone or wood like a pipe : then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the ends of the said cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire upon it, at the other end suck so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney. They say that this doth keep them warm and in health : they never go without some of it about them. We ourselves have tried the same smoke, and having put it in our mouths, it seemed almost as hot as pepper.

The women of that country do labour much more than the men, as well in filling (whereto they are greatly given) as in tilling and husbanding their grounds, and other things : as well the men, as women and children, are much more able to resist cold, than savage beasts, for we with our own eyes have seen some of them, when it was coldest, (which cold was extremely raw and bitter,) come to our ships stark naked, going upon snow and ice, which thing seemeth incredible to them that have not seen it.

When as the snow and ice lyeth on the ground, they take great store of wild beasts, as fawns, stags, bears, martens, hares and foxes, with divers other sorts, whose flesh they eat raw, having first dried it in the sun or smoke, and so they do their fish. As

far forth as we could perceive and understand by these people, it were a very easy thing to bring them to some familiarity and civility, and make them learn what one would.

The said river beginneth beyond the Island of the Assumption, over against the high mountains of Hoguedo, and of the seven islands: the distance over from one side to the other is about 35 or 40 leagues: in the midst it is above 200 fathom deep. The surest way to sail upon it is upon the south side; and toward the north, that is to say, from the said seven islands, from side to side there is seven leagues distance, where are also two great rivers that come down from the hills of Saguenay, and make divers very dangerous shelves in the sea.

At the entrance of those two rivers, we saw many a great store of whales and sea-horses. Over athwart the said islands there is another little river, that runneth along those marsh grounds about three or four leagues, wherein there is great store of water fowls. From the entrance of that river to Hochelaga, there is about 300 leagues distance: the original beginning of it is in the river that cometh from Saguenay, which riseth and springeth among high and steep hills, it entereth into that river, before it cometh to the province of Canada, on the north side. That river is very deep, high, and straight, wherefore it is very dangerous for any vessel to go upon it. After that river followeth the province of Canada, wherein are many people dwelling in open boroughs and villages: there are also in the circuit and territory of Canada, along and within the said river, many other islands, some great and some small, among which there is one that containeth ten leagues in length, full of good and high trees, and also many vines. You may go into it from both sides, but yet the surest passage is on the south side.

On the shore or bank of that river westward, there is a goodly, fair, and delectable bay or creek, convenient and fit for to harbour ships; hard by there is in that river one place very narrow, deep, and swift running, but it is not passing the third part of a league, over against the which there is a goodly high piece of land, with a town therein, and the country about it is very well tilled and wrought, and as good as possibly can be seen: that is the place and abode of Dounacona, and of our two men we took in our first voyage; it is called Stradacona: but before we come to it there are four other peopled towns, that is to say, Ayraste, Starnatan, Tailla, which standeth upon a hill, Scitadin, and then Stradacona, under which town towards the north, the river and port of the Holy Cross is, where we staid from the 15th of September, until the 16th of May 1536, and there our ships remained dry as we have said before.

That place being past, we found the habitation of the people called Teguenondahi, standing upon an high mountain, and the valley of Hochelai, which standeth in a champaigne country.

All the said country on both sides the river, as far as Hochelay and beyond, is as fair and plain as ever was seen. There are certain mountains far distant from the said river, which are to be seen above the foresaid towns, from which mountains divers rivers descend, which fall into the said great river. All that country is full of sundry sorts of wood and many vines, unless it be about the places that are inhabited, where they have pulled up the trees to till and labour the ground, and to build their houses and lodgings. There is great store of stags, deer, bears, and other such like sorts of beasts, as conies, hares, martens, foxes, otters, beavers, weasels, badgers, and rats exceeding great, and divers other sorts of wild beasts. They cloathe themselves with the skins of those beasts, because they have nothing else to make them apparel withal.

withal. There are also many sorts of birds, as cranes, swans, bustards, wild geese, white and grey; ducks, thrushes, blackbirds, turtles, wild pigeons, linnets, finches, red breasts, staves, nightingales, sparrows, and other birds, even as in France. Also as we have said before, the said river is the plentifullest of fish that ever hath of any man been seen, or heard of, because from the mouth to the end of it, according to their seasons, you shall find all sorts of fresh water fish and salt. There are also many whales, porpoises, sea-horses and adholuis, which is a kind of fish that we had never seen nor heard of before. They are as great as porpoises, as white as any snow, their body and head fashioned as a greyhound, they are wont always to abide between the fresh and salt water, which beginneth between the river of Saguenay and Canada.

After our return from Hochelaga, we dealt, trafficked, and with great familiarity and love were conversant with those that dwelt nearest unto our ships, except that sometimes we had strife and contention, with certain naughty people, full fore against the will of the others. We understood of Dounacona and of others, that the said river is called the River of Saguenay, and goeth to Saguenay, being somewhat more than a league farther W. N. W. and that eight or nine days journeyes beyond, it will bear but small boats. But the right and ready way to Saguenay, is up that river to Hochelaga, and then into another that cometh from Saguenay, and then entereth into the aforesaid river, and that there is yet one month's sailing thither.

Moreover they told us and gave us to understand, that there are people clad with cloth as we are, very honest, and many inhabited towns, and that they have great store of gold and red copper: and that about the land beyond the said first river to Hochelaga and Saguenay, is an island environed round about with that and other rivers; and that beyond Saguenay the said river entereth into two or three great lakes, and that there is a sea of fresh water found, and as they have heard say of those of Saguenay, there was never man heard of that found out the end thereof; for as they told us, they themselves were never there.

Moreover they told us that where we had left our pinnace when we went to Hochelaga, there is a river that goeth S. W., from whence there is a whole month's sailing to go to a certain land, where there is neither ice nor snow seen, where the inhabitants do continually war one against another; where is great store of oranges, almonds, nuts, and apples, with many other sorts of fruits, and that the men and women are clad with beasts skins, even as they. We asked them if there were any gold or red copper, they answered no. I take this place to be toward Florida, as far as I could perceive and understand by their signs and tokens.

In the month of December we understood that the pestilence was come among the people of Stadacona, in such sort that before we knew of it, according to their confession, there were dead above fifty: whereupon we charged them neither to come near our fort, nor about our ships, or us. And albeit we had driven them from us, the said unknown sickness began to spread itself amongst us, after the strangest sort that ever was heard of or seen, insomuch that some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feet; then did their legs swell, their sinews shrink as black as any coal. Others also had all their skins spotted with spots of blood of a purple colour; then did it ascend up to their ankles, knees, thighs, shoulders, arms and neck: their mouth became stinking, their gums so rotten, that all the flesh did fall off, even to the roots of the teeth, which also did almost all fall out. With such infection did this sickness spread itself in our three ships, that about the middle of February, of 110 persons that we were, there were not ten whole, so that one could not help the other, a most horrible and pitiful case, considering the place we were in, for so much as the people of the country

would daily come before our fort, and saw but few of us. There were already eight dead, and more than fifty sick, and as we thought past all hope of recovery. Our captain seeing this our misery, and that the sickness was gone so far, ordained and commanded, that every one should devoutly prepare himself to prayer, and in remembrance of Christ, caused his image to be set upon a tree, about a slight shot from the fort amidst the ice and snow, giving all men to understand, that on the Sunday following, service should be said there, and that whosoever could go sick or whole, should go thither in procession, singing the seven psalms of David, with other litanies, praying most heartily that it would please the said our Christ to have compassion upon us. Service being done, and as well celebrated as we could, our captain there made a vow, that if it would please God to give him leave to return into France, he would go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemado.

That day Philip Rougemont, born in Amboise, died, being 22 years old, and because the sickness was to us unknown, our Captain caused him to be ripped, to see if by any means possible we might know what it was, and so seek means to save and preserve the rest of the company. He was found to have his heart white, but rotten, and more than a quart of red water about it: his liver was indifferent fair, but his lungs black and mortified, his blood was altogether shrunk about the heart; so that when he was opened great quantity of rotten blood issued out from about his heart: his milt toward the back was somewhat perished, rough as if it had been rubbed against a stone. Moreover, because one of his thighs was very black without, it was opened, but within it was whole and sound: that done, as well as we could he was buried.

In such sort did the sickness continue and increase, that there were not above three sound men in the ships, and none was able to get under hatches to draw drink for himself, nor for his fellows. Sometimes we were constrained to bury some of the dead under the snow, because we were not able to dig any graves for them, the ground was so hard frozen, and we so weak.

Besides this we did greatly fear that the people of the country would perceive our weakness and misery, which to hide, our captain, whom it pleased God always to keep in health, would go out with two or three of the company, some sick and some whole; whom when he saw out of the fort, he would throw stones at them and chide them, feigning that so soon as he came again, he would beat them, and then with signs shew the people of the country that he caused all his men to work and labour in the ships, some in caulking them, some in beating of chalk, some in one thing and some in another, and that he would not have them come forth until their work was done; and to make his tale seem true and likely, he would make all his men whole and sound, to make a great noise, with knocking sticks, stones, and hammers, and other things together: at which time we were so oppressed and grieved with that sickness, that we had lost all hope ever to see France again, if God in his infinite goodness and mercy had not with his pitiful eye looked upon us, and revealed a singular and excellent remedy against all diseases unto us, the best that ever was found upon earth, as hereafter shall follow.

From the midst of November until the midst of March, we were kept in amidst the ice above two fathoms thick, and snow above four feet high and more, higher than the sides of our ships, which lasted till that time, in such sort, that all our drinks were frozen in the vessels, and the ice through all the ships was about a hand-breadth thick, as well above hatches as beneath, and so much of the river as was fresh, even to Hochelaga was frozen; in which space there died 25 of our best and chiefest men, and all the rest were so sick that we thought they should never recover again, only three or four excepted.

Our captain considering our estate (and how that sickness was increased and not amongst us) one day went forth of the fort, and walking upon the ice, he saw a troop of those countrymen coming from Stradacona, amongst which was Domagaia, who not passing ten or twelve days before, had been very sick of that disease, and had his knee swollen as big as a child two years old, all his sinews shrunk together, his teeth spoiled, his gums rotten and stinking. Our captain seeing him whole and sound, was thereat marvellous glad, hoping to understand and know of him how he had healed himself, to the end he might ease and help his men. So soon as they were come near him, he asked Domagaia how he had done to heal himself. He answered that he had taken the juice and sap of the leaves of a certain tree, and therewith had healed himself; for it was a singular remedy against that disease: then our captain asked of him if any were to be had thereabout, desiring him to shew him, for to heal a servant of his, who whilst he was in Canada with Dounacona, was stricken with that disease. That he did because he would not shew the number of his sick men. Domagaia straight sent two women to fetch some of it, which brought ten or twelve branches of it, and therewithal he shewed the way how to use it, and that is thus, to take the bark and leaves of the said tree, and boil them together, then to drink of the said decoction every other day, and to put the dregs of it upon his legs that is sick. Moreover, they told us that the virtue of the tree was, to heal any other disease. The tree is in their language called Ameda, or Hanneda, this is thought to be the saffrafras tree.

Our captain presently caused some of that drink to be made for his men to drink of it, but there was none durst taste of it, except one or two, who ventured the drinking of it, only to taste and prove it: the others seeing that, did the like, and presently recovered their health, and were delivered of that sickness, and what other disease soever, in such sort, that there were some had been diseased and troubled with the French pox four or five years, and with this drink were clean healed.

After this medicine was found and proved to be true, there was such strife about it, who should be first to take of it, that they were ready to kill one another, so that a tree as big as any oak in France, was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or six days, and it wrought so well, that if all the physicians of Mountpellier and Lovaine had been there, with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done so much in one year, as that tree did in six days, for it did so prevail, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God recovered their health.

While that disease lasted in our ships, the Lord Dounacona, Taignoagny, with many others went from home, feigning that they would go to catch stags and deer, because the ice and snow was so broken along the river that they could sail: it was told us of Domagaia and others, that they would stay out but a fortnight, and we believed it, but that they staid above two months, which made us mistrust that they had been gone to raise the country to come against us, and do some displeasure, we seeing ourselves so weak and faint. Albeit we had used such diligence and policy in our fort, that if all the power of the country had been about it, they could have done nothing but look upon us: and whilst they were forth, many of the people came daily to our ships, and brought us fresh meat, as stags, deer, fishes, and many other things, but held them at such an excessive price, that rather than they would sell them any thing cheap, many times they would carry them back again, because that year the winter was very long, and they had some scarcity and need of them.

On the 21st day of April, Domagaia came to the shore side, accompanied with divers lusty and strong men, such as we were not wont to see, and told us that their lord Douna-

cona would the next day come and see us, and bring great store of deer's flesh, and other things with him. The next day he came and brought a great number of men to Stadacona, to what end, and for what cause we knew not; but (as the proverb saith) he that takes heed and shields himself from all men, may hope to escape from some: for we had need to look about us, considering how in number we were diminished, and in strength greatly weakened, both by reason of our sickness, and also of the number slain were dead, so that we were constrained to leave one of our ships in the port of the Holy Cross.

Our captain was warned of their coming, and how they had brought a great number of men with them, for Domagaia came to tell us, and durst not pass the river that was betwixt Stadacona and us, as he was wont to do, whereupon we mistrusted some treason. Our captain seeing this sent one of his servants to them, accompanied with John Poulet, being best beloved of those people, to see who were there, and what they did. The said Poulet and the other feigned themselves only come to visit Dounacona, and bring him certain presents, because they had been together a good while in the said Dounacona's town. So soon as he heard of their coming he got himself to bed, feigning to be very sick: that done, they went to Taignoagny's house to see him, and wheresoever they went, they saw so many people, that in a manner one could not stir for another, and such men as they were never wont to see. Taignoagny would not permit our men to enter into any other houses, but still kept them company, and brought them half way to their ships, and told them that if it would please our captain to shew him so much favour as to take a lord of the country, whose name was Agouna, of whom he had received some displeasure, and carry him with him into France, he should therefore for ever be bound unto him, and would do for him whatever he command him, and bade the servant come again the next day, and bring an answer.

Our captain being advertised of so many people that were there, not knowing to what end, purposed to play a pretty prank, that is to say, to take their lord Dounacona, Taignoagny, Domagaia, and some more of the chiefest of them prisoners, inasmuch as before he had purposed, to bring them into France, to shew unto our king, what he had seen in those western parts, and marvels of the world, for that Dounacona had told us, that he had been in the country of Saguen, in which are infinite rubies, gold, and other riches, and that there are white men, who cloathe themselves with woollen cloth, even as we do in France. Moreover, he reported that he had been in another country of a people called Picquemians, and other strange people. The said lord was an old man, and even from his childhood had never left off nor ceased from travelling into strange countries, as well by water, and rivers, as by land.

The said Poulet and the other having told our captain their embassy, and shewed him what Taignoagny's will was, the next day he sent his servant again to bid Taignoagny come and see him, and shew what he should, for he should be very well entertained, and also part of his will should be accomplished. Taignoagny sent him word that the next day he would come, and bring the Lord Dounacona with him, and him which had so offended him, which he did not, but staid two days, in which time none came from Stadacona to our ships as they were wont to do, but rather fled from us, as if we would have slain them, so that then we plainly perceived their knavery.

But because they understood that those of Sidatin did frequent our company, and that we had forsaken the bottom of a ship which we would leave to have the old nails out of it; the third day following they came from Stadacona, and most of them without difficulty did pass from one side of the river to the other with small skiffs: but Dounacona would not come over. Taignoagny and Domagaia stood talking together about

an hour before they would come over ; at last they came to speak with our captain. There Taïgnoagny prayed him that he would cause the foresaid man to be taken and carried into France. Our captain refused to do it, saying that his king had forbidden him to bring any man or woman into France, only that he might bring two or three young boys to learn the language, but that he would willingly carry him to Newfoundland, and there leave him in an island. Our captain spake this only to assure them, that they should bring Dounacona with them, whom they had left on the other side : which words when Taïgnoagny heard, he was very glad, thinking he should never return into France again, and therefore promised to come the next day, which was the day of the Holy Cross, and to bring Dounacona and all his people with him.

The third of May, being Holyrood Day, our captain for the solemnity of the day, caused a goodly fair cross of 35 feet in height to be set up, under the crosset of which he caused a shield to be hanged, wherein were the arms of France, and over them was written in antique letters, "Franciscus primus Dei gratia Francorum Rex regnat." And upon that day about noon, there came a great number of the people of Stadocana, men, women, and children, who told us that their Lord Dounacona, Taïgnoagny, and Domagaia were coming, whereof we were very glad, hoping to retain them. About two o'clock in the afternoon they came, and being come near our ships, our captain went to salute Dounacona, who also shewed him a merry countenance, albeit very fearfully his eyes were still bent towards the wood. Shortly after came Taïgnoagny, who bade Dounacona that he should not enter into our fort, and therefore fire was brought forth by one of our men and kindled where their lord was. Our captain prayed him to come into our ships, to eat and drink as he was wont to do, and also Taïgnoagny, who promised that after a while he would come, and so they did and entered into our ships, but first it was told our captain by Domagaia, that Taïgnoagny had spoken ill of him, and that he had bid Dounacona he should not come aboard our ships. Our captain perceiving that came out of the fort, and saw that only by Taïgnoagny's warning the women ran away, and none but men staid in great number, wherefore he straight commanded his men to lay hold on Dounacona, Taïgnoagny, Domagaia, and two more of the chiefest whom he pointed unto ; then he commanded them to make the other to retire. Presently after the said lord entered into the fort with the captain, but by and by Taïgnoagny came to make him come out again.

Our captain seeing that there was no other remedy, began to call unto them to take them, at whose cry and voice all his men came forth, and took the said lord, with the others whom they had appointed to take. The Canadians seeing their lord taken, began to run away, even as sheep before the wolf, some crossing over the river, some through the woods, each one seeking for his own advantage. That done we retired ourselves, and laid up the prisoners under good guard and safety.

The night following they came before our ships (the river being betwixt us) striking their breasts, and crying and howling like wolves, still calling Agouhanna, thinking to speak with him, which our captain at that time would not permit, neither all the next day till noon, whereupon they made signs unto us that we had hanged or killed him. About noon there came as great a number in a cluster, as ever we saw, who went to hide themselves in the forest, except some, who with a loud voice would call and cry to Dounacona to speak unto them. Our captain then commanded Dounacona to be brought up on high to speak unto them, and bade him be merry, for after he had spoken, and shewed unto the King of France, what he had seen in Sanguenay and other countries, after ten or twelve months he should return again, and that the King of France would give him great rewards ; whereat Dounacona was very glad, and speaking to

to the others told them, who in token of joy gave out three great cries, and then Dounacona and his people had great talk together, which for want of interpreters cannot be described. Our captain bade Dounacona that he should cause them to come to the other side of the river, to the end that they might the better talk together without any fear, and that he should assure them : which Dounacona did, and there came a boat full of the chiefeft of them to the ships, and there anew began to talk together, giving great praise to our captain, and gave him a present of 24 chains of esurgny, for that is the greatest and preciousst riches they have in this world, for they esteem more of that, than of any gold or silver.

After they had long talked together, and that their lord saw there was no remedy to avoid his going into France, he commanded his people the next day, to bring him some victuals to serve him by the way. Our captain gave Dounacona as a great present, two frying pans of copper, eight hatchets, and other small trifles, as knives and beads, whereof he seemed to be very glad, who sent them to his wives and children. Likewise he gave to them who came to speak to Dounacona ; they thanked him greatly for them, and then went to their lodgings.

Upon the 5th of May very early in the morning a great number of the said people came again to speak unto their lord, and sent a boat, which in their tongue they call *casnoni*, wherein were only four women without any man, for fear their men should be retained.

These women brought great store of victuals, as great millet, which is their corn that they live withall, flesh, fish, and other things after their fashion.

These women being come to our ships, our captain did very friendly entertain them. Then Dounacona prayed our captain to tell those women that he should come again after ten or twelve months, and bring Dounacona to Canada with him : this he said only to appease them, which our captain did. Wherefore the women as well by words as signs, seemed to be very glad, giving our captain thanks, and told him if he came again, and brought Dounacona with him, they would give him many things : in sign whereof each one gave our captain a chain of esurgny, and then passed to the other side of the river again, where stood all the people of Stradacona, who taking all leave of their lord went home again.

On the 6th of the month we departed out of the said port of Santa Croix, and came to harbour a little beneath the Islands of Orleans, about 12 leagues from the port of the Holy Cross, and on the 7th we came to the Island of Filberts, where we staid until the 16th of that month, till the fierceness of the waters were past, which at that time ran too swift a course, and were too dangerous to come down along the river, and therefore we stayed till fair weather came. In the mean while many of Dounacona's subjects came from the river of Saguenay to him, and being by Domagaia advertised, that their lord was taken to be carried into France, they were all amazed : yet for all that they would not leave to come to our ships, to speak to Dounacona, who told them that after twelve months he should come again, and that he was very well used by the captain, gentlemen, and mariners : which when they heard they greatly thanked our captain, and gave their lord three bundles of beavers, and sea wolves skins, with a great knife of red copper, that cometh from Saguenay, and other things : they gave also to our captain a chain of esurgny, for which our captain gave them 10 or 12 hatchets, and they gave him hearty thanks and were very well contented.

On the 16th we hoisted sail, and came from the said Island of Filberts to another about 15 leagues from it, which is about five leagues in length, and there, to the end we might take some rest the night following, we stayed that day, in hopes the next day

day we might pass and avoid the dangers of the river of Saguenay, which are great. That evening we went aland and found great store of hares, of which we took a great many, and therefore we called it the Island of Hares: in the night there arose a contrary wind; with such storms and tempests that we were constrained to return to the Island of Filberts again, from whence we were come, because there was none other passage among the said islands, and there we stayed till the 21st of that month, till fair weather and good wind came again: and then we sailed again and that so prosperously, that we passed to Honguedo, which passage until that time had not been discovered.

We caused our ship to course athwart Cape Pratt, which is the beginning of the port of Chaleur, and because the wind was good and convenient, we sailed all day and all night without staying, and the next day we came to the middle of Brion's Island, which we were not minded to do, to the end we might shorten our way.

These two islands lie N. W. and S. E. and are about 50 leagues one from another. The said island is in lat. 47 deg. and a half.

On the 26th of the month, we coasted over to a land, and shallow of low lands, which are about eight leagues S. W. from Brion's Island, above which are large champagnes, full of trees, and also an enclosed sea, whereas we could neither see nor perceive any gap or way to enter thereinto.

On the 27th, because the wind did change on the coast, we came to Brion's Island again, where we staid till the beginning of June, and toward the S. E. of this island we saw a land, seeming unto us as an island; we coasted it about two leagues and a half, and by the way we had notice of three other high islands lying towards the sands: after we had known these things we returned to the cape of the said land, which doth divide itself into two or three very high capes: the waters there are very deep, and the flood of the sea runneth so swift, that it cannot possibly be swifter. That day we came to Cape Loreine, which is in 47 deg. and half towards the south: on which cape there is a low land, and it seemeth that there is some entrance of a river, but there is no haven of any worth. Above these lands we saw another cape towards the south, we named it Saint Paul's Cape, it is at 47 deg. and a quarter.

On the 4th of June, we had notice of the coast lying E. S. E. distant from the Newfoundland about 22 leagues: and because the wind was against us, we went to a haven, which we named S. Spiritus Port, where we staid till the 7th, that we departed thence, sailing along the coast until we came to St. Peter's Islands.

We found along the said coast many very dangerous islands and shelves, which lie all in the way E. S. E. and W. N. W. about 23 leagues into the sea. Whilst we were in the said St. Peter's Islands, we met with many ships of France and of Britain: we staid there from the 11th till the 16th of the month, that we departed thence and came to Cape Rase, and entered into a port called Rognoso, where we took in fresh water and wood to pass the sea; there we left one of our boats. Then upon the 19th June, we went from that port, and with such good and prosperous weather we sailed along the sea, in such sort, that upon the 6th July 1536, we came to the port of St. Malo, by the grace of God, to whom we pray, here ending our navigation.

They of Canada say, that it is a month's sailing to go to a land where cinnamon and cloves are gathered.

The Third Voyage of Discovery made by Captain James Cartier, 1540, unto the Countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay.

KING Francis the First having heard the report of Captain Cartier, his Pilot General, in his two former voyages of discovery, as well by writing as by word of mouth, touching that which he had found and seen in the western parts discovered by him in the parts of Canada and Hochelaga, and having also seen and talked with the people, which the said Cartier had brought out of those countries, whereof one was King of Canada, whose name was Dounacona, and others : which after that they had been a long time in France and Britain, were baptised at their own desire and request, and died in the said country of Britain. And albeit his Majesty was advertised by the said Cartier of the death and decease of all the people which were brought over by him (which were 10 in number), saving one little girl about 10 years old ; yet he resolved to send the said Cartier his pilot thither again, with John Francis de la Roche, Knight, Lord of Roberval, whom he appointed his lieutenant and governor in the countries of Canada and Hochelaga, and the said Cartier captain-general, and leader of the ships, that they might discover more than was done before in the former voyages, and attain (if were possible) unto the knowledge of the country of Saguenay, whereof the people brought by Cartier, as is declared, made mention unto the king, that there were great riches and very good countries. And the king caused a certain sum of money to be delivered, to furnish out the said voyage with five ships, which thing was performed by the said Monsieur Roberval and Cartier. After that they had agreed together to rig the said five ships at St. Malo in Brittainy, where the two former voyages had been prepared and set forth.

And the said Monsieur Roberval sent Cartier thither for the same purpose. And after that Cartier had caused the said five ships to be built and furnished, and set in good order, Monsieur Roberval came down to St. Malo, and found the ships fallen down to the road, with their yards across full ready to depart and set sail, staying for nothing else but the coming of the general, and the payment of the furniture. And because Monsieur Roberval the king's lieutenant, had not as yet his artillery, powder, and munitions, and other things necessary come down, which he had provided for the voyage in the countries of Champagne and Normandy, and because the said things were very necessary, and that he was loth to depart without them, he determined to depart from St. Malo to Roan, and to prepare a ship or two at Honfleur, whither he thought his things were come. And that the said Cartier should depart with the said five ships which he had furnished, and should go before.

Considering also that the said Cartier had received letters from the king, whereby he did expressly charge him to depart and set sail immediately upon the sight and receipt thereof, on pain of incurring his displeasure, and to lay all the fault upon him. And after the conclusion of these things, and the said Monsieur Roberval had taken muster and view of the gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners, which were retained and chosen for the performance of the said voyage, he gave unto Captain Cartier full authority to depart and go before, and to govern all things as if he had been there in person ; and himself departed for Honfleur to make his farther preparation.

After these things thus dispatched, the wind coming fair, the foresaid five ships set sail together well furnished and victualled for two years, the 22nd of May 1540. And we sailed so long with contrary winds and continual torments, which fell out by reason

of our late departure, that we were on the sea with our said five ships, full three months before we could arrive at the haven and port of Canada, without ever having in all that time 30 hours of good wind to serve us to keep our right course : so that our five ships through those storms lost company one of another, all save two that kept together, to wit, that wherein the captain was, and the other wherein went the Viscount of Beauprè, until at length at the end of one month, we met altogether at the haven of Carpont in Newfoundland.

But the length of time we were in passing between Britany and Newfoundland, was the cause that we stood in great need of water, because of the cattle, as well goats, hogs, as other beasts which we carried for breed in the country, which we were constrained to water with cyder and other drink.

Now therefore because we were the space of three months failing on the sea, and staying in Newfoundland, waiting for Monsieur Roberval, and taking in of fresh water, and other things necessary, we arrived not before the haven of Sante Croix in Canada (where in the former voyage we had remained eight months), until the 23d day of August. In which place the people of the country came to our ships, making shew of joy for our arrival, and namely he came thither, which had the rule and government of the country of Canada, named Agona, which was appointed king there by Dounacona, when in the former voyage we carried him into France : and he came to the captain's ship with six or seven boats, and with men, women and children.

And after the said Agona had enquired of the captain, where Dounacona and the rest were, the captain answered him that Dounacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest staid there as great lords, and were married, and would not return back unto their country. The said Agona made no shew of anger at all these speeches, and I think he took it so well, because he remained lord and governor of the country by the death of the said Dounacona. After which conference the said Agona took a piece of tanned leather of a yellow skin, edged about with esnoguy, (which is their riches, and the thing which they esteem most precious, as we esteem gold), which was upon his head instead of a crown, and he put the same upon the head of our captain, and took from his wrists two bracelets of esnoguy, and put them upon the captain's arms, colling him about the neck, and shewing unto him great signs of joy : which was all dissimulation, as afterward it well appeared. The captain took his said crown of leather, and put it again upon his head, and gave him and his wives certain small presents, signifying unto him, that he had brought certain new things, which afterwards he would bestow upon him. For which the said Agona thanked the captain. And after that he had made him and his company eat and drink, they departed and returned to the shore with their boats.

After which things the said captain went with two of his boats up the river, beyond Canada and the port of Sante Croix, to view a haven and a small river which is about four leagues higher ; which he found better and more commodious to ride in and lay his ships, than the former. And therefore he returned and caused all his ships to be brought before the said river, and at a low water he caused his ordnance to be planted to place his ships in more safety, which he meant to keep and stay in the country, which were three : which he did the day following, and the rest remained in the road in the midst of the river, (in which place the victuals and other furniture were discharged, which they had brought) : from the 26th August, until the 2d September, what time they departed to return to St. Malo, in which ships he sent back Mace Iolloberte, his brother in law, and Stephen Noel, his nephew, skilful and excellent pilots, with letters unto the king, and to advise him what had been done and found : and how

Monseigneur

Monſieur de Roberval was not yet come, and that he feared that by occaſion of contrary winds and tempeſts he was driven back again into France.

The ſaid river is ſmall, not paſt 50 paces broad, and ſhips drawing three fathoms water may enter in at full ſea : and at a low water there is nothing but a channel of a foot deep or thereabout.

On both ſides of the ſaid river there are very good and fair grounds, full of as fair and mighty trees as any be in the world, and divers ſorts which are about ten fathoms higher than the reſt, and there is one kind of tree above three fathoms about, which they in the country call Hanneda, which hath the moſt excellent virtue of all the trees in the world, whereof I will make mention hereafter. Moreover there are great ſtore of oaks, the moſt excellent that ever I ſaw in my life, which were ſo laden with maſt that they cracked again : beſides this there are fairer arables, cedars, beeches, and other trees, than grow in France ; and hard unto this wood on the ſouth ſide the ground is all covered with vines, which we found laden with grapes as black as mulberries, but they be not ſo kind as thoſe of France becauſe the vines be not tilled, and becauſe they grow of their own accord. Moreover there are many white thorns, which bear leaves as big as oaken leaves, and fruit like unto medlars. To be ſhort, it is as good a country to plough and manure as a man ſhould find and deſire.

We ſowed feeds here of our country, as cabbages, turnips, lettuces, and others, which grew and ſprung up out of the ground in eight days.

The mouth of the river is towards the ſouth, and it windeth northward like unto a ſnake ; and at the mouth of it towards the eaſt there is a high and ſteep cliff, where we made a way in manner of a pair of ſtairs, and aloft we made a fort to keep the nether fort and the ſhips, and all things that might paſs as well by the great as by this ſmall river.

Moreover a man may behold a great extension of ground apt for tillage, ſtraight and handſome and ſomewhat inclining towards the ſouth, as eaſy to be brought to tillage as I would deſire, and very well replenished with fair oaks and other trees of great beauty, no thicker than the forests of France.

Here we ſet 20 men to work, which in one day had laboured about an acre and a half of the ſaid ground, and ſowed it, part with turnips, which at the end of eight days as I ſaid before ſprung out of the earth. And upon that high cliff we found a fair fountain, very near the ſaid fort ; adjoining whereunto we found good ſtore of ſtones, which we eſteemed to be diamonds.

On the other ſide of the ſaid mountain and at the foot thereof, which is towards the great river, is all along a goodly mine of the beſt iron in the world, and it reacheth even hard unto our fort, and the land which we tread on is perfect refined mine, ready to be put into the furnace ; and on the water's ſide we found certain leaves of fine gold, as thick as a man's nail. And weſtward of the ſaid river there are, as hath been ſaid, many fair trees ; and toward the water a goodly meadow, full of as fair and goodly graſs as ever I ſaw in any meadow in France : and between the ſaid meadow and the wood are great ſtore of vines, and beyond the ſaid vines the land groweth full of hemp, which groweth of itſelf, which is as good as poſſibly may be ſeen, and as ſtrong. And at the end of the ſaid meadow, within 100 paces, there is a riſing ground which is of a kind of ſlateſtone, black and thick, wherein are veins of mineral matter, which ſhew like gold and ſilver : and throughout all that ſtone, there are great grains of the ſaid mine. And in ſome places we have found ſtones like diamonds, the moſt fair, poliſhed, and excellently cut that it is poſſible for a man to ſee ; when the ſun ſhineth upon them, they glifter as it were ſparkles of fire.

The said captain having dispatched two ships to return to carry news, according as he had in charge from the king, and that the fort was begun to be builded, for preservation of their victuals and other things, determined with the Viscount of Beauprè, and other gentlemen, masters and pilots chosen for counsel, to make a voyage with two boats furnished with men and victuals to go as far as Hochelaga, of purpose to view and understand the fashion of the faults of water, which are to be passed to go to Saguenay, that he might be the readier in the spring to pass farther, and in the winter time to make all things needful in a readines for their business.

The foresaid boats being made ready, the captain and Martin de Painpont, with other gentlemen and the remnant of the mariners, departed from the said place of Charlebourg Royal the 7th September in the year aforesaid 1540. And the Viscount de Beauprè staid behind for the guarding and governing all things in the fort.

And as they went up the river the captain went to see the lord of Hochelay, which dwelleth between Canada and Hochelaga; which in the former voyage had given unto the said captain a little girl, and had oftentimes informed of the treasons which Taig-noagny and Domagaia (whom the captain in his former voyage had carried into France) would have wrought against him: in regard of which his courtesy the said captain would not pass by without visiting of him, and to let him understand that the captain thought himself beholden unto him, he gave unto him two young boys, and left them with him to learn their language, and bestowed upon him a cloak of Paris red, which cloak was set with yellow and white buttons of tin, and small bells, and withall he gave him two basons of laton, and certain hatchets and knives. Whereat the said lord seemed highly to rejoice, and thanked the captain. This done, the captain and his company departed from that place.

And we sailed with so prosperous a wind, that we arrived the 11th day of the month at the first fault of water, which is two leagues distant from the town of Tutonaguy. And after we were arrived there, we determined to go and pass as far up as possible with one of the boats, and that the other should stay there till it returned, and we double manned her to row up against the course or stream of the said fault.

And after we had passed some part of the way from our other boat, we found bad ground and great rocks, and so great a current, that we could not possibly pass any farther with our boat: and the captain resolved to go by land to see the nature and fashion of the fault.

And after that we were come on shore, we found hard by the water side a way and beaten path, going towards the said faults, by which we took our way. And on the said way, and soon after, we found an habitation of people, which made us great cheer, and entertained us very friendly. And after that he had signified unto them, that we were going towards the faults, and that we desired to go to Saguenay, four young men went along with us to shew us the way, and they brought us so far that we came to another village or habitation of good people, which dwell over against the second Sault, which came and brought us of their victuals, as pottage and fish, and offered us of the same.

After that the captain had enquired of them, as well by signs as words, how many more faults we had to pass to go to Saguenay, and what distance and way it was thither, this people shewed us, and gave us to understand, that we were at the second Sault, and that there was but one more to pass, that the river was not navigable to go to Saguenay, and that the said fault was but a third farther than we had travelled, shewing us the same with certain little sticks, which they laid upon the ground in a certain distance, and afterwards laid other small branches between them both, representing the faults:

faults : and by the said mark, if their saying be true, it can be but six leagues by land to pass the said faults.

After that we had been advertised by the said people, of the things above mentioned, both because the day was far spent, and we had neither drank nor eaten the same day, we concluded to return unto our boats, and we came thither where we found great store of people, to the number of 400 persons or thereabout, which seemed to give us very good entertainment, and to rejoice of our coming : and therefore our captain gave each of them certain small trifles, as combs, broaches of tin and copper, and other small toys ; and unto the chief men, every one his little hatchet and hook, whereat they made certain cries and ceremonies of joy.

But a man must not trust them for all their fair ceremonies and signs of joy, for if they had thought they had been too strong for us, then would they have done their best to have killed us, as we understood afterward.

This being done, we returned with our boats, and passed by the dwelling of the lord of Hochelay, with whom the captain had left the two youths as he came up the river, thinking to have found him : but he could find nobody save one of his sons, who told the captain that he was gone to Maïfouna, as our boys also told us, saying, that it was two days since he departed. But in truth he was gone to Canada, to conclude with Agona what they should do against us.

And when we were arrived at our fort, we understood by our people that the savages of the country came not any more about our forts as they were accustomed, to bring us fish, and that they were in a wonderful doubt and fear of us. Wherefore our captain having been advertised by some of our men which had been at Stadacona to visit them, that there were a wonderful number of the country people assembled together, caused all things in our fortress to be set in good order, &c.

[The rest is wanting.]

A Letter written to M. John Growte, Student in Paris, by Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the Nephew of Jaques Cartier, touching the foresaid discovery.

MASTER Growte, your brother-in-law Giles Walter, shewed me this morning a map printed at Paris, dedicated to one M. Hakluyt, an English gentleman, wherein all the West Indies, the kingdom of New Mexico, and the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay are contained. I hold that the river of Canada, which is described in that map, is not marked as it is in my book, which is agreeable to the book of Jaques Cartier : and that the said chart doth not mark or set down The Great Lake, which is above the faults, according as the savages have advertised us, which dwell at the said faults. In the foresaid chart, which you sent me hither, the Great Lake is placed too much toward the north. The faults or falls of the river stand in 44 degrees of latitude : it is not so hard a matter to pass them, as it is thought. The water falleth not down from any high place, it is nothing else but that in the midst of the river there is bad ground. It were best to build boats above the faults ; and it is easy to march or travel by land to the end of the three faults : it is not above five leagues journey. I have been upon the top of a mountain, which is at the foot of the faults, where I have seen the said river beyond the said faults, which shewed unto us to be broader than it was where we passed it. The people of the country advertised us, that there are ten days journey from the faults unto this great lake. We know not how many leagues they make to a day's journey. At this present I cannot write unto you

you more at large, because the messenger can stay no longer. Here therefore for the present I will end, saluting you with my hearty commendations, praying God to give you your heart's desire. From S. Malo in haste this 19th day of June 1587.

Your loving friend,

JAQUES NOEL.

Cousin I pray you do me so much pleasure as to send me a book of the discovery of New Mexico, and one of those new maps of the West Indies dedicated to M. Hakluyt the English gentleman, which you sent to your brother in law Giles Walter. I will not fail to inform myself, if there be any mean to find out those descriptions which Captain Cartier made after his two last voyages into Canada.

Underneath the aforesaid imperfect Relation that which followeth is written in another Letter sent to M. John Growte, Student in Paris, from Jaques Noel of S. Malo, the Grand Nephew of Jaques Cartier.

I CAN write nothing else unto you of any thing that I can recover of the writings of Captain Jaques Cartier, my uncle, deceased, although I have made search in all places that I possibly could in this town: saving of a certain book made in manner of a sea-chart, which was drawn by the hand of my said uncle, which is in the possession of Master Cremeur, which book is passing well marked and drawn for all the river of Canada, whereof I am well assured, because I myself have knowledge thereof, as far as to the faults, where I have been. The height of which fault is in 44 degrees. I found in the said chart, beyond the place where the river is divided in twain in the midst of both the branches of the said river, somewhat nearest that arm which runneth toward the N. W. these words following, written in the hand of Jaques Cartier.

“By the people of Canada and Hochelaga it was said, that here is the land of Saguenay, which is rich and wealthy in precious stones.”

And about an hundred leagues under the same, I found written these two lines following in the said card, inclining toward the S. W.: “Here in this country are cinnamon and cloves, which they call in their language Canodeta.”

Touching the effect of my book, whereof I spake unto you, it is made after the manner of a sea-chart, which I have delivered unto my two sons Michael and John, which at this present are in Canada. If at their return, which will be, God willing, about Magdalene-tide, they have learned any new thing worthy the writing, I will not fail to advertise you thereof.

Your loving friend,

JAQUES NOEL.

Here followeth the Course from Belle Isle, Carpont, and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the river of Canada, for the space of 230 leagues, observed by John Alphonse of Xanctoine, chief pilot to Monsieur Roberval, 1542.

BELLES Isles are in 51 degrees and 40 min.; Belles Isles and Carpont are N.N.W. and S. S. E. and they are ten leagues distant. Carpont is in 52 deg. Carpont and Belle Isle from the Grand Bay are N.E. and S.W. and the distance from Belle Isle to the Grand Bay is seven leagues. The midst of the Grand Bay is in 52 deg. and a half, and on the north side thereof there is a rock: half a league from the isle, over against Carpont, toward the east, there is a small flat island, and on the side toward the N. E.

there is a flat rock. And when thou comest out of the harbour of Carpont, thou must leave this rock on the starboard side, and also on the larboard side there are two or three small isles: and when thou comest out of the N. E. side, ranging along the shore toward the west, about two pikes length in the midway, there is a shoal which lyeth on the starboard side: and sail there by the north coast, and leave two parts of the Grand Bay towards the south, because there is a rock which runneth two or three leagues into the sea.

And when thou art come athwart the haven of Butes, run along the north shore about one league or an half off, for the coast is without all danger: Belle Isle in the mouth of the Grand Bay, and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, which are within the Grand Bay, near unto the north shore, lie N. E., W., and S. W. and the distance is 30 leagues. The Grand Bay at the entrance is but seven leagues broad from land to land, until it come over against the Bay des Chasteaux, and from thence forward it hath not past five leagues in breadth, and against Blanc Sablon it is eight leagues broad from land to land. And the land on the south shore is all low land along the sea coast: the north shore is reasonable high land. Blanc Sablon is in 51 deg. 40 min.

The Isles of Blanc Sablon and the Isles de la Damoiselle are N. E. W. S. W. and take a little of the W. S. W. and they are distant 36 leagues. These isles are in 50 deg. 45 min. and there is a good haven, and you may enter by an high cape which lyeth along toward the N. E. and within the distance of a pike and a half, because of a rock which lyeth on your larboard side, and you may anchor in 10 fathom water over against a little nook: and from the great headland unto the place where thou dost anchor there is not above the length of two cables. And if thou wouldst go out by the west side, thou must sail near the isle by the starboard, and give room unto the isle upon the larboard at the coming forth, and when thou art not past a cable's length out thou must sail hard by the isles on the larboard side, by reason of a sunken flat that lyeth on the starboard, and thence shalt sail so on to the S. S. W. until thou come in sight of a rock which sheweth, which is about half a league in the sea distant from the isles, and thou shalt leave it on the larboard, (and from the Isles of Damoiselle unto Newfoundland, the sea is not in breadth above 36 leagues, because that Newfoundland even unto Cape Briton runneth not but N. N. E. and S. S. W.)

Between the Isles of de la Damoiselle and the Isles of Blanc Sablon, there be many isles and good harbours; and on this coast there are falcons and hawks, and certain fowls which seem to be pheasants. The Isles de la Damoiselle and Cape Tienot are N. E. and S. S. W. and take a little of the N. E. and S. W. and they are distant 18 leagues. Cape Tienot is in 50 deg. 15 min. and there the sea is broadest. And it may be to the end of Newfoundland, which is at the entrance of Cape Briton, 70 leagues, which is the greatest breadth of this sea. And there are six or seven isles, between the Isles de la Damoiselle, and Cape Tienot.

Cape Tienot hath in the sea five or six leagues distant from it, a sunken island, dangerous for ships. The Cape Tienot and the midst of the Island of Ascension are N. E. and S. S. W. and they are 22 leagues distant; the midst of the Island of Ascension is in 49 deg. and a half. The said isle lyeth N. W. and S. E., the N. W. end is in 50 deg. of latitude, and the S. E. end is in 48 deg. and a half, and is about 25 leagues long, and four or five leagues broad: and from the N. W. end of the isle unto the firm land of the north side the sea is not above seven leagues broad, and unto the firm land on the south side are about 15 leagues. Cape Tienot and the Isle of Ascension toward the S. E. are N. E. and S. W. and are distant 30 leagues.

The said Cape of Tienot and the N. W. end of the Isle of Ascension are east and west, and take a little of the N. E. and S. W. and they are distant 34 leagues.

The Isle of Ascension is a goodly isle, and a good champaigne land, without any hills, standing all upon white rocks and alabaſter, all covered with trees unto the sea shore; and there are all sorts of trees as there be in France, and there be wild beasts, as bears, luferns, porkeſpicks. And from the S. E. end of the Isle of Ascension unto the entrance of Cape Briton is but 50 leagues. The N. W. end of the isle and the Cape des Monts nostre Dame, which is on the main land towards the south, are N. E. and W. S. W., and the distance between them is 15 leagues. The Cape is in 49 degrees, which is a very high land. The Cape and end of the Isle of Ascension towards the S. E. are E. and W. and there is 15 leagues distance between them.

The Bay of Molues or Gabay is in 48 degrees, and the coast lyeth north and south, and taketh a quarter of the N. E. and S. W. unto the Bay of Heate: and there are three isles, one great one and two small: from the Bay of Heate, until you pass the Monts nostre Dame all the land is high and good ground, all covered with trees. Ognedoc is a good bay and lyeth N. N. W. and S. S. E. and it is a good harbour: and you must sail along the shore on the north side, by reason of the low point at the entrance thereof, and when you are past the point bring yourself to an anchor in 15 or 20 fathoms of water toward the south shore; and here within this haven are two rivers, one which goeth toward the N. W. and the other to the S. W.

And on this coast there is great fishing for cods and other fish, where there is more store than is in Newfoundland, and better fish. And here is great store of river fowl, as mallards, wild geese and others: and here are all sorts of trees, rose-trees, raspberries, filbert-trees, apple-trees, pear-trees, and it is hotter here in summer than in France.

The Isle of Ascension, and the Seven Isles which lie on the north shore lie S. E. and W. N. W. and are distant 24 leagues. The cape of Ognedoc and the Seven Isles are N. N. W. and S. S. E. and are distant 35 leagues. The Cape of Monts nostre Dame and the Seven Islands are north and south, and the cut over from one to the other is 25 leagues: and this is the breadth of this sea, and from thence upward it beginneth to wax narrower and narrower. The Seven Islands are in 50 degrees and a half. The Seven Islands and the Point of Ongear lie N. E. and S. W., and the distance between them is 15 leagues, and between them are certain small islands. And the Point of Ongear and the Mountains nostre Dame, which are on the south side of the entrance of the river, are north and south; and the cut over from the one to the other is ten leagues; and this is here the breadth of the sea. The Point of Ongear and the River of Caen lie east and west, and they are distant 12 leagues. And all the coast from the Isle of Ascension hither is very good ground, wherein grow all sorts of trees that are in France, and some fruits. The Point of Ongear is 49 deg. and 15 min. And the River of Caen and the Isle of Raquelle lie N. E. and S. W. and they are distant 12 leagues. The Isle of Raquelle is in 48 deg. and 40 min. In this river of Caen there is great store of fish: and here the sea is not past eight leagues broad.

The Isle of Raquelle is a very low isle, which is near unto the south shore, hard by a high cape which is called the Cape of Marble: there is no danger there at all, and between Raquelle and the Cape of Marble ships may pass: and there is not from the isle to the south shore above one league, and from the isle to the north shore about four leagues. The Isle of Raquelle and the entrance of Saguenay are N. E. and W. S. W. and are distant 14 leagues, and there are between them two small islands near the north shore. The entrance of Saguenay is in 48 deg. and 20 min. and the entrance hath not

past a quarter of a league in breadth, and it is dangerous toward the S. W., and two or three leagues within the entrance it beginneth to wax wider and wider, and it seemeth to be as it were an arm of the sea: and I think that the same runneth into the sea of Cathay, for it sendeth forth there a great current, and there doth run in that place a terrible race or tide. And here the river from the north shore to the south shore is not past four leagues in breadth, and it is a dangerous passage between both the lands, because there lie banks of rocks in the river.

The Isle of Raquelle and the Isle of Hares lie N. E. and S. W. and take a quarter of the east and west, and they are distant 18 leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Hares lie N. N. E. and S. S. W. and are distant five leagues. The entrance of Saguenay and the Isle of Raquelle, are N. N. W. and S. S. W. and are distant three leagues. The Isle of Hares is in 48 deg. 4 min. From the mountains of Nostre Dame unto Canada and unto Hochelaga, all the land on the south coast is fair, a low land and goodly champaigne, all covered with trees unto the bank of the river. And the land on the north side is higher, and in some places there are high mountains. And from the Isle of Hares unto the Isle of Orleans the river is not past four or five leagues broad. Between the Isle of Hares and the high land on the north side, the sea is not past a league and a half broad, and it is very deep, for it is above 100 fathoms deep in the midst. To the east of the Isle of Hares there are two or three small isles and rocks. And from hence to the Isle of Filberts, all is nothing but rocks and isles on the south shore: and towards the north the sea is fair and deep. The Isle of Hares and the Isle of Filberts lie N. E., W., and S. W., and they are distant 12 leagues. And you must always run along the high land on the north shore, for on the other shore there is nothing but rocks: and you must pass by the side of the Isle of Filberts, and the river there is not past a quarter of a league broad, and you must sail in the midst of the channel, and in the midst runneth the best passage either at an high or low water, because the sea runneth there strongly, and there are great dangers of rocks, and you had need of good anchor and cable. The Isle of Filberts is a small isle, about one league long, and half a league broad, but they are all banks of sand. The Isle of Filberts stands in 47 deg. 45 min. The Isle of Filberts and the Isle of Orleans lie N. E. and S. W. and they are distant ten leagues, and thou must pass by the high land on the north side, about a quarter of a league, because that in the midst of the river there is nothing but shoals and rocks. And when thou shalt be over against a round cape, thou must take over to the south shore S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. and thou shalt sail in five, six, and seven fathoms: and there the river of Canada beginneth to be fresh, and the salt water endeth. And when thou shalt be athwart the point of the Isle of Orleans, where the river beginneth to be fresh, thou shalt sail in the midst of the river, and thou shalt leave the isle on the star-board, which is on the right hand: and here the river is not past a quarter of a league broad, and hath 20 and 30 fathoms water. And toward the south shore there is a ledge of isles all covered with trees, and they end over against the point of the Isle of Orleans. And the point of the Isle of Orleans toward the N. E. is in 47 deg. 20 min. And the Isle of Orleans is a fair isle, all covered with trees even unto the river side: and it is about five leagues long and a league and a half broad. And on the north shore there is another river, which falleth into the main river at the end of the island: and ships may very well pass there. From the midst of the isle unto Canada the river runneth west, and from the place of Canada unto France-Roy the river runneth W. S. W. and from the west end of the isle to Canada is but one league, and unto France-Roy four leagues. And when thou art come to the end of the isle, thou shalt see a great

river which falleth 15 or 20 fathoms down from a rock, and maketh a terrible noise. The fort of France-Roy is in 47 deg. 10 min.

The extension of all these lands, upon just occasion is called New France: for it is as good and as temperate as France, and in the same latitude. And the reason wherefore it is colder in the winter is, because the fresh river is naturally more cold than the sea; and it is also broad and deep: and in some places it is half a league and above in breadth: and also because the land is not tilled, nor full of people; and is all full of woods, which is the cause of cold, because there is not store of fire nor cattle. And the sun hath its meridian as high as the meridian at Rochel, and it is noon here, when the sun is at S. S. W. at Rochel. And here the north star by the compass standeth N. N. E. And when at Rochel it is noon, it is but half an hour past nine at France-Roy.

From the said place unto the ocean sea and the coast of New France, is not above 50 leagues distance, and from the entrance of Norumbega unto Florida are 300 leagues: and from this place of France-Roy to Hochelaga, are about 80 leagues, and unto the Isle of Rasus 30 leagues. And I doubt not but Norumbega entereth into the river of Canada, and unto the sea of Saguenay. And from the fort of France-Roy until a man come forth of the Grand Bay is not above 230 leagues; and the course is N. E. and W. S. W. not above five degrees and 20 min. difference, and reckon 16 leagues and a half to a degree.

By the nature of the climate the lands towards Hochelaga are still better and better, and more fruitful; and this land is fit for figs and pears; and I think that gold and silver will be found here, according as the people of the country say. These lands lie over against Tartary, and I doubt not but they stretch toward Asia, according to the roundness of the world. And therefore it were good to have a small ship of 70 tons to discover the coast of New France on the back side of Florida: for I have been at a bay as far as 42 degrees between Norumbega and Florida, and I have not searched the end thereof, and I know not whether it pass through. And in all these countries there are oaks, and birtz, ashes, elms, arables, trees of life, pines, prusse trees, cedars, great walnut trees, and wild nuts, hazel trees, wild pear trees, wild grapes, and there have been found red plums. And very fair corn groweth there, and peason grow of their own accord, gooseberries and strawberries. And there are goodly forests wherein men may hunt. And there are great store of stags, deer, porkepics, and the savages say there be unicorns. Fowl there are in abundance, as bustards, wild geese, cranes, turtle doves, ravens, crows, and many other birds. All things which are sown there are not past two or three days in coming up out of the ground. I have told in one ear of corn 120 grains, like the corn of France. And you need not to sow your wheat until March, and it will be ripe in the midst of August. The waters are better and perfecter than in France, and if the country were tilled and replenished with people, it would be as hot as Rochel. And the reason why it snoweth oftener there than in France is, because it raineth there but seldom; for the rain is converted into snows.

All things above mentioned are true.

John Alphonse made this voyage with Monsieur Roberval.

The Voyage of John Francis de la Roche, knight, lord of Roberval, to the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, with three tall Ships, and two hundred Persons, both Men, Women, and Children, begun in April 1542. In which Parts he remained the same Summer, and all the next Winter.

SIR John Francis de la Roche, knight, lord of Roberval, appointed by the King as his lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga, furnished three tall ships chiefly at the King's cost, and having in his fleet 200 persons as well men as women, accompanied with divers gentlemen of quality, as namely, with Monsieur Saine-terre his lieutenant, l'Espinay his ensign, Captain Guinecourt, Monsieur Noir Fontaine, Dieu Lamont, Frote, la Brosse, Francis de Mire, la Salle, and Royeze, and John Alphonse of Xanctoigne, an excellent pilot, set sail from Rochel, the 16th of April 1542. The same day about noon, we came athwart of Chef de Boys, where we were enforced to stay the night following. On Monday the 17th of the said month we departed from Chef de Boys. The wind served us notably for a time, but within few days it came quite contrary, which hindered our journey for a long space, for we were suddenly enforced to turn back, and to seek harbour in Belle Isle on the coast of Bretagne, where we staid so long and had such contrary weather by the way, that we could not reach Newfoundland until the 7th of June.

The 8th of this month we entered into the Road of Saint John, where we found 17 ships of fishers. While we made somewhat long abode here, Jaques Carthier and his company returning from Canada, whither he was sent with five sails the year before, arrived in the very same harbour. Who after he had done his duty to our general, told him that he had brought certain diamonds, and a quantity of gold ore, which was found in the country. Which ore the Sunday next ensuing was tried in a furnace, and found to be good.

Furthermore he informed our general that he could not with his small company withstand the savages, which went about daily to annoy him, and this was the cause of his return into France. Nevertheless he and his company commended the country to be very rich and fruitful. But when our general being furnished with sufficient forces, commanded him to go back again with him, he and his company, moved as it seemed with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves, stole privily away the next night from us, and without taking their leaves departed home for Bretagne.

We spent the greatest part of June in the harbour of Saint John, partly in furnishing ourselves with fresh water, whereof we stood in very great need by the way, and partly in composing and taking up a quarrel between some of our countrymen and certain Portugals. At length about the last of the aforesaid month, we departed hence, and entered into the Grand Bay, and passed by the Isle of Ascension, and finally arrived four leagues westward of the Isle of Orleans. In this place we found a convenient harbour for our shipping, where we cast anchor, went ashore with our people, and chose out a convenient place to fortify ourselves in, fit to command the main river, and of strong situation against all invasion of enemies. Thus, toward the end of July, we brought our victuals and other munitions and provisions on shore, and began to travail in fortifying ourselves.

Of the Fort of France-Roy, and that which was done there.

Having described the beginning, the midst, and the end of the voyage made by Monsieur Roberval in the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and other countries in the west parts: he sailed so far (as is declared in other books) that he arrived in the said country accompanied with 200 persons, soldiers, mariners, and common people, with all furniture necessary for a fleet. The said general at his first arrival built a fair fort, near and somewhat westward above Canada, which is very beautiful to behold, and of great force, situated upon an high mountain, wherein there were two courts of buildings, a great tower, and another of 40 or 50 feet long, wherein there were divers chambers, an hall, a kitchen, houses of office, cellars high and low, and near unto it were an oven and mills, and a stove to warm men in, and a well before the house. And the building was situated upon the great river of Canada, called France Prime, by Monsieur Roberval. There was also at the foot of the mountain another lodging, part whereof was a great tower of two stories high, two courts of good building, where at the first all our victuals, and whatsoever was brought with us was sent to be kept: and near unto that tower there is another small river. In these two places above and beneath, all the meaner fort was lodged.

And in the month of August, and in the beginning of September, every man was occupied in such work as each one was able to do. But the 14th of September our aforesaid general sent back into France two ships which had brought his furniture, and he appointed for admiral Monsieur de Saine-terre, and the other captain was Monsieur Guinecourt, to carry news unto the King, and to come back again unto him the year next ensuing, furnished with victuals and other things, as it should please the King: and also to bring news out of France how the King accepted certain diamonds which were sent him, and were found in this country.

After these two ships were departed, consideration was had how they should do, and how they might pass out the winter in this place. First they took a view of the victuals, and it was found that they fell out short: and they were scanted so that in each mess they had but two loaves weighing a pound a-piece, and half a pound of beef. They ate bacon at dinner with half a pound of butter: and beef at supper, and about two handfuls of beans without butter.

On the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday they did eat dry cod, and sometimes they did eat it green at dinner with butter, and they ate of porpoises and beans at supper.

About that time the savages brought us great store of aloses, which is a fish somewhat red like a salmon, to get knives and other small trifles for them.

In the end many of our people fell sick of a certain disease in their legs, reins, and stomach, so that they seemed to be deprived of all their limbs, and there died thereof about fifty.

Note, that the ice began to break up in April.

Monsieur Roberval used very good justice, and punished every man according to his offence. One whose name was Michael Gaillon, was hanged for his theft. John of Nantes was laid in irons, and kept prisoner for his offence, and others also were put in irons, and divers were whipped, as well men as women: by which means they lived in quiet.

The Manners of the Savages.

To declare unto you the state of the savages, they are people of a goodly stature, and well made, they are very white, but they are all naked; and if they were apparelled as the French are, they would be as white and as fair, but they paint themselves for fear of heat and sun-burning.

Instead of apparel they wear skins upon them like mantles; and they have a small pair of breeches, wherewith they cover their privities, as well men as women. They have hosen and shoes of leather excellently made: and they have no shirts, neither cover they the head, but their hair is trussed up above the crown of their heads, and plaited or braided. Touching their victuals, they eat good meat, but all unsalted, but they dry it, and afterwards they broil it, as well fish as flesh. They have no certain dwelling place, and they go from place to place, as they think they may best find food, as aloses in one place, and other fish, salmons, sturgeons, mullets, furmullets, barz, carps, eels, pimpermeaux, and other fresh water fish, and store of porpoises. They feed also of stags, wild boars, bugles, porkeespines, and store of other wild beasts. And there is as great store of fowls as they can desire.

Touching their bread they make very good: and it is of great mill: and they live very well: for they take care for nothing else.

They drink seal oil, but this is at their great feasts.

They have a king in every country, and are wonderful obedient unto him: and they do him honour according to their manner and fashion. And when they travel from place to place, they carry all their goods with them in their boats.

The women nurse their children with the breast, and they sit continually, and are wrapped about the bellies with skins of fur.

*The Voyage of Monsieur Roberval from his Fort in Canada unto Saguenay,
the 5th June, 1543.*

Monsieur Roberval, the King's lieutenant-general in the countries of Canada, Saguenay and Hochelaga, departed toward the said province of Saguenay, on the Tuesday the 5th day of June 1543, after supper: and he with all his furniture was embarked to make the said voyage. But upon a certain occasion they lay in the road over against the place before-mentioned: but on the Wednesday about six of the clock in the morning they set sail, and sailed against the stream, in which voyage their whole furniture was of eight barks, as well great as small, and to the number of three score and ten persons, with the aforesaid general.

The general left behind him in the aforesaid place and fort, 30 persons to remain there until his return from Saguenay, which he appointed to be the first of July, or else they should return into France. And he left there behind him but two barks to carry the said 30 persons, and the furniture which was there, while he staid still in the country.

And for effectuating hereof, he left as his lieutenant a gentleman named, Monsieur de Royeze, to whom he gave commission, and charged all men to obey him, and to be at the commandment of the said lieutenant.

The victuals which were left for their maintenance until the said first day of July, were received by the said lieutenant Royeze.

BOUCHÉ'S VOYAGE TO CANAL, &c.

of June; Monsieur l'Espiney, La Brosse, Monsieur Frère, others, returned from the general, from the voyage of

ten and one bark were drowned and lost, among which was one named La Vasseur of Monsieur.

June aforesaid, there came from the general Monsieur de three others, which brought the same number weight of their until Magdalenside, which is the 12th day of July.

the rest of this voyage in winter.

